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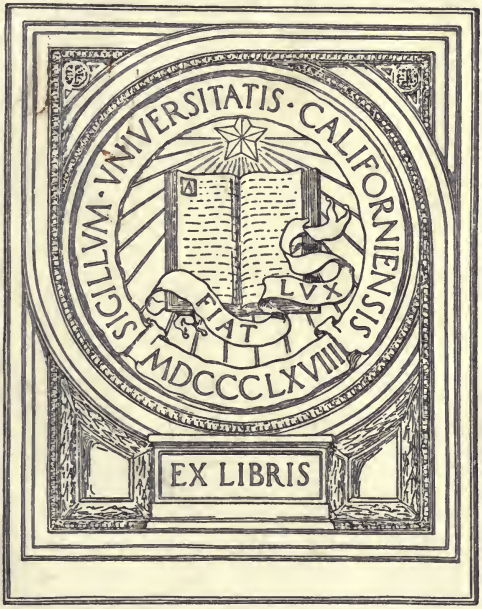

MEMOIRS OF GUSTAVE KOERNER

MEMBERS OF OCTAVE ROSENER

Memoirs of Gustave Koerner
1809-1896

Life-sketches written at the suggestion
of his children

Edited by
Thomas J. McCormack

Volume II

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CHAPTER XXVII

The Political Outlook in 1856

Douglas, after his return to Illinois, and subsequently to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, made tremendous efforts to sustain his position. At a mass-meeting in Chicago, called by his friends, he was unable to get a hearing. Only a few years before, when I had accompanied him in the presidential and gubernatorial canvass, he was the idol of the Democracy and highly esteemed even by his opponents; while now, such was the disaffection of a large majority of his own party in the north of our State, and such the hatred of the Free Soilers of the other parties, that his voice was drowned by the crowd. Hisses, groans and curses filled the air. But he could not be forced to leave the stand, though hardly anybody could hear what he said. In another part of the city, it was said, he had been burnt in effigy. I mention this as an illustration showing what a prodigious effect this single measure, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, had produced. It was really the commencement of the end of the slave power.

But Douglas, the very embodiment of pluck, was not discouraged. He traversed the State in every direction, supported by the administration, which used its executive power to remove Anti-Douglas men from office and to replace them by friends of the Senator. The measure was made a party test. In the middle and the south of the State Douglas fared better; in fact, in the south the defection from the regular Democratic party was slight, except in St. Clair and one or two other counties. There were no elections of any importance in the State that fall; but, as Douglas was stirring up the people by vindicating himself, we Anti-Nebraska Dem-

ocrats had to accept the challenge, and, during the fall-term of the courts, hardly a night passed without a lively debate on the all-important question. This agitation, at a time which was usually a very quiet one, (no elections pending,) was a prelude, however, to the stormy year of 1856.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1856

The situation of the parties about this time was very peculiar. The Whig party in the South had never been strong. It could count only on temporary victories in the State elections. On the dissolution of the party, the Whigs living in the most southerly States, generally called the Cotton States, had, owing to the slavery question, joined the Democrats. Those, however, residing in the Border States, Maryland, the western part of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, (and they had been in the majority,) while they would not join the Free Soilers of the North, had, in a great measure, gone over to the Native American party. They declared themselves in favor of the Union and as opposed to the Southern Ultras, or fire-eaters, as they were called.

In the North a new party had sprung up, built on the pending issue: "No extension of slavery into Territories heretofore declared free." A number of Democrats, who had, as early as 1848, voted for Van Buren and Charles F. Adams on the Free Soil platform, and had thereby defeated General Cass, the regular Democratic candidate, had combined with the Whigs in the New England States and New York, and taken upon themselves the name of "Republicans."

Another portion of the Northern Democracy, opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and in favor of free soil in the Territories, hesitated to join this new party, for the reason that on all other points they still held firmly to the Democratic doctrines. Besides, the new departure of the regular Democracy on the Pro-Slavery lines had not received as yet the full sanction of the party. Some Democratic Legislatures had approved of the Kansas Bill; others had con-

demned it. Until, therefore, the National Democratic Convention, which was to meet in the summer of 1856 to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, had authoritatively announced itself in favor of the principle embodied in the Kansas Law, the Anti-Nebraska Democrats still claimed to be considered members of the party, although Douglas in his speeches and by his press-organs had already denounced them as traitors, as Abolitionists and Disunionists.

In some States the Anti-Nebraska Democrats were in the undoubted majority of the party; in others, it was doubtful which faction prevailed. In the Northwest, where the Douglas influence was very great, they were in the minority. In the South, they hardly had any existence at all. A majority of the Whigs in the North formed the principal body of the new party, joined by the more rational part of the Abolitionists, who were satisfied for the present with keeping slavery out of the Territories. Their number, however, was comparatively small, though large enough to create much prejudice against the new party. A considerable part of the Northern Whigs, sympathizing neither with the Free Soilers nor with the Pro-Slavery party, sought refuge in the Native American party. This was particularly the case in Pennsylvania, where for some years past the party had been very strong.

All eyes were accordingly directed towards Cincinnati, where the Democratic National Convention met early in June. Thousands of Democrats in the North, waiting for the National Democratic party to declare itself on the slavery question, had not yet joined the Republicans. I was one of these Democrats. On the 22d of February, 1856, a meeting had been held at Decatur by the Republican editors of the State, who had appointed me one of the State Central Committee to aid in calling together an Anti-Nebraska Convention to be held at Bloomington in May. This appointment I declined in a public letter, declaring myself to be in unison with the sentiment of the meeting regarding slavery and in earnest opposition to its extension into territory heretofore

free. "The idea," I said, "that the Constitution of the freest country on earth carries slavery wherever its flag is unfurled, I hold in utter abhorrence." But, I said further, that, while I feared that both the State and National Conventions, soon to be held, would endorse the Kansas-Nebraska Act, with all that it implied, yet, as these conventions, in which by common usage was lodged the authority to bind the party to the principles enunciated in its platform, had not yet spoken, I felt that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, especially since I had been so often honored by that great party and now held a high position by their voices, I could not as yet sever the ties which so long had connected me with it. Should these meetings, however, act as I feared they would, I would then willingly join a new party, which should, however, be more than a temporary opposition-party.

"A mere opposition-party," I said, "may please those who have set their eyes upon political preferment; it does not satisfy me. Such a party loses its power the moment it attains it. It may share in the emoluments of office, but can do no good. A new party should meet all the important political issues clearly and distinctly, without mental reservation. I could not coöperate with any party, which, while asserting the principle that all soil heretofore free should remain free as long as it was a Territory, would not, at the same time affirmatively maintain that the Constitutional rights of the Southern States should never be interfered with; that all American citizens without distinction of birth and religion should be entitled 'to rule America;' that the present naturalization laws should not be modified in an illiberal spirit; that monopolies in every shape and form should be abolished; and that no wasteful expenditure, under whatever specious plea, should be encouraged, either under the national or State government."

This letter was extensively published all over the State, and it really constituted the program of the Northern Democracy, as opposed to the Pro-Slavery Democracy. The plain declaration against Abolitionism and Native Americanism had a most happy effect on the German element, as it had a tendency to quiet their fears regarding the new party, with re-

spect to the support it might derive from that portion of the Native American party in the North which on its breaking up was ready to join the Republican party. I received letters of approval from many parts of the State. John M. Palmer wrote me from Carlinville, March 12, 1856, as follows:

"I write to thank you for your well-timed and admirably written letter, which precisely expresses the opinion of every true, conservative Democrat with whom I have conversed. Your position is like my own; every vote I have ever given has been cast with the Democratic party; and you have succeeded in defining with perfect accuracy, not only 'the whole duty of man,' but the whole duty of a Democrat. I have already, and shall hereafter, circulate your letter extensively in my Senatorial District. Pardon me for making another remark. The eyes of the people of the State are turned to your Congressional District, and it is felt that your name in a canvass will insure success. We outsiders hope you will make the fight."

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS

The Democratic State Convention in May, under the influence of Douglas, the pressure of the administration, and the very strong feeling against the Abolitionists in the south of the State, which was transferred, as was expected, to the Republicans, endorsed Douglas's repeal of the Missouri Compromise and his phantom "Squatter Sovereignty," nominated William A. Richardson, of Quincy, who had been Douglas's fugle-man in the Lower House of Congress, for governor, and recommended Douglas for the Presidency.

The National Convention met on the second of June at Cincinnati. James Buchanan, then minister to England, and Franklin Pierce were considered the main rivals. Douglas was also brought forward, and developed such strength that after several ballots he received one hundred and twenty-one votes to Buchanan's one hundred and sixty-eight. Buchanan was nominated. It was a very judicious nomination. He had been unconnected with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, nor had he, like Pierce, supported the outrages in Kansas committed by the Territorial Legislature, which was elected,

beyond all contradiction, by thousands of Missourians, who, under the plea of being emigrants and settlers, outvoted the real settlers and drove the Free State voters in many places from the polls, and which had enacted a slave code and other laws, directed against Free State people, more harsh and more cruel than any similar laws in any of the Southern States. Buchanan's nomination was intended to keep luke-warm Anti-Nebraska Democrats in the party, which it undoubtedly did to some extent, and also to secure Pennsylvania, by the nomination of a President who could be relied upon as upholding the protective policy of that State. At the same time the South knew their man well enough to know that he would not resist their most extravagant demands as regards slavery, while he was also most favorable to the acquisition of Cuba, peaceably if possible, and if not peaceably, by force.

THE OSTEND MANIFESTO AND PIERRE SOULE

It was well known that for years the South had been anxious to annex that island. The Lopez expedition, of which I have spoken, had been encouraged by the South. Spain had frequently been given, in a roundabout way, to understand that the United States would give almost any price for the "Pearl of the Antilles." Such suggestions had always been indignantly spurned by that power. But early in 1856, Marcy, Secretary of State, had most strangely called upon Buchanan, minister to England, Mason, of Virginia, minister to France, and Soulé, minister to Spain, to hold a conference and to take the matter of acquiring Cuba into serious consideration. These gentlemen met at Ostend, then adjourned to Aix-la-Chapelle, and sent a despatch to the President, which, for arrogance, absurdity, and offensiveness toward a friendly nation, has hardly ever been surpassed by any diplomatic document. To induce Spain to sell, she was represented as perfectly bankrupt, as being unable to pay her foreign creditors, most of whom were Englishmen; that she would soon be called to account by England for the non-payment of those

debts, and that her only hope was to raise money by selling Cuba. Besides, she had so badly administered the island that she could not longer hold it against the Cubans, nor could the people in the United States be prevented from assisting them in throwing off the Spanish yoke.

The publication of this despatch, which is known in history as the "Ostend Manifesto," filled the whole civilized world with astonishment and even indignation. Such an open, bare-faced declaration of lust of conquest and of exciting a people to revolt at a time of profound peace, startled even the most unscrupulous statesmen.

From what I learned of Soulé's character while minister at Madrid, I have no doubt that the manifesto was mostly his work. He had repeatedly addressed the Spanish ministers on the subject of selling Cuba to the United States, — which proposition had been flatly rejected. His very appointment had given great umbrage to them, as he was known in New Orleans, where he resided, to have been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the filibustering expedition of Lopez, and as he was a most radical revolutionist, having fled from France under the Restoration, and having been accused of entering into a Republican conspiracy against the government. When he went to Spain as American minister, Louis Napoleon's police did not allow him to traverse France. Besides, Soulé's whole conduct in Madrid was so extravagant that it excited general remark. At that time, and until lately, the old rule still prevailed that our ministers to foreign countries should wear a uniform at court and on public occasions. It was a very plain one, consisting of a blue dress-coat, with gold buttons, impressed with the American eagle, and with some gold embroidery on the collar, and of a buff colored waistcoat and blue trousers, with a small gold band on the seam. But Soulé would not conform to this rule; while, at the same time, he was too much of a Frenchman to appear in simple evening dress amongst the other diplomats, decked out as they were with ribbons and orders and gold-embroidered coats. So

he adopted a dress of his own; appearing in a black velvet frock-coat and black velvet vest and trousers, his head covered with a sort of Italian brigand felt hat. He furthermore got into many troubles, — some of them quite serious. At a reception of the French ambassador, the Marquis of Turgot, Mrs. Soulé, it seems, was costumed in so extraordinary a manner that the Duke of Alba, brother-in-law of the Emperor Napoleon III, made some jesting remark regarding her dress in an undertone to one of his friends. Mr. Soulé's son either caught the words of Alba, or heard of them, and challenged the offender. A sword duel ensued, which, however, passed off without any serious consequences. But the erratic Frenchman, our minister, was still not satisfied. He insisted that Turgot, in whose house the affront was offered, should also demand satisfaction from Alba. This Turgot declined to do, and Soulé challenged him. They fought with pistols, and Turgot was wounded in the knee and crippled for life.

The Ostend Manifesto, which was denounced by Spain with wrathful indignation, and Soulé's absurd social pranks made him impossible; so he resigned, or had to resign, not long afterwards, to become one of our most noted secessionists. Pierre Soulé was a man of talents, a fine advocate, a born orator, and remarkable for his facility in expressing himself in English, though he came to this country several years after attaining his majority. Representing Louisiana in the United States Senate from 1849 to 1855, he was considered one of its foremost orators.

It was principally this foolish manifesto, emanating from a Democratic administration at the behest of the South, and written by Buchanan and two extreme Southerners, which secured for us during the Rebellion the most benevolent neutrality of Spain, and in fact, it might be said, her quiet support. Whenever the ministry showed any tendency to yield to the incessant efforts of France to induce Spain to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy, a reminder of the Ostend Manifesto by our Republican representatives at

Madrid was sufficient to set all the French manœuvres at naught.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1856

In order to reconcile Douglas to his failure in obtaining the nomination, the South showed him some little accommodation in not putting forward their extreme views on the subject of slavery in the Territories in their platform. Pro-Slavery as a majority of them were, they did not wish to defeat him for the Senate in his own State, — which would surely have been the case, had they framed a program such as they did afterwards in 1860. John C. Breckenridge was nominated for Vice-President.

The platform adopted contained many most excellent principles. It denounced the Native American party in the strongest terms, branded the crusade against foreign-born citizens, and against Catholics in particular, as anti-national and as Anti-Democratic. Every Democrat could have sanctioned this program had not the concluding resolutions shown the cloven foot. They strongly endorsed the principle contained in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, without exactly stating (in order to save Douglas) whether that principle was popular sovereignty, or the absolute right to take slaves into any and all Territories under the Constitution, as the South interpreted it.

The program was most skilfully drawn, and, in connection with the nomination of Buchanan, who had stood aloof from the slavery agitation of late years, and whose views could be represented in one way in the North and in another in the South, it was very apt to weaken the Anti-Nebraska party and to keep the foreign-born voters in the Democratic party. I and thousands of other Democrats could not subscribe to the platform as a whole, and nothing could have made us support it except a mischievous act on the part of the Republican party, which was soon to meet in convention at Philadelphia on the 17th of June.

TRIP TO THE EAST

Early in June Sophie and I had carried out our long desired plan to visit the tomb of our Theodore. We arrived, accompanied by our dear Mary, at Cincinnati, a few days after the adjournment of the Democratic Convention. We called upon the Stallos. Stallo had visited us in Belleville a year or two before, when delivering on invitation a scientific lecture to the Belleville Turners' Association. His views on politics were the same as mine. The non-interference principle enunciated in the Democratic program, to judge from what had already passed in Kansas, was sure to surrender that State to slavery, with the prospect of its coming into the Union as a Slave State, adding two senators and one representative to the South and giving it a preponderance in the national counsels. Before, however, publicly supporting the Republican party, we thought it best to await the outcome of the Republican Convention. Of John B. Stallo, in every respect the foremost representative of the German-Americans, I have spoken so fully in my "German Element," that I could only repeat here what I have there said of him. In Mrs. Stallo, Sophie found a fellow-countrywoman. She was from Rhenish Bavaria, born only a short distance from Winnweiler, — an open-hearted, frank, unaffected, good housewife, with all the vivacity of the dwellers on the Rhine.

From Cincinnati we went to Buffalo, where my old fellow-student from Munich and Heidelberg, Dr. Francis Brunk, and his family received us, I may say, with open arms. We passed some very agreeable days with them. Brunk had in a measure quit his practice as a physician, and had become part owner and editor of the "Buffalo Weltbuerger" (Cosmopolitan). He had always been a strong Democrat; and, while he condemned Douglas for having opened the slavery question anew to serve his personal ambitions, he was not prepared to enter the Republican camp. His paper was in a flourishing condition, and he knew, or thought he knew, that a large majority of the Germans in Buffalo, owing to the aggressions of the Native

American element, would never leave the Democratic party, which had always stood for the equal rights of foreign-born citizens with American citizens. He introduced me, however, to Philip Dorscheimer, a friend of his, and a man of great popularity, who had left the Democratic party, of which he had been a prominent member for many years, and who was now acting with the Republicans and was an enthusiastic supporter of John C. Frémont for the nomination for President. Dorscheimer was then the owner of one of the principal hotels, the Mansion House. He is also fully portrayed in my "German Element" (Cincinnati, A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880).

Departing from Buffalo, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Brunk, we stopped at Niagara Falls. The Falls must be seen; they cannot be described. After roaming over Goat Island, visiting the Cave of the Winds, the turret erected between the American and the Canadian Falls, and the Whirlpool, we crossed the river in a boat near the Falls to the Canadian side, drove down to Lundy's Lane battlefield, visited the Brock monument, and recrossed again. Sophie, always so fond of water, whether river, lake or stream, was delighted, and could hardly tear herself away from the sublime sight of the Falls.

In the evening we took the train for Albany. We arrived there early in the morning, took breakfast at the Delavan House, where all the many waiters at the table were young and handsome girls, and then took the morning packet-boat for New York. Towards evening we landed at West Point, stopping at Cozzen's, the lower hotel at the foot of the hills, situated in a majestic forest. The house was crowded. It was the time just before the summer vacation of the cadets, when they were encamped and when the Government Board of Visitors, who have yearly to examine into the condition of the institution, was in session. At such times all the hotels in the neighborhood are full of visitors, partly parents, relatives and friends of the cadets, and partly strangers who come to

enjoy the beautiful scenery or the military exercises. In the morning we went up to the top of the hill where the Academy is located, passed the camp, and, in company with Dr. Roman, of Belleville, who was one of the Board of Visitors, went to the cemetery. The site of it is most beautiful, right on the brink of the precipitous rock which bounds the West Point plateau on the north and opens up a vista up the river, which, before it enters the Narrows at West Point, expands into a lake. The city of Newburg, many other villages and villas border the river, and the Catskill Mountains appear in full view. On the west, still higher hills than the one on which the Academy is situated, rise, covered with majestic forest trees. Perhaps there is no more beautiful cemetery in the whole world. It is full of monuments of officers and cadets. Some of them are of fine workmanship. That for Theodore had not yet arrived from Philadelphia. His grave was well kept. We knelt down and decked it with flowers. On our return from the cemetery we passed the parade-ground, where the cadets were executing their manœuvres. We did not stop, but hurried down; the sight of these youthful soldiers, of whom our boy had been one, saddened our hearts.

The next boat brought us to New York. How different the city now was from when we first saw it in 1833! The Astor House then was nearly at the end of Broadway, and now it was far from being even in the center of that celebrated street. After stopping a day at the St. Nicholas, then the most splendid new hotel in the city, but after all a somewhat flashy one, and not being able to secure front rooms in one of the lower stories, (elevators not having been invented yet,) we moved to the Prescott House, a small but new and tastily built hotel, on the next corner to the St. Nicholas, kept in the European style, and in consequence much patronized by foreigners, who do not like to pay for things which they do not get. We had a parlor and bedrooms on the second floor, fronting Broadway.

We met in New York Mr. Von Schrader, our Belleville

friend, husband of Olivia Morrison, of Kaskaskia. With him we saw the sights, spent a most delightful day at Staten Island, which was doubly interesting to us as the place where twenty-three years ago for the first time Sophie and I had set foot on American soil.

At the Academy of Music we heard Madame La Grange in "Norma." She was then starring in the United States, in full possession of all her musical and dramatic powers. We had then no idea that we should hear her quite often at a later period. In Madrid, where she was the only prima donna the first winter we were there and part of the second winter also, when she took Patti's place in Paris and Patti hers at Madrid, she was received in the best society. She was a well educated and intellectual woman, of greater dramatic power than Patti, though the latter in youth and voice, (Patti was just twenty when I heard her in Madrid,) was her superior. We visited several picture-galleries and other places of interest.

Mr. Dorscheimer, of Buffalo, had also come to New York, a few days after our arrival. He hunted me up, and was so anxious to introduce me to Colonel Frémont, that I finally yielded, to please him. I never was fond of calling on prominent men, without some particular object. We went to the hotel, where we found him with Jessie Benton, his wife. I had, by accident, met Mr. Frémont several times before at Dr. Engelmann's house, when the Doctor was arranging the specimens of geology and botany Frémont had collected on his expeditions to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast, with a view to describing and classifying them in his reports. He recognized me at once, but in his usual shy and reserved way.

Dorscheimer talked politics all the time, and, of course, I gave it as my opinion that his nomination would be very acceptable to the German Republicans, which was entirely true. Frémont was tall and rather slender, but broad in the shoulders and breast. His fine-cut features showed his French

origin. His hair was very full and black, his eyes dark gray. He looked more like a civilian than like a military man. He always appeared to me embarrassed. In a much later interview with Mrs. Frémont she remarked to me on a somewhat trying occasion: "O, if he only knew how to assert himself!" In the New York interview, Jessie Benton seemed to be far more interested in his success than he, in fact she bore the principal part of the conversation. She had a pleasant face, a fair complexion, and blue eyes, if I recollect aright, and she certainly could be called a very interesting woman. She seemed to be devoid of all affectation, but full of her father's resoluteness.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1856

From New York we went to Philadelphia in company with Mrs. Von Schrader. We arrived there the day before the Republican National Convention met. All the principal hotels were full to overflowing, and we were glad to find some poor rooms at the old United States Hotel, not far from Independence Hall. I was not a delegate. So in the morning of the Convention we strolled around town, visited Independence Hall, Franklin Institute, the United States Mint and other remarkable places. But about dinner time Senator Trumbull, who was a delegate, found me out, took me to the Girard House, introduced me to some of the most noted delegates, and insisted on taking me into the Convention. I went as a mere looker-on, though I was assigned a seat among the delegates. I think Lincoln was one of the delegates from Illinois. Of course, there was some difficulty about the platform. The conservative Democrats and Whigs in the party did not want to go to extremes; the few Abolitionists present, on the contrary, were for a general declaration of war against all slavery, not only in the Territories, but also in the States where it existed and had existed for a century and more and had been protected by our Constitution. That part of the American party which had separated from the organization on account of its Pro-Slavery platform and had appeared in Philadelphia

under the anodyne name of the People's party, was not yet disposed to declare itself in favor of political equality between native and naturalized citizens.

But the Democrats ruled the Convention. The platform declared, after a reference to the Declaration of Independence, that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, should be forever preserved. It affirmed for Congress absolute power to govern the Territories, and declared that in the exercise of that power it was both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery. It then formulated a severe indictment against the lawless proceedings in Kansas, sustained by the government by military force. It declared that Kansas should immediately be admitted with the Constitution adopted by the Free State people of that Territory. In regard to the attempt to wrest Cuba from Spain, the platform used the following forcible language: "The highwayman's plea that 'might makes right,' embodied in the Ostend Circular, was, in every respect, unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government and people that gave it their sanction." It declared itself in favor of building railroads to the Pacific, and in favor of the improvement of rivers and harbors of national character. It did not say a word about a protective tariff, and concluded with the following resolution, which was a pretty hard pill for the Native Americans to swallow: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights amongst citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security."

This program, while written in an elevated and at the same time most vigorous style, contained a withering arraignment of the present Democratic administration for its action in Kansas, where it had supported the most flagrant Pro-Slavery measures of the "bogus" Legislature and of some United States officers. It bore evidence of the enthusi-

asm of a new party determined to fight for a great principle, and not for office or emoluments, which so often before, and still oftener since, has been the only aim of party organization.

And not only the platform, but the nominations of candidates, bore the impress of the Democratic influence. Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, a man of the highest character and a Free Soil Whig, was first proposed for nomination for President. The next one proposed was John C. Frémont. Then rose, with the greatest unconcern, the tall, robust form of my friend, Philip Dorscheimer, the miller's son from Woellstein in Rhenish Hesse, amidst an assembly consisting of United States senators and members of the Lower House, governors and ex-governors, judges, and distinguished editors and professors, and spoke something like this, in a stentorian voice: "I am a plain old German, — no politician — but I can tell this assembly that I know my countrymen, and they will vote for no one more cheerfully than for John C. Frémont, who is well known to them as the pathfinder, and the one who first planted the Stars and Stripes on the face of Mexican California." As he spoke English with the most pronounced Rhenish Bavarian accent, only a few understood what he said; but it was gathered, nevertheless, that the Germans would insist on Frémont's nomination, and would hardly vote for anyone else. He was immensely cheered, and Frémont, an original Democrat, was nominated. Dayton, United States Senator from New Jersey, who had filled the highest offices in his State, a Free Soil Whig, was then nominated for Vice-President. Lincoln, however, received one hundred and ten votes, the highest vote given for any of the rival candidates for the office.

That the Free Soil Democrats, though in a minority, succeeded so well in the Convention, as well as in the campaign of 1856, was but natural. The Democratic party had been in power in the nation, as well as in most of the States, with the exception of one term (Taylor and Fillmore, 1849 to

1853), ever since Jefferson's election in 1800. Its members in every generation bore the burden of government. Who governs must have resolution, must take responsibilities; he must acquire self-confidence and self-reliance; in other words, he is naturally trained to command; he is apt to learn the practical management of parties and men generally, and to steer the ship safely over bars and through storms.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Presidential Campaign of 1856

I had hardly returned from Philadelphia, when I learned what I had long fearfully expected, — the death of Pauline on the 18th of June, 1856. She had long wished for it. Years before she had written: "O, my dear brother, could I have but one day of perfect health, how gladly would I die on the evening of it!" Though I could hardly have desired to see her intense suffering prolonged, and though I had tried to make myself familiar with the idea of losing her, yet I was deeply moved when the long foreseen event happened. Pauline, from her beauty, before long continued sickness had impaired it, from her sweet temper, her warm-hearted affectionate devotion to us all, her lofty and clear mind, had made herself the sunshine of our lives. Since the critical night of the third of April, she had been my most faithful correspondent. We exchanged our views upon all family affairs, upon all public events, upon literature and art. She took the most intense interest in all that concerned Sophie and the children. Separated thousands of miles, we lived in close soul-communion. The chord that had bound me to my former home was broken by her departure. My desire to see my native land again before death had now almost ceased.

The time had arrived to enter the political contest, — a contest hitherto unparalleled in bitterness and violence. The young, fresh party, under an attractive leader, — for Frémont's name at that time was a tower of strength because of his youth, his daring exploits, the pluck and endurance he had shown, his efforts for freedom in California, his almost world-wide reputation as a scientific and valiant explorer, —

entered the battle with an enthusiasm only surpassed by the conflict in 1860. The Northern Pro-Slavery Democrats fought under their idol, Douglas, the "little giant," whose political destiny was at stake; and the Southerners were fighting a mortal combat for their domestic institution, upon which they believed their political and earthly fortune depended.

INFLUENCE OF THE KNOW NOTHINGS

The battle became complicated by the existence of a third party, which, owing to the disintegration of the Whigs, had for the last few years become more formidable than ever, — the Native American party. Before this, that party was what might be called an open party. It had meetings in some States, and also a sort of National Convention, but in elections its members usually voted as they pleased. But some ambitious and cunning, mostly brokendown politicians had organized it into a secret society, establishing lodges, with all kinds of absurd mystic rights, in which members were initiated, sworn to obey their superiors, to keep their doings secret, and to answer all questions by saying, "I know nothing." Hence their popular name of "Know Nothings." The American people have a remarkable inclination for secret societies, though these often are merely benevolent and social organizations, perfectly harmless, with no objects that need shun publicity. But they relish mummeries, like to wear badges, have watchwords and signs, calling their lodges by high-sounding names, which most of the members do not even understand, and bestowing on their officers the most superlatively nonsensical titles. Thousands of young men joined this party just because of this nonsense, and of their meetings in the woods or in deserted places, at night time, bearing dark lanterns. Hence also their nickname, the "Dark Lantern Party." These lodges elected delegates to a State and a National convention. Their yearly National Convention was also held at Philadelphia early in the year. It nominated

Ex-President Millard Fillmore for President and Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The platform declared for the Union and the Constitution, that Americans must rule America, that only native-born citizens should be elected to any office whatever, that none but citizens should have a right to vote, and that the naturalization laws should be so changed that no one could become a citizen unless he had resided twenty-one years in the United States. It condemned the opening of the slavery question by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but at the same time adopted the Squatter Sovereignty of Douglas, allowing the people in the Territories to introduce slavery if they wished, without interference of Congress. Upon the adoption of this part of the platform most of the Northern Know Nothings retired from the Convention and declared themselves not bound by it.

This party, at least as regards the vote of the foreign-born population, had a very injurious influence in the coming election. It was supposed, and with some reason, that many of the Northern Know Nothings, on account of the slavery question, would join the Republican party, without renouncing their hostility to all alien-born, and might exercise thus a malignant influence on the Republican party. The Democratic party had from the earliest times been in favor of liberal laws concerning naturalization and had denounced most decidedly the Native American party since its formation. Douglas made no speech in vindication of his course on the slavery question without improving the opportunity of recalling to mind the traditional liberal policy of the Democrats regarding aliens, and without denouncing most strongly the principles of the American party. Other Democratic speakers did the same, and they were justified in doing so. The Republican party was characterized by him and by others as being a mixture of old Whigs, Know Nothings, Abolitionists, and some few disappointed Democratic traitors. This, of course, was a demagogical fiction.

The Northern Whigs had a right to hold opinions on the present issue different from Mr. Douglas. The Free Soil Democrats, who united with them, were counted by hundreds of thousands. The Abolitionists and Free Soil Know Nothings were an insignificant fraction of the great Republican party, which cast nearly a million and a half votes at the fall election. Yet it was quite natural, that under the circumstances the voters of foreign birth, who had almost unanimously belonged to the Democratic party, should hesitate long before they joined a new party, among whom they recognized a great many people who had been always opposed to them. Yet the Germans were so much opposed to slavery that, with the exception of the Catholics amongst them, against whom the Know Nothings had more particularly directed their assaults, it may be said that almost all marched to the polls under the Republican banner. Yet the Catholic element in many places was very strong, and the stand they took for the Pro-Slavery Democracy impaired the strength of the Republican party very greatly.

CAMPAIGN INCIDENTS

I was soon in the midst of the fight. If I could have answered all the calls that were made on me from every part of the State and the neighboring States of Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Missouri, I should have had to double myself and speak every day from August to November. I spoke, however, at many places, — among many others, at Milwaukee, Chicago, Quincy, Springfield, Peru, Peoria, Bloomington, Alton, and in every town and precinct in St. Clair, and in many precincts of the adjoining counties.

In Milwaukee I met Carl Schurz for the first time, in the midst of his family. We were together, however, only a few hours. I had arrived in the afternoon, and he was to leave for Buffalo at six o'clock in the evening to fulfill a speaking engagement. Carl Schurz is so well known by his pictures in all the illustrated papers for the last twenty years that no

description of his personal appearance is needed. He who has once seen him will never forget him. His manners and conversation struck me then as most delightful. Comparing notes, we found our views on politics and everything else in full harmony.

Speaking of Milwaukee, I found a custom there of public speaking quite novel to me. It was then quite cold, somewhat late in October, but nevertheless the mass-meeting I was to address was to be held at night and in the open air on the hills. It was quite dark. I wondered how a meeting could be held at such a time in such a place. But when I arrived at the stand, I found that immense fires had been built around the platform throwing their lurid light over a large space. I was told that all night meetings were held in that style. I must say that I found this sort of arrangement quite uncomfortable. There was a rough blast from the lake that nearly took one's breath away, and the smoke from the piles of fire was almost stifling. It required a good deal of resolution to attempt a speech under such untoward circumstances. But I had been told that Milwaukee was a Democratic stronghold on account of its very large Catholic population, and so I had to do my best. Some other meetings must have been held at the same time, for I saw similar big fires on other hills.

The fight for Frémont and for Bissell, who had been nominated at the State Convention for Governor, was comparatively an easy one in the northern part of the State. Nearly all prominent Northern Democrats had joined the Republican party, as well as a great majority of the former Whigs. Nearly all the leading papers advocated the Republican ticket, the "Chicago Tribune," the "Evening Journal," the German "Staatszeitung." In the middle of the State it was quite different. A great many of the Whigs, who had come from the Southern States, turned Democrats on the slavery question. In fact, with the exception of Lincoln, Judge Davis and a few other prominent Whigs, the other leaders of the old Whig party became most ardent Douglas men. In the

capital, most of the influential Democrats stood up enthusiastically for Douglas. The Know Nothing party was not particularly strong in that part of the State. Still, the outlook for the Republican party there was infinitely better than in the southern part of the State, where the old Whigs, mostly of Southern extraction, had joined in part the Democratic party or the Know Nothings. It was only in a few counties, such as Madison, and above all St. Clair, that the large majority of the Democrats joined the Republican party, and this was largely owing to the preponderance of the German vote. The most southern part of the State was almost unanimous against the Republicans. Here was the hardest and most bitter fight.

A few incidents affecting me personally may illustrate the character of the contest. Marion County had been at all times an intensely Democratic county. Under the lead of a very few intelligent and determined gentlemen a Republican party had been formed, or rather was forming. Early in the canvass, I was invited to address a Republican meeting at Salem, the county-seat. The meeting was to take place in the court house after dinner. To counteract this meeting, the Democrats had called another at the same time and place, and when the Republican committee and myself went towards the court house, we learned that the Democrats had already taken possession there and were organizing a meeting. It was concluded that we would hold our meeting in the public square surrounding the court house, and while a sort of platform was being erected, a judge of one of our circuits, a rabid Democrat, but a warm personal friend of mine, came to me, stating that the people in the court room were very much excited, that they would most likely try to break up our meeting, and as some of our men were known to be high-spirited and quick on the trigger, there would be bloodshed. Other Democrats gave the committee similar information, begging them to postpone their meeting to another day when not so many Democrats would be in town. There was little disposition to yield. The Republicans had announced their meet-

ing first. A very respectable citizen, however, whose residence was on the public square, and who had a large enclosed lawn in front of his house, stepped forward, saying: "I am not a Republican, but I am for free speech. Come into my yard and hold your meeting here, and if anyone comes inside and misbehaves, I'll turn him out mighty quick." The proposition was accepted. And one hundred Republicans and several dozen ladies went into the enclosure, leaving, however, the gate wide open. A table was brought out on which I took my stand. A great many Democrats, however, feeling a curiosity to hear a Republican speech, had come over from the court house, but stayed outside. Many knew me, for I had occasionally practiced in that county. All knew my politics. I opened about in this way:

"I am glad to see so many Democrats here to hear what I have to say. I have been a Democrat all my life and am yet one. I am with you on all points in the Democratic catechism and mean to stay with you, except on one, which is an entirely new one, of which you knew nothing a year or two ago. I am opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and to the reopening of the slavery agitation. You know as well as I do, that the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery in the Territory out of which Kansas and Nebraska are now formed, was a Southern measure voted for at the time by the entire Southern delegation in Congress, and considered a great concession to the South, as Missouri was admitted as a Slave State only on condition that the other territory west of it should be forever free territory. No one ever disapproved of it up to 1850, when some Southern Ultras, on the occasion of admitting California, expressed their dissatisfaction with that compromise, made thirty years before. But how did Douglas in the Senate meet their complaint? 'The Missouri Compromise,' he most emphatically and beautifully exclaimed, 'is a sacred thing, canonized in the hearts of the American people, and no ruthless hand ought to dare to disturb it.' Then, my Democratic friends, I stood by the declaration of Mr. Douglas, and heartily approved of it. But since then he has introduced a bill repealing the sacred compact, and by his almost superhuman exertions has passed it. Who has

changed, he or I? Have I, as he and his friends have charged me, become an Abolitionist, a traitor to my party?''

By this time the leading men in the crowd outside became somewhat restless. They whispered 'round and left, and many followed them; but many remained and most attentively listened to my speech, and when the Republicans cheered at the close of it very loudly and the ladies rose and waved their handkerchiefs, many of the outsiders joined in lustily. The meeting turned out very satisfactorily and Marion County polled quite a respectable Republican vote at the election, considering that it was one of the strongest Democratic counties. One thing pleased me much. In walking back to my hotel, an old Pennsylvania German, who was much respected on account of his wealth and who, I am told, had filled several county offices, came up to me, shook hands, and said: ''Landsman, you have got me this time. I have never voted for any man that was not a Democrat; but I will vote for Bissell and the other Republican folks on the State ticket anyhow.''

At another time, in Evansville, in Randolph County, close to the Monroe County line, I had to speak to another Republican meeting. A good many Irishmen from Monroe County were in the crowd, all rampant Democrats. In my speech, I of course mentioned Douglas several times, though always respectfully. A rough-looking Irishman had interrupted me several times, not by putting questions but by cursing and groaning. I mentioned the name of Douglas again, when he yelled: ''Hush up! If you talk of Mr. Douglas agin, I'll shoot your head off!'' With this he pulled a big pistol out of his coat-pocket and held it towards me. The sheriff of Randolph County, a Democrat, but a warm personal friend of mine, who had had his suspicions of the fellow and stood close by him, at once grabbed his arm and wrenched the pistol from his hand and rushed him out of the crowd pretty roughly. I went on speaking and met with no further trouble.

POLITICS AT MUD CREEK

Another, rather more humorous, scene happened in St. Clair County, when I was making a speech in the Mud Creek settlement, at the big Catholic Church of St. Libory, near the line of Washington County. All the settlers there, and there were many, were Low Dutch, mostly from the Muenster country, devoted Catholics and staunch Democrats. On week days it was almost impossible to get up a meeting there. They were most industrious people, who would not leave their hoes or their plows for the hearing of any kind of speech. So it had become the habit of candidates at election-times to drive out there on Sundays, when there were always large congregations at church. Service over, the men would resort to beer-houses, and the women would do their trading at the big store. That was the time when candidates would make their addresses. So one Sunday in October I went out accompanied by John B. Hay, the Republican candidate for State's Attorney, and old Conrad Bornman, candidate for the Legislature. We were a little late, for when we arrived there was already a meeting in progress. The Democrats had anticipated us. Don Morrison, candidate for Congress, having found out that we were going over, had sent Francis J. Grund there and some of his minions from Belleville. William R. Morrison, usually called Bill Morrison, from Monroe County, a host in himself, was also on the ground.

Of Grund I have spoken at large in my "German Element." He was a man of vast information, a popular speaker, famous in Washington City as a bright, sensational newspaper correspondent, but a real Dugald Dalgetty in politics. Douglas had enlisted him to keep the Germans straight. He had already made a speech at Belleville while I was absent, and I had never seen him before. He was an old looking, fat and sturdy person, reminding me of a jolly, well-fed Catholic friar. He stood on a wagon, and had spoken for some time. In that part of the speech which I heard, he did not say a word of the real question at issue. He eulo-

gized Douglas and the Democratic party for their love of the alien-born, for their defense of the Catholics, and for their denunciation of the Know Nothings. The Black Republicans — such was the title the Democrats gave us — were made up, he said, principally of long-faced, white-livered, hypocritical Yankees, who sold wooden nutmegs and cheated the honest farmers with lightning rods and Yankee clocks. They would not allow a man to cook meals on the Sabbath, or kiss his wife, or take a walk for pleasure. Most of the Republicans were temperance people and hated the Germans because they would drink beer even on Sundays and would sing and dance on the Lord's day. Another part of the party were rank Abolitionists, who would break up the Union, and another faction of them were Know Nothings. Surely the people around him, who were good Catholics and were fond of a glass of lager, would not vote for such a party.

Of course this was a very effective speech for that crowd, and I was forced to adopt a different, and to me unusual, line of argument, if argument it can be called, to offset his talk, which he delivered with a good deal of humor and with a sort of pleasing familiarity with the audience. In the heat of his speech he had not noticed me, or if he had, he did not know who I was. When he left the wagon, I jumped up on it. "This gentleman," I commenced, "is Francis J. Grund, a most distinguished gentleman from Washington City. He has had to travel a thousand miles to come to Mud Creek. Surely Mr. Douglas and his cause must be hard pressed to send out such a famous statesman to teach my friends on Mud Creek for whom to vote for Governor of Illinois, or for Congressman for this district, or for members of the Legislature or sheriff or constable of St. Clair County. Don't you know Colonel Bissell, don't you know John B. Hay, don't you know William C. Kinney, don't you know Conrad Bornman, don't you know Colonel Thomas, our candidate for Congress? Are they blue-bellied Yankees, long-faced hypocrites? Don't they kiss their wives every day, and don't they like lager-

beer or good whiskey as well as you do, — and yet they are all Black Republicans? I don't know what the learned gentleman has told you about the real question, about the extension of slavery, the infamous proceedings in Kansas. But let me tell you, and I regret to have it to say, that the gentleman is not a trustworthy authority. He has changed his coat so often that, if he has any principles, they sit very lightly on him. In 1836 he was a most rabid Democrat. He wrote for campaign purposes a life of Martin Van Buren, the Democratic candidate, praising Mr. Van Buren to the skies, and in the German translation made him out to be a full-blooded Dutchman, fond of raising cabbage, a friend to the foreigners, a daring opponent of all banks and of a high tariff. He exhorted the Germans to vote for him and against Harrison, who was a Federalist, a bank and tariff Whig and a Know Nothing to boot."

Grund grew pale and very restive, knowing what was coming. He interrupted me, saying that he had used no personalities against me, and he hoped that I would treat him like a gentleman. "Well," said I, "I have not thus far said anything against you. What you said of Mr. Van Buren's political principles I said myself at the time. Did you not write a campaign biography of Mr. Van Buren? Yes or No?" Of course he could not deny it. "And now" — I continued — "would you believe it, for some reason or another this distinguished gentleman in 1840 turned clear round, supported General Harrison, and to crown the whole he wrote a campaign biography in German for General Harrison, the high tariff and bank man, the Know Nothing, whom he had denounced and ridiculed in 1836, and vilified Van Buren more bitterly even than he had vilified Harrison."

By this time I had noticed that the Democratic leaders present had become much agitated. They circulated among the crowd, and all at once the owner of the wagon came with his horses and commenced hitching them on, saying that his wife wanted him to go home. I had to jump down, but

mounted again on a big log; the meeting being in a tall woods surrounding the church. The crowd followed me; but some fellows tried to roll the log, in which, however, they did not succeed. Some Democrats suggested another mode to prevent me speaking. The ground was full of dry leaves and branches and high weeds. They set these on fire, and literally smoked me and the audience out. I then took a stand on the porch of the big store, there finishing my speech. Mr. Hay also made a speech, but by that time the great mass of the people had left. Grund had left before I had jumped from the wagon, very downcast. We learned that the Democrats had arranged another meeting for him in the prairie at Brenner's store, some three or four miles from St. Libory. We expected, of course, he had gone there, and after we got through we drove supposedly after him to that store; but when we got there we learned that word had been sent from Mud Creek that Grund would not come, and the people had by the time we arrived nearly all dispersed.

This adventure got into the papers; but Mr. Grund, who had been posted for another speech in Belleville, failed to appear, having evaporated.

ACCUSED OF PURCHASING A NEGRO

Both parties made tremendous efforts to carry the State. Mass-meetings were the order of the day. Palmer and myself early addressed a meeting at Alton, right on the bank of the Mississippi River. This meeting was said to be the largest ever before held at that place. Alton on account of its many Irish inhabitants was a Democratic city, and we were frequently interrupted by Democrats, a thing which we liked exceedingly. Whoever interrupts or questions a practical debater comes generally as badly off as he who undertakes to banter a clown in a circus.

I can speak only of the meetings I witnessed myself. The Democrats got up an immense meeting at Belleville, in Fischer's Grove. But the immensity of the meeting was rather in the vast number of speakers than of hearers. Besides some

three or four eminent Missouri speakers, there were present some of the best orators from Illinois, John A. McClernand, James Allen, James Robinson, John A. Logan, Robert J. Ingersoll, Don Morrison, William H. Snyder and others not now remembered. John A. Logan was one of the most vituperative speakers. He abused Colonel Bissell so as to disgust even his party friends. He did not spare me. Neither did some of the others. But, after all, the meeting did not have much effect. There were too many speakers, and they were in one another's way. There being a half a dozen stands, the crowd was so split up that each speaker had but a small audience. Christian Kribben, of St. Louis, who spoke in German in his usual captivating style, had the biggest crowd. One of the speakers had the unfortunate idea to charge me with having myself at one time bought a negro. This forced me to explain the matter publicly, to the great annoyance of the Democrats.

In 1853 a law had been passed, introduced by Logan and strongly advocated by him, which provided, that if any person should bring into this State a person having in him one-fourth negro blood, whether free or slave, he should be indicted and upon conviction should be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars and be imprisoned in the county jail for not more than one year. It further provided, that if any such negro or mulatto, slave or free, should come into the State and remain ten days with the evident intention of residing in the same, he might be taken before any justice of the peace, and, if found guilty by the jury, should be fined fifty dollars and costs, and, if unable to pay, should be publicly sold to any one who would pay the fine and costs, which purchaser should have the right to compel the negro or mulatto to work and serve out said time. If said negro or mulatto, after he had served out his time, did not leave the State, he should be fined one hundred dollars, and for every subsequent stay in the county fifty dollars were to be added to the fine last imposed. The

informer was to receive part of the fine. This law was popularly known as Logan's Black Law.

In the fall of 1853, before there was any excitement on the slavery question, returning in my buggy from the Waterloo court and passing up Main Street, I noticed an unusually big crowd before the office of a justice of the peace. I stopped and inquired the cause of it from the bystanders. "They are selling a nigger," was the answer. I passed on a little, tied my team, and made my way through the crowd into the office. I asked the justice what it all meant. "This negro," he said, "was convicted some time ago of having been in the State ten days, and of intending to stay; he has accordingly been sent to jail, and now, upon notice, he is to be sold as the law directs. The constable is just about to cry the sale." "As long as I live in Belleville," I observed, "no man shall be sold here if I can help it. What is the bill?" "Fifty dollars fine, and seventeen dollars costs." I pulled out my purse, (gold was then circulating as freely as paper,) and paid the money down on the justice's table. There was a crowd of black people standing around, who seemed to be greatly excited, and faintly cheered me when they took the poor devil away.

The Democrats, afterwards, when they found themselves hurt by this explanation of my purchasing a negro, started the report that a subscription had been started to reimburse me; but I never heard of this, and I never received a cent back. Other Democrats charged that I had done it to get votes. But there was no election pending then, and I was not a candidate at that time, nor for several years afterwards. The black people then had no votes, but when they got them in 1868, the first thing they did was to vote against me, when I was running on the Liberal and Democratic ticket in 1872 for governor, and to vote for John A. Logan for congressman at large in 1870. When I liberated this negro, — for it did not come to a sale, — I was a Democrat in good standing. The Democrats have frequently contended that the Logan

Law had always been a dead letter; but this case shows the contrary, as does also that most infamous case against John M. Palmer, who, after returning from the war as a major-general, had brought an intelligent black boy, who had been his private servant, with him to his home in Carlinville and was actually indicted by a grand jury of Macoupin County for violation of the first section of the Black Law.

To offset this great demonstration we Republicans had a very large meeting in West's Grove. We had only two speakers from abroad, Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, and Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin. But they were a host in themselves. Both of them were men of most imposing presence, very tall and strongly built. Chandler was very cutting and amusingly sarcastic. He was not a trained speaker, but a rather original one, a little rough, but pleased his audience exceedingly. Doolittle was logical, dignified, and impressive; he had a splendid voice and a splendid delivery. Both got through in a little less than two hours. But the very large audience was so interested that they all stayed and called for more speakers. I had to bring up the rear and keep the crowd until dark.

Colonel Bissell's health was so much impaired that he could not canvass the State to any extent. He made a short but beautiful speech at the public square in Belleville, and another speech from his buggy at Waterloo in a grove. Colonel Richardson, the Douglas candidate, also came down to Belleville and addressed the people. He was a big powerful man, very uncouth in his manners, but a man of great energy and force of will, being Douglas's lieutenant in the Lower House of Congress. He had sense and fluency, but his language was anything but choice. I did not think he pleased the Belleville people much.

LINCOLN AT BELLEVILLE

Pretty early in the canvass Mr. Lincoln came down to Belleville. He stopped at John Scheel's. I took him around in the morning to many of the Republican families. Towards

evening he spoke at the place where the City Hall and Market House now are. He was even at that time not much known in that part of the State. His great reputation as an extraordinary speaker he acquired two years later in his contest for the Senate against Douglas. Still, he had a large and highly intelligent audience. A great many ladies, a novelty thus far at a political meeting in this region, had turned out, and we had provided for them long benches in front of the speaker. He spoke in an almost conversational tone, but with such earnestness and such deep feeling upon the question of the day that he struck the hearts of all his hearers. Referring to the fact that here, as well as in other places where he had spoken, he had found the Germans more enthusiastic for the cause of freedom than all other nationalities, he, almost with tears in his eyes, broke out in the words: "God bless the Dutch!" Everybody felt that he said this in the simplicity of his heart, using the familiar name of Dutch as the Americans do when amongst themselves. A smart politician would not have failed to say "Germans." But no one took offense. I had the pleasure of introducing him to the assemblage.

NOMINATED FOR CONGRESS ON THE REPUBLICAN TICKET

General Palmer had asked me quite early to be a candidate for Congress in the Belleville district. Many similar solicitations reached me when the campaign commenced. Naturally reluctant as I was to give up in a measure my professional business, upon which the existence of my family and in part that of other dear relatives of the family depended, I was also satisfied that no Republican could be elected at that time in our district. St. Clair might give a respectable majority for me. Madison and perhaps Bond might give very small ones; but in the rest of the counties the Douglas majorities would be overwhelming. The Squatter Sovereignty dodge had captured by this time even a good many Anti-Nebraska men. Monroe County alone, which was almost unanimously Anti-Republican, would overwhelm our majori-

ties in St. Clair, Madison and Bond. Besides, there was the Know Nothing party, counting thousands of voters in the district, who, if I were the candidate, would, by their oaths, have been bound to vote against me, whatever their notions might have been on the slavery question. So I declined to run, explaining my peculiar position to my friends. But there was also a State senator to be elected from Monroe and St. Clair for four years. Monroe, having had the senatorship before, did not think it prudent to nominate a Monroe man, for fear that St. Clair, by far the largest county, would take offense and from jealousy defeat any Monroe candidate. The Democrats of St. Clair nominated for the office Judge Underwood, an original Anti-Nebraska man, who had now changed parties. Knowing the Democratic strength of Monroe, no Republican candidate offered himself. It got to be very late in the canvass and so a nomination for Congress was forced upon me. It was hoped the Know Nothings would make a nomination of their own, which would give the Republicans a chance for an open fight with the Democrats. But the Democrats managed the matter by making various promises for minor offices to Know Nothings in such a way that they made no nominations. It became certain then that I could not succeed, for to beat me was their sworn duty, and they would undoubtedly vote for my opponent, though most of them disliked him as being a twisty politician.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

At last the decisive day, the first Tuesday in November, came round. Buchanan succeeded to the Presidency, receiving one hundred and seventy-two electoral votes to Frémont's one hundred and fourteen. Pennsylvania and Indiana were carried only by very small majorities by the Democrats. Had they gone the other way, Frémont would have been elected. Buchanan carried the day by a plurality only. Fillmore and Frémont combined had a majority of nearly four hundred thousand over Buchanan.

In Illinois the election resulted rather curiously. Buchanan beat Frémont about 9,000 votes, but as Fillmore received nearly 38,000, it was clear that the combined Frémont and Fillmore vote was in a very large majority over Buchanan. Colonel Bissell had a majority of nearly 5,000 over Richardson and was elected, but as Morris, the Know Nothing candidate, received in the neighborhood of 20,000, Bissell was elected by a minority, the same as Buchanan. In our Congressional district, the Congressional candidates, Thomas of St. Clair and Lansing of Bond, were beaten by a considerable majority by Don Morrison for the short term, and Robert Smith, a shrewd, wily politician, who had formerly been a member of Congress, but had been resurrected for the occasion, was elected for the long term. St. Clair County gave three hundred majority for Frémont, the only county south of a line drawn from east to west through Bloomington, McLean County, that gave him any majority at all. Fillmore got about seven hundred votes, which of course all went against me. I had a hundred more votes than Frémont in St. Clair, but Monroe County, as was expected, went some five or six hundred for Underwood. We elected, however, one member to the Legislature. Bornman, the other candidate, being a native of Germany, though he had come over quite young and had lived over forty years in the county, was beaten, the same as I, by the Know Nothings fusing with the Democrats.

How hard it was to break the force of the Democrats in Southern Illinois was shown by the fact that in about twenty of these counties Frémont did not get one hundred votes in each. In Jackson County, where Logan resided and dominated, Frémont got but five, and in an adjoining county but two votes; and one of these voters, a schoolmaster, was driven out of the county after the election. Upon the whole the Illinois Republicans were pleased. They had gained the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, John Woods of Quincy, all the State officers, and had reduced the majority of the Democrats

in the Legislature to a very small margin. This half victory was owing to the northern part of the State, which by its vote had neutralized and overcome the immense majorities given in the south and in many counties in the middle of the State for Douglas and for slavery extension.

PERSONAL

Looking back over the past five years, it occurs to me that they were the most trying and eventful since my marriage. Not to speak of the great political convulsions, which drove me into new relations, severing many most pleasant ties and causing many disagreeable frictions, in 1852 our dear Fritzchen was taken from us. In 1854 the terrible catastrophe of the loss at sea of my brother-in-law Jacob and his companions occurred, soon to be followed by the death of our beloved father Engelmann, and in 1855 we had to deplore the hardest stroke of all, the loss of our first born. Pauline, my sister, left us the year following.

During nearly all this time I suffered from an inflammation of the eyes, which at times made me almost blind and which did not leave me permanently until the year 1857. Had it not been that the sun broke sometimes through the clouds, lightening up our path, I do not see how Sophie and I could have borne all these misfortunes with the fortitude we did. But we had the sympathy of many warm friends, and the appreciation of the community we lived in. Our innermost home was the scene of perfect contentment, and the children left to us were a constant source of gladness, by their promising mental and physical development.

CHAPTER XXIX

Illinois and Germany in 1857

On the first Monday in January, 1857, the new Legislature met. But by the new Constitution the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were not installed until a week afterwards. In the Senate, thirteen Pro-Slavery Democrats had been elected and twelve Republicans. In the House the Democrats had thirty-eight, the Republicans thirty-one, and the Native Americans six members. This was owing to the unjust laying out of the election districts some years before, which were so arranged as to secure Democratic majorities. At the last election the injustice had become very manifest. For instance Cook County, with an estimated population of 150,000 people, elected but one senator under this apportionment, while St. Clair and Monroe together, with a population of only 50,000, also elected one. St. Clair with 25,000 people elected two representatives and Cook County but three. If Cook County, which was largely Republican, had had its due representation, the Legislature on that account alone would have been Republican. And this is but one instance. The north of the State had, within the last five years, increased its population in a far greater ratio than the south. The popular vote disclosed a large Republican majority on the Legislative ticket. With the help of some of the Know Nothings, the Democrats organized the House and elected the officers, amongst others a violent out-and-out Know Nothing.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATURE IN 1857

It became now a subject of great importance for Governor Bissell to prepare his inaugural message. Here was a hostile

Legislature, which would thwart nearly every measure the Governor would recommend. It would be hostile to the Republican policy. Although in reality it was a mere fiction, the opposing faction still had to be treated respectfully as representing the majority of the people. The Governor and myself spent many an hour in serious consideration. To ignore the burning questions of the day would have been pusillanimous. He had publicly denounced and voted in Congress against slavery extension, had been elected on that principle, and was bound to vindicate it. The Native Americans in the Legislature might have been reconciled by being let alone, but that would have been against his convictions, and also short-sighted policy; for what had hurt us most with the large foreign vote in the last election, was the charge that the Republican party was made up to a great extent of Know Nothings and that it would have to make that party concessions injurious to the rights of aliens. It was also deemed necessary that the Legislature should be earnestly reminded of their constitutional obligations to pass a new law districting the State according to the population of the last census of 1855. Having agreed upon those parts of the message which should vindicate the course the Republican party had taken on the slavery question and those which should declare in favor of the present liberal policy towards foreign-born citizens and against every attempt to curtail their rights, and also those which called the attention of the Legislature to the rank injustice of the existing division of the election districts, I could trust the wording of the document safely to the Governor, whose mastery of style was undisputed.

And in fact, while he wrote earnestly, yet these topics were treated in a manner which could give no offense to any reasonable opponent. But his opponents were not reasonable. Having been in power so long, having kept the North so long in political subjection, they had become raving mad in Illinois at their partial defeat and the clear conviction that the days of their power were numbered.

On the second Monday of January, Governor Bissell not being able to stand the fatigue of going to the State House and of reading his message, both Houses headed by the old officers marched to the Governor's mansion, where in their presence Judge Caton administered the oath of office to Governor Bissell. They then marched to the State House. I delivered a brief valedictory in the Senate Chamber and introduced my successor, Lieutenant-Governor Woods. In the Lower House, the message having been read by the Clerk, the usual motion was made to print 20,000 copies of the message. Thereupon John A. Logan moved to amend by making it 10,000 only, which gave him an opportunity to make a speech. After denouncing the principles of the message as to the slavery question and abusing the Republican party in the coarsest billingsgate, he attacked Governor Bissell personally, particularly for his having taken the oath of office, when it embodied, among other things, the assertion that he had never fought a duel or accepted a challenge. Now it was contended by most lawyers in the State, that inasmuch as Governor Bissell, even if he had accepted a challenge, had not done so in Illinois, he could not be punished in Illinois, and that, therefore, he had not accepted a challenge in the sense that the Illinois law forbade. But Jefferson Davis and Governor Bissell contended that while certain communications had passed between them and also between their respective friends, there had never been a technical challenge given or accepted. An impartial historian of the State of Illinois speaks of this speech of Logan's in the following manner:

"Logan followed up his motion by a speech of two days' duration, which in severity of language excelled perhaps anything that that gentleman has ever uttered. It shocked the better sense of all considerate men not wholly devoured by partisan malignity and must have deeply wounded the sensitive feelings of Bissell's high-strung nature, rendered more acute by a long entailed, enfeebling nervous disorder."

Logan was, however, so severely handled by such men as Arnold, Church, and Denio, that in spite of the help he got

from some other Democrats he came out of the combat very badly punished. The Republicans a few days afterwards held a grand jubilee meeting at the State House. I was honored with the presidency. The speaking to the crowded house was really extraordinarily good. Lincoln, N. B. Judd, Charles Denio, and many others, all excellent speakers, were at their best.

I had several cases before the Supreme Court, then in session, and Governor Bissell wished me very much to stay in Springfield during the sitting of the Legislature. Except for one or two short visits home, I therefore remained until adjournment. Beautiful Mrs. Bissell was always in delicate health, and the many calls made constantly at the Governor's house fatigued her very much, while neuralgic attacks often prevented her from receiving at all. Her step-daughters, Josephine and Rhoda Bissell, were yet too young to take her place. So she begged me to send for either Mary or Augusta, or both, to come up and to assist her in the performance of her social duties. Mary came and stayed several weeks, and it was a busy time for her. Not only had she to receive a great many calls, but was invited to make many herself. Almost every evening there was company at the house, card-playing, dancing, and musical entertainment. I, too, very much against my usual habits, spent many evenings there and tried to please people. In February, there was a great ball and supper. It was quite a good school, our Mary being introduced into a social life as refined as could be found in the State at that time.

DEATH OF CHARLES KOERNER

In May, 1857, I received the sad news of the death of brother Charles. For several years, owing to his terrible suffering from inflammatory rheumatism, he had not been able to write much. Pauline, as long as she lived, gave me all information about him. Since her death I got only a few sad letters from him. He had acted as my father in my

youthful days, and when he, by age and sickness, was disabled from pursuing any business, I tried my best to show my love and gratitude to him. His wife had died a year before. He left a daughter, his only child, an orphan, Mathilde Henriette, about sixteen years of age. A friend of mine, a banker, whom I had ordered to supply her with means, if necessary, wrote me about her. "She is a strong, healthy, very beautiful young lady, highly educated, and has made a most favorable impression upon me." But her guardians, appointed by the court, while they also spoke of her as very intelligent and accomplished, speaking both French and English, intimated that she was self-willed and very independent, refusing to enter into any connection with the families of her mother's side, who were all highly respectable and living in the easiest circumstances. As she wrote me herself afterwards, she was offended at them, because they had treated Charles coldly. In the very first letter I wrote her, I strongly advised her to join us, telling her that I could take care of her much better and more easily here than at Frankfort. Her guardians gave her the same advice; but she declined. This appeared to me unaccountable. But as she married a year or so afterwards, her refusal was most probably owing to the fact that she had already engaged herself to a Mr. Vogel. This marriage turned out very unfortunate. Her husband, Jules Vogel, a descendant of an excellent Frankfort family, was a native of Paris, where his parents resided. He had made painting his profession, had traveled in Spain and Italy sketching, had left Paris and had come to Frankfort where he had relatives. It was said that he was a very talented painter, but had lived a Bohemian artist's life at Paris, and had become very unsteady. I never saw him or Henriette. After living some time at Frankfort, he moved to Berlin, then to Dresden, then to Munich, and again to Berlin, where he died some time in 1871 or 1872. I have seen nothing from his brush, except a portrait of Henriette in colored crayon, which is indeed a highly finished production and is

now in my possession. Henriette died in 1883, leaving a son and a daughter. Before her marriage, but more particularly after she became a widow, I assisted her, and afterwards her children, to the very best of my ability, until they could take care of themselves.

LOCAL AFFAIRS

In the spring a great commercial revulsion took place, which for several years brought ruin upon the business of the country. It was principally owing to the foolish legislation which had taken place in many States multiplying banks that rested entirely upon the credit of State securities. Illinois suffered most severely, and the people now realized all the misfortunes which had been predicted when they passed the General Banking Law. Our local Belleville bank failed to redeem its notes in specie, and was placed under a receivership. Our merchants could get no accommodations. They, as all the world, had done a great deal of business on credit. One of our most intimate friends, Edward Tittmann, who had ostensibly done a very large business, fell a victim to the general crash. Assigning all his estate to his creditors, he had to start out anew in the world. He sought employment in St. Louis, but his amiable and interesting family remained for some time with their relatives. Little Emma Tittmann, of almost angelic beauty and of the loveliest character, became for a year or so one of our family, to the great joy of all of us. She and Paula were to all of us a constant source of gladness. I may here state that Sharon Tyndale, husband of Molly Hilgard, after having studied civil engineering at Cambridge, Mass., and having been engaged in building railroads in Pennsylvania, had settled in Belleville, followed his profession there, and had been elected surveyor of St. Clair County. The final removal of Edward Tittmann's family to St. Louis was very much regretted by us. The closest intimacy had bound our two families together, and the children of the one were almost looked upon as the children of the other.

THE RAILROAD JUBILEE

Quite an interesting incident happened in June, the great Railroad Jubilee, as it was called, on the completion of a direct line from Baltimore to St. Louis. The Ohio and Mississippi, terminating at Cincinnati, had formed a connection with the Baltimore and Ohio, which was just then finished. An excursion was planned. The directors of the Baltimore and Ohio road, the mayor and the members of the city council, members of the chamber of commerce, with prominent citizens from Baltimore and invited members of Congress, having left Baltimore, were joined at Cincinnati by similar representatives from Cincinnati, Louisville and Vincennes, all coming to St. Louis. The arrangement committee of this excursion had invited a great many citizens of Illinois to join the triumphal procession at Vincennes on the line of our State. I had received an invitation for myself and family. I took Mary and Augusta along, with Emma Tyndale, Sharon and Molly's daughter, of about the same age as Augusta. At O'Fallon we took the cars, which contained a reception committee from St. Louis and some other invited guests, to Vincennes. A little after noon we reached Vincennes. The excursion train had not yet arrived at that place. In the meantime we were refreshed at the depot and adjoining hotels.

In Vincennes great preparations had been made to salute the excursion party. But the train was belated. It came in sections and there could be no stopping. Our train was then attached to the second section and with extraordinary speed we got to East St. Louis about midnight. There were four of the largest and finest boats in waiting for us, in which, after a fine supper, we were accommodated for the night. But a great many of the gentlemen did not retire. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and they remained on deck and had a jolly time. We did not get much sleep. The levee of St. Louis opposite was crowded with people. Cannon were fired, rockets flew up, and bands of music played. Early in the morning the four boats steamed off for a trip down the

river. The numerous boats all along the wharf were flagged, and fired cannon when we passed. We went a little below Carondelet, then turned up stream again, bands playing on all the boats. During the trip we had a sumptuous luncheon, and by the time we landed on the St. Louis shore many of the gentlemen in our company were in the finest of humor. The mayor and other dignitaries were waiting for us. A great number of coaches had been provided for the guests, and a procession was formed. Several American military companies and a very fine company from Baltimore, which had come along, headed the procession. After the carriages came the entire fire department, numerous other associations, the German Turners and singing societies. In the rear came the German military companies, which were then quite strong in St. Louis, consisting of the Union Riflemen, the Missouri Mounted Carbineers, the Missouri Light Battery, and the Missouri Dragoons. The bands of music were very numerous. All the streets the procession passed through to the Fair Grounds were profusely decorated. The crowds upon the streets were immense. At the Fair Grounds the seats of the vast amphitheatre, already pretty well filled with St. Louis ladies, received the guests. Then the military companies went through a number of evolutions. So did the Turners. The firemen also gave exhibitions. Then the singing societies gave in German a beautiful song of welcome.

Edward Bates, whose reputation as an orator was national, and who afterwards became Attorney-General under Lincoln's administration, was the orator of the day. He spoke exceedingly well, though he could be heard only by those near him, as the presence of perhaps twenty thousand people in and out of the amphitheatre made itself felt so as to drown the voice of a speaker of even more vocal force than Bates. His speech, furthermore, was too long, occupying nearly two hours, which somewhat fatigued the audience. Everybody was glad when dinner was announced for the invited guests. Of course, there was, in spite of every effort,

a good deal of disorder, and although the bill of fare was large and choice one could hardly in the great throng do justice to the viands and to oneself. There was plenty of good Missouri wine, sparkling Catawba, but it was hard to get at it. Then came a number of toasts and speeches. Prof. O. M. Mitchell of Cincinnati, the celebrated astronomer, and later general in the Union Army, made perhaps the best and most elegant speech. Governor Reynolds, of Belleville, made one of his slap-dash harangues. We did not sit out the oratorical fireworks, but, being tired out, found our carriage and went back to the city. The great number of prominent persons from nearly every part of the United States, the large and enthusiastic assemblage on the Fair Grounds, which then appeared to great advantage, left a somewhat lasting impression on the minds of our little party.

THE SCHILLER CENTENARY

The 10th of November, 1859, was a day in the United States ever to be remembered. It was the centennial anniversary of Schiller's birth. I do not believe that even in Germany the commemoration of the day was celebrated with more warmth and enthusiasm than it was here. Not only the great centers of the German population, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, but all towns and villages containing a considerable number of Germans, from Maine to Georgia, and from Texas to Minnesota, vied with one another to do honor to the memory of their most beloved poet.

Belleville, as might have been expected, made a great effort to make the festival a success. Committees on finance, arrangement, and invitation were appointed, and a program arranged which was satisfactorily executed. The morning was ushered in by the firing of cannon, from Eimer's Hill. In the afternoon a procession was formed headed by a chief-marshal and aids. A band of music was followed by the Belleville Rifles, and two fire companies, another band of

music, and a life-sized bust of Schiller, covered with a laurel wreath, carried on a velveted platform by six pupils of the Turnverein. The Druids' Lodge, the Laborers' Mutual Assistance Society, another band, followed by the Belleville Saengerbund, and the Belleville Turnverein and their pupils, and very many citizens, closed it. After marching through the principal streets the procession entered the city park, and the large newly built and splendidly decorated theatre hall was soon filled to its utmost capacity. More than one thousand found room, but many had to stand round outside the doors and windows. The banners of the different societies and the American and German flags were planted around the bust, which had been placed on an altar in the background of the theater. After an overture, Professor Charles Rau recited most effectively Ferdinand Freiligrath's festival ode, which, upon the solicitation of the Philadelphia Schiller Committee, the poet had written expressly for the American celebration. It was a most noble production. The Saengerbund gave one of their choicest songs.

My task now commenced. I had been selected by the committee to make the German oration. It was a work of love to me. I threw my whole soul into it. I had to make the greatest effort to remain master of my own emotions. I may give a few passages, the beginning and the end, translated.

"A hundred years ago, at this hour, on the tenth of November, a Suabian mother pressed to her bosom a new-born babe in the little village of Marbach. The little one received the names Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller. His parents' means were limited; an indifferent little house was his birthplace. Father and mother, some relations and a few villagers were the only persons who took note of the birth and the first years of this child.

"And this hour of the month of November, this birth in the poorly built little house on the Neckar, is now being celebrated by millions of gratefully excited people. Wherever on this globe our language is sounded, there the Germans in unison with the highly cultured of other nations, have assem-

bled together to celebrate in the most worthy manner the memory of this hour. And this celebration, such as perhaps was never offered to the memory of a mortal, is one not commanded, one not officially initiated. It springs from the freest will, is the joyful tribute of nations vying with each other to raise the fairest wreaths on the commemorative altar of our glorified dead. And this glorified dead was neither a powerful ruler on earth, nor a brilliant world-moving statesman, neither a discoverer of new worlds, nor a conqueror in the fields of practical science. He was a plain, striving, struggling poet, battling in sorrow for his existence, until the last moment, when 'a genius turned down his torch and a kiss took the last of life from his lips'. I have been honored with the task of finding words to explain these wonderfully contrasting phenomena, to solve as well as I may this apparent enigma."

After giving my views of Schiller's genius and comparing him with Goethe, Lessing, Burger, and Burns, and showing by reference to his principal dramatic works that all bore the impress of love for humanity and of liberty of thought and action, I dwelt on his last masterpiece, William Tell. I said among other things.

"Somewhat familiar with the dramatic productions of ancient and modern times, I believe I may boldly contend that the literature of all nations cannot show a passage which can be compared in sublime beauty with that of the assemblage on the Ruetli.

"The scene where the thirty-three men from the three forest cantons join their hands to break down princely power and at the rising sun take the solemn oath:

'We will be free as our fathers were,
'Will die before we live in servitude.'

is the greatest, the noblest, the most striking passage which a poet has at any time brought to the vivid consciousness of his people."

I laid great stress on the high, noble and virtuous character of Schiller as a man, as being another strong reason of his immense popularity among all classes of people.

"The great artist," I said," found his equal in the great character of the man. Almost every great poem of his is an

emanation of himself, a confession of faith of the man. And there is nothing more sublime than what he has given us in his 'Hymn to Joy.' Living in every heart and on every tongue let me repeat it to you in its most emphatic sense as the true core and innermost essence of this noble nature:

"'Festen Muth in schweren Leiden,
Huelfe, wo die Unschuld weint!
Ewigkeit geschworenen Eiden,
Wahrheit gegen Freund und Feind,
Maennerstoltz vor Koenigthronen,
Brueder, gilt es Gut und Blut!
Dem Verdienste seine Kronen,
Untergang der Luegenbrut!'

"'Courage never by sorrow broken!
Help where tears of virtue flow!
Faith to keep each promise spoken,
Truth alike to friend and foe!
Neath kings' crowns a manly spirit,
Be it at whatever price!
Honor due to every merit,
Death to all the brood of lies!' "

— *Browning's Translation.*

"A poet," I concluded, "who has made these ideas his own and has remained true to them through life, is worth the unfading love of his nation. A people that loves and venerates such a poet, as the Germans do Schiller, cannot and will not perish. True to such a man and to such a faith, it will stand firm on the heights of humanity, like a rock in the sea, and the on-rushing Celtic waves from the West and the Slavic ones from the East will break themselves powerless on its bar."

The "Hymn to Joy" was then sung by the Gesangverein.

Judge Niles, a man of fine literary tastes and an able orator, addressed the assembly in an English speech which did great honor to his head and heart; among other brilliant sentences I select the following:

"Of the long roll of Germany's illustrious sons, Schiller lies nearest to the popular heart. By his immortal works and still more by the example of his life, he has left the noblest model of mankind. He has taught us how to live and how to

die. Heroism and self-sacrifice and devotion to the good and true; fidelity to conscience and the honest convictions of the soul; instant obedience to the command of the highest laws, — these are the lessons taught in the works and life of Schiller."

Drawing a parallel between Burns and Schiller, he remarked:

"It is especially in their character as men that the world thus unites in homage to Burns and Schiller. As poets they may have been excelled, but as men as well as poets, as patriots, philanthropists, as teachers of all virtue and nobleness, whose lessons will elevate and purify, — who shall take precedence of this German and this Scotchman?"

Speaking of Goethe's and Schiller's friendship, he said:

"Each, throughout life, took a noble pride in the fame of the other. A friendship so unselfish and disinterested, so free from every taint of envy and jealousy, and so steady and enduring, is in itself evidence of a very high excellence in both. It was a co-partnership in all useful and honorable and noble things, in the pursuit of wisdom and self-culture for the instruction of the human race."

After the conclusion of Judge Niles's speech, a young Frenchman, J. B. N. Lefèvre, rose and asked leave to recite an ode in French, written by him for the occasion. It showed poetical talent and a due appreciation of Schiller's character. It alluded to his cosmopolitan spirit and expressed the wish of the author of a brotherly union of all nations. He eulogized Luther and Robert Blum, both of whom were born on the 10th of November. The poem was delivered with great warmth and was highly applauded by the whole audience; for even those who did not understand the language, appreciated the effort made by a Frenchman to do honor to one of our great luminaries. The festival concluded with a well executed performance of the principal parts of the "Bell" by the united Saengervereins.

Perhaps in all my life I did not see an audience so completely carried away by deep feeling, so spellbound at times and so exuberant in enthusiasm, as the one which had

united on that day in our modest Belleville to do honor to the memory of the nation's favorite poet.

Regarding my Schiller speech, I cannot help but indulge in a little vanity. On the fifth of December, John B. Stallo, whose competency to judge in literary and many other matters is undisputed, amongst other things wrote me the following lines:

"Another favor; if you can yet dispose of some copies of your Schiller speech send them to me, I would like to make a present of them to some of my friends. This speech is by far the most successful amongst all the contributions to Schiller's posthumous fame, which have come to my notice. A high strain of thought without hollow phrases, is something so rare with us German epigones, that one feels really refreshed to read a performance which is something more than a mere stylistic exercise."

The time when Frederick William IV of Prussia was incapacitated from reigning any longer, and his brother William was made regent in Prussia (1857-1859), is usually designated by German historians as the beginning of a new era. The reactionary ministry was dismissed; the press was granted some more liberties; and there were indications that Prussia, and Germany with it, were about to enter on the road of constitutional progress. I think we may count the new era from the time of the Schiller festival. When the news was gathered from every nook and corner of Germany, from every part of Europe, America, Asia, Australia, and even Africa, where the German tongue was spoken, of how generally, how rapturously this anniversary had been celebrated, without any initiative on the part of the governments, astonishment was soon followed by a proud feeling of nationality and a consciousness of the spirit of unity of all German speaking peoples. In the universal canonization of the author of "Tell" and "Don Carlos," the strongest proof was afforded that the aspirations of the German people were for humanity and for liberty of thought and acts.

The most strenuous efforts heretofore made in Germany

for liberty and through liberty for union had been frustrated and put down by brute force in the interest of dynastic absolutism. Yet these very absolutist rulers, owing to their want of unity amongst themselves, had become the vassals of Russia and Austria, and were treated with contempt by nations whose power was consolidated. For nearly ten years after the suppression of the rising of the people in 1848 and 1849, Germany was politically asleep. This Schiller festival gave a new impulse to the feeling of German nationality, which has grown stronger ever since, and which, with casual interruptions, has finally accomplished the long-cherished and ardent wish of becoming again a great and powerful nation. The final conquest, it is said by royalty and by all court-flatterers, was owing to "Blood and Iron;" but material forces, to be enduringly successful, must be based on intellectual and spiritual forces. No man, however wise and energetic he may be, can raise a rich harvest from a barren field. The thousands of young men who suffered in prison or who had to leave their fatherland to struggle in exile, the bold advocates who contended in the press or in legislative bodies for the inalienable rights of men at the risk of their civil existence, the thousands who fell on the fields and on barricades, fertilized by their sweat and blood the soil on which alone could spring up the flower of a united Germany.

CHAPTER XXX

The Lincoln-Douglas Campaign of 1858

In Kansas, things had gone from bad to worse. The Legislature elected by Missourians in 1858 had never been recognized by the Free State men, whose number was daily increasing. Nevertheless, the Legislature passed a law to elect delegates to a State convention to frame a State constitution. The Free State men did not go to the polls, denying the fraudulent Legislature the right to call a convention. So the Pro-Slavery men had it all their own way.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

This Pro-Slavery convention, at Lecompton in July, 1857, by a small vote, framed an out-and-out Pro-Slavery constitution, but failed to provide for submitting it to the people for its final approbation, — all that was necessary to make Kansas a full State, and to be admitted as such by Congress.

There was never any obligation on the constitutional convention to submit its work to the people again for sanction. But this had almost universally been done, it being considered wholly un-democratic to prevent the people from passing judgment on the draft of the constitution. And in this case, where, owing to constant emigration, it had been shown by the elections held by the Free State men for the Legislature, (which Legislature had, however, been dispersed by United States troops as irregular by the order of the President,) that the Free State people were in an overwhelming majority, this failure to submit the Lecompton Constitution to the final vote of the people, was an abominable out-

rage. Nevertheless, Buchanan, who had used every means in his power to sustain the Pro-Slavery party in Kansas, and who was ever truckling to the slave power, had the effrontery in his message to Congress at the opening of its session in December, 1857, to recommend the admission of Kansas in the strongest terms.

THE DEFECTION OF DOUGLAS

And now came a surprise. Senator Douglas heretofore, under his doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, had justified all the doings of the Pro-Slavery people in Kansas, and had, in a most elaborate speech at Springfield, June, 1857, defended the famous Dred Scott decision of a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States. The negro, Dred Scott, had sued his master, Sanford, for his freedom, because Sanford had taken him into the free Territory of Minnesota, where he had resided for many years; and in this decision it was held that Scott, though born in the United States, was not a citizen of the United States, and could not, therefore, sue in a federal court. The court further held, in opposition to nearly every State court, — most Southern courts included, — that Congress had no power to legislate over Territories regarding slavery, and this decision was at once criticized by the best lawyers as erroneous, and had excited the indignation and contempt of Free Soilers all over the country. Senator Douglas now, in contradiction of the course hitherto pursued by him, turned against Buchanan and denounced him for recommending the admission of Kansas as a State under a constitution not formally sanctioned by the people. That it was a slavery constitution he did not complain about, but merely that it had not been submitted to the people for a vote.

Considering the circumstances under which this constitution had been concocted, the Republicans were opposed to it as a fraud, independently of the question of non-submission, which latter question was really non-determinative. But Douglas very shrewdly made this the main and only point of

his opposition. He carried with him, however, none of the Democrats in the Senate, although the Democratic members from Illinois and a few from the Northern States followed their idolized leader, mostly with a heavy heart, for they knew they most likely would be read out of the regular Democracy by their act. The Republicans, not caring upon what ground the Douglas men opposed the administration, hailed his coming over to them upon this important question with great joy; and the Republican party, outside of Illinois, seemed almost willing to let by-gones be by-gones and to accept Douglas as a leader into the Republican ranks. The "New York Tribune," the most influential Republican paper in the country under the control of that very able but also very erratic editor, Horace Greeley, moved heaven and earth to induce the Republicans of Illinois to elect Douglas men to the next Legislature, in order to secure Douglas's reëlection to the Senate and to fight under his banner to defeat the Pro-Slavery Democracy. This sudden turn taken by Douglas excited great comment all over the Union; and surely it was a very cunning move on his part, for it was apt to demoralize the Pro-Slavery Democracy as well as the Republican party.

ARTICLE ON THE DOUGLAS SITUATION

It was at this time, that Charles L. Bernays, then editor of the "Anzeiger des Westens" in St. Louis, whose acquaintance I had made at Highland, where he first had made his home, earnestly requested me to give him my views of the situation, which he declared he was not fully able to understand. I did so. In a rather extended article I reviewed Douglas's course. He had had, I said, ever since his first election in 1849 to the United States Senate, the Presidency in his eye. It was with a view of obtaining the nomination for the Presidency, after he had been reëlected in 1853 to the Senate, that he, forgetful of his past, had, in order to obtain the support of the South, opened the slavery agitation by repealing the Missouri Compromise. The flattering vote he

received for the nomination in 1856 at the Democratic National Convention, made him still more anxious to please the South; hence his support of all the outrages committed by the Pro-Slavery party in Kansas with the help of the administration and his defense of the Dred Scott decision, which had smashed into splinters his Popular Sovereignty humbug. But his senatorial term was now drawing to a close. The Legislature to be elected in 1858 in Illinois had to elect a Senator. The election of 1856 had shown clearly a popular majority for the Republicans. He must try to set himself right. Buchanan had recommended in his message that Kansas be admitted with the slavery constitution, although the same had not been submitted to the people's final vote. Now Douglas turns a sharp corner. The constitution ought to have been submitted to the people, — this is a violation of my Popular Sovereignty doctrine. I will denounce it and place myself with the Republicans to defeat this nefarious scheme. That will do for Illinois. The Republicans will be for me there as against the Buchanan Democracy. I will be reëlected to the Senate, and there will be time to placate the South before the election of 1860 comes off. Unless I am reëlected to the Senate, my chances for the Presidency will be forever gone. "These considerations," I remarked, "have caused Douglas's present action. It is a very ingenious scheme; but we Illinoisans know Judge Douglas too well to be taken in by it. If he will help us to defeat the regular Democracy, very well; we will not repel him; but to make him the champion of our principles because he happens in some points to agree with us, while on all others concerning the slavery question he is against us and still denounces us as Black Republicans, would be the height of self-degradation and imbecility. It would grant him absolution of the terrible sin he has committed against the peace, dignity and morality of the people. Put him into the Senate again, and in less than a year he will have made his peace with the Pro-Slavery party, and we shall have been duped.

Do not listen to the persuasive advice of outside Republicans who do not know Judge Douglas, but stand to your colors of 1856 and spurn any unholy and compromising alliance."

SUCCESS OF THE ARTICLE

This article, as will be seen, was drawn out from me, and was intended to have specific local application in Missouri, where the Republicans, in a hopeless minority in their own State, were inclined to raise Douglas on their shield to beat the Buchanan party. But the Chicago "Illinois Staatszeitung" got hold of the article, and republished it with an introduction wherein I was named as the author, though this had been mere guess-work. The "Free Press," and the "Tribune," the leading American Republican paper in Chicago and the Northwest, had it translated into English, introduced it in very flattering terms, and treated it as a sort of manifesto to the Republican party in Illinois. As the article was written immediately after the first speech of Douglas in December, 1857, and as it was the first elaborate criticism of his utterances, it created much attention, although in writing it I had not thought of anything like a declaration of war against Judge Douglas, nor had I intended to bring myself prominently before the public, having signed no name to the communication to the "Anzeiger des Westens." I was displeased that my name had been used without my authority, not because I was afraid to have been known as the author, but because I had not wished to put myself forward as an important personage, dealing in addresses and manifestos. Of course, from the "Free Press" the article went through many Republican journals, and was also noticed by the Democratic papers. It is certain, however, that my unanimous nomination to the presidency of the Republican State Convention in 1858, which was the largest convention up to that time ever held in the State, and which was composed of such delegates as Abraham Lincoln, N. B. Judd, Richard Yates, O. H. Browning, Leonard Swett, J. M. Palmer, Isaac N. Arnold and

many other distinguished leaders of the Republican party, was owing to this exposition of Douglas's course and my earnest pleading for our fighting our battle with our own men. I must admit that the article in question was quite severe and incisive, which might appear strange considering the very friendly relations which had existed between Judge Douglas and myself prior to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the high opinion I had entertained, and in fact continued to entertain, of some very excellent traits in his character. He was capable of very generous impulses, was truly kind-hearted at bottom, of indomitable pluck, and a man of superior talents. That in the campaign of 1856, he had frequently spoken of me with bitterness had not influenced me. But I was now terribly in earnest. I considered him as having let loose, in order to elevate himself, the demon of discord, which might possibly lead to the dissolution of the Union.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS OF 1858

State Conventions were held in Illinois by the Buchanan party on the 21st of April, 1858, and by the Douglas party on the same day. The first was a miserable fizzle. It denounced the Douglas men as infamous traitors and the Republicans as Black Abolitionists, and nominated at an adjourned meeting the versatile John Dougherty for State Treasurer, and old Governor Reynolds for Superintendent of Schools. These were the only State officers to be elected this year. It was, however, the election for the Legislature which was of real importance, for that Legislature was to elect a Senator in 1859.

The Douglas Convention was very largely attended and very enthusiastic in its speeches, but lamentably weak in its resolutions. While endorsing the course of Douglas, it did not nominate Douglas for the Senate, nor did it express the slightest direct disapprobation of the course of the National (Buchanan) Democracy. It was evident that it wished to avoid an open rupture with the Buchanan Democracy. This

of course was done on the advice of Douglas himself. A motion that the Convention regretted the course of the present administration in removing the friends of Douglas from the offices in the State, was promptly tabled. The Convention nominated W. B. Fondy for State Treasurer and Ex-Governor French for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN 1858

On June 15th, the Republican Convention met in Springfield. Twelve hundred delegates attended. Richard Yates was made temporary, and I permanent, chairman. It adopted in the main the Republican State platform of 1856. It disapproved of the Dred Scott decision, maintained the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories and its duty to exercise it, approved the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, which declared that property in persons was repugnant to the constitution of Illinois, and that slavery was the creature of local and municipal law. A resolution that Abraham Lincoln was the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois was adopted with the most deafening applause. James Miller, the old Republican incumbent, was nominated for State Treasurer and Newton Bateman for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

THE HOUSE-DIVIDED-AGAINST-ITSELF SPEECH

The Convention met again in the evening. Mr. Lincoln, having been requested to address the Convention, took his stand on the right hand of the President, and delivered the ever memorable speech containing the passage: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it to cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place

it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, — or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Have we no tendency to the latter condition?''

Other speakers followed him and the Convention adjourned amid the wildest enthusiasm. The contest was now on. In the well-written history of Davidson and Stuvé it is justly characterized as follows:

''The contest between these two gentlemen for a seat in the United States Senate was not only the most memorable in the annals of Illinois, but, involving great national issues at the time, assumed a scope beyond the mere personal success of a contestant, and an importance which aroused public attention from all parts of the Union. Douglas was the leading representative man of the Democracy, and Lincoln, being pitted against him, became the same for the Republican party. It was called the battle of the giants, and results grew out of it, both as relates to the men concerned and principles involved, the most momentous to the nation since its foundation was laid in the blood of the revolution.''

THE DOUGLAS-LINCOLN SPEECHES AT CHICAGO

The first speech Judge Douglas made was at Chicago. His friends had made the most ample preparations for an ovation. Notice had been given for weeks, half-price excursion trains carried large numbers from the country into town. Bands of music and torch-light processions, brought large masses to the front of the Tremont House, from the balcony of which he addressed the crowd. Bengal fires illuminated the scene, and when he appeared he was greeted with tumultuous cheers. He was fighting for his political life. His massive form supported his ample head, covered with a thick growth of black hair. His deep-set, dark blue eyes shed their lustre under his heavy brows. The features of his firm, round face were wonderfully expressive of the working of his feelings. Calm in stating facts, passionate when he attacked, disdainful when he was forced to defend, his gestures were

sometimes violent, and often exceptionally so. His voice was strong, but not modulated. Bold in his assertions, maledictory in his attacks, impressive in language, not caring to persuade, but intent to force the assent of his hearers, he was the Danton, not the Mirabeau, of oratory.

He was certainly at the time the most practical and formidable debater amongst our public men. His Chicago speech was considered one of his best. Yet here, as elsewhere, one could easily see that he was terribly handicapped by his overwhelming desire to reach the Presidency. While the regular Democracy, the National Democrats as they called themselves, were denouncing him in their presses and on the stump in the bitterest terms, branding him as a Benedict Arnold, a Judas Iscariot, he did not dare to tread heavily on Buchanan's toes. He was most mild-mannered when referring to his disagreement with the administration. It was evident that he wished to leave the door open for reconciliation before the next Presidential election should come off. But all the malice he harbored in his breast against the administration yet did not venture to let out, he infused into his maledictions against the Republicans. He poured the vials of his wrath on our devoted heads denouncing us as Black Republicans, Abolitionists, Disunionists, and Amalgamationists of the two races.

Lincoln, who happened to be in the city, sat quietly on the same balcony. After Douglas got through, he was loudly called for. He rose, and stated that this ovation was gotten up for his friend Judge Douglas, but that if the good people of Chicago would listen to him, he would speak to them to-morrow evening at the same time and place. Without time for parade or showy demonstration the throng that listened to Lincoln next evening, as might have been expected from the political complexion of the city, was larger and really more enthusiastic than the one of the night before.

No greater contrast could be imagined than the one between Lincoln and Douglas. The latter was really a very

little giant physically, measuring five feet and nothing, while Lincoln, when standing erect, towered to six feet three inches. Lincoln, awkward in his posture and leaning a little forward, stood calm and collected, addressing his hearers in a somewhat familiar, yet very earnest, way, with a clear, distinct, and far-reaching voice, generally well modulated, but sometimes rather shrill. When unmoved, his features seemed overshadowed by an expression of sadness, though at times he could assume a most humorous, and even comical, look; but, when aroused, he appeared like a prophet of old. Neither he nor Douglas indulged in rhetoric; both were mainly argumentative. But while Douglas, powerful as was his speech, never showed anything like genius, there came from Lincoln occasionally flashes of genius and burning words, revelations as it were from the unknown, that will live as long as the English language lives. Lincoln was deeply read in the Bible and Shakespeare. He did not quote from them, but his style showed plainly his close intimacy with the Scriptures and the great bard. Douglas was eminently talented; Lincoln was original. But what made Lincoln vastly more effective in this contest was that even the most obtuse hearer could see at once that Douglas spoke for himself, and Lincoln for his cause.

AT SPRINGFIELD AND BLOOMINGTON

The day after Lincoln's speech, July 15th, both went down on the train to Springfield, — Lincoln as a quiet passenger, Douglas as a sort of triumphator. He had a special car, had a secretary and a reporter, and a number of devoted friends with him. A band of music accompanied him, and on an attached platform car a gun was planted, which was fired off to announce his arrival at every station. His car was decorated with flags and emblems. Preparations had been made at every station to receive him with music and the booming of cannon. The station platforms were crowded with men, women and children.

At Bloomington, where an appointment had been made for Douglas to speak, processions, salutes of cannon, fireworks, an immense crowd, — everything, in fact, — had been made ready to glorify the idol of the Illinois Democracy. Lincoln listened quietly. At Springfield Douglas met with a similar reception, and he spoke in the afternoon at Edward's Grove for three hours. His friends pronounced it the best speech of his campaign. But now came Lincoln's turn. He spoke in Springfield at night. His speech was not only a masterpiece of argument, but so full of splendid humor that it kept the audience in roars of laughter. Amongst other most taking remarks the following elicited the greatest applause:

"I am at a disadvantage. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party have been looking to him as certainly at no very distant day to be President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargé-ships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing at this attractive picture so long they cannot in the little distraction that has taken place in the party bring themselves to quite give up the charming hope, but with greediness anxiously they rush about him, sustain him, give him marches, triumphant entries and receptions, beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out."

CANVASS OF THE STATE

Lincoln now had measured swords, and in spite of his innate modesty was sagacious enough to see that he was Douglas's match in every respect. He proposed to canvass the State jointly, dividing the time between them. Douglas alleging that his friends had already made appointments for him, which he could not recall and which occupied nearly all his time, consented, however, to seven joint debates at Ottawa,

Freeport, Quincy, Galesburg, Jonesborough, Charleston and Alton. Those joint meetings drew immense crowds. Douglas, impetuous, denunciatory, frequently lost his temper, made unguarded statements of facts which he had to take back, but magnetized the big crowd by his audacity and supreme self-confidence. Lincoln impressed his audiences by his almost too extreme fairness, his always pure and elevated language, and his appeals to their higher nature. Douglas, on the contrary, roused the existing strong prejudices against the negro race to the highest pitch, and not unfrequently resorted to demagogism unworthy of his own great reputation as a statesman.

COUNTER-QUESTIONS AND THE FREEPORT DOCTRINE

So well were the Republicans pleased with the results of these memorable debates that they had them published in book form and used them with great effect in the Presidential canvass of 1860. Douglas at Ottawa had propounded to Lincoln a series of questions which Lincoln promised to answer at the next debate at Freeport.

The questions Douglas put, showed very little sagacity; for Lincoln could answer them all in a few words truthfully and satisfactorily, without in the least departing from the Republican platform. But Lincoln on his part put to Douglas questions at Freeport which Douglas inconsiderately undertook to answer on the spot and which sealed his doom for the Presidency forever.

The second question of Lincoln was: "Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a State constitution?" Now the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that negroes were property and that under the Constitution of the United States a citizen might take his property into any Territory, and that neither Congress nor any Territorial Legislature had a right to exclude slavery. It was manifest that this new-fangled doctrine was utterly destructive of Douglas's

Squatter Sovereignty principle. Yet Douglas had approved of the decision and had taxed all his ingenuity to show that he was guilty of no inconsistency. This direct question put him in a dilemma. He was addressing an immense Northern audience, made up mostly of Republicans, a good many of whom were undecided whether they should not after all make Douglas the champion of Free Kansas, and in part of Democrats, whose inclinations were much against slavery in general, and who had to be kept in the ranks of Douglas by not having their views on slavery extension too much violated. He framed his answer to this question, as he thought, very adroitly. It was in comparison to Lincoln's answers, which covered only a few lines, rather long and somewhat obscure.

"It matters not," his answer was, "what way the Supreme Court may afterwards decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. These police regulations can only be established by the local Legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will, by *unfriendly legislation*, effectually prevent the introduction of it in their midst. If on the contrary they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the rights of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill."

Douglas assumed in his answer that the Supreme Court had not yet decided the abstract question, while it had done so most decidedly. This assumption was so unfounded that it was easily exposed. But it was his assertion that the people in the Territory could annihilate the right of every citizen to hold slaves in that Territory, by indirection, by unfriendly legislation, which made him an impossible Democratic candidate in 1860. Lincoln, before Douglas's answer came in, said to a friend: "If he sticks to the Dred Scott decision, he may

lose the Senatorship; if he tries to get around it, he certainly loses the Presidency." Lincoln, who was a master in discovering his adversary's weak points and in tersely presenting them in a clear light, defined in his subsequent speeches Douglas's position in this wise: "A thing may be lawfully driven away from a place, where it has a lawful right to go." From this time on the Southern Democracy denounced Douglas as "paltering in a double sense," and as having shown the "cloven foot." His answers helped him in the Senatorial contest, but destroyed all hopes of his ever receiving the Democratic nomination for President.

COMPARISONS

Douglas continued his canvass over the State in the same royal style in which he had commenced it in his appointments at Springfield and Bloomington. Large sums were sent into Illinois by his outside friends, and he himself raised, it was said, fifty thousand dollars, by mortgaging his real estate. Lincoln, now and then with a few friends, traveled as an ordinary passenger, though of course he met with enthusiastic demonstrations wherever he spoke. At the end of the canvass, when a friend asked him how much the campaign had cost him, he answered: "He was afraid that he had not spent less than five hundred dollars." Both candidates spoke almost every day from the 10th of July to the day of election. The highly excited elections in 1840 and 1856 bore no comparison with the political tempest which raged this year all over the Prairie State.

In the joint discussions, Douglas restrained himself somewhat from making aggressive and personally offensive remarks. But on other occasions he was most bitter and denunciatory. Trumbull, who had been, as I predicted, when he was first elected, a thorn in Douglas's side, came in for a large share of undignified abuse; and where there were large German crowds, I, too, did not escape his maledictions.

One great attraction in his canvass was his beautiful wife.

He had married some years before the "Belle of Washington." She accompanied him, held receptions, largely attended of course by the ladies of the places where he spoke, and not less by crowds of admiring gentlemen. This was rather a new and interesting feature in the show. It was said and believed that Mr. Charles L. Bernays, then the editor of the St. Louis "Anzeiger" and a strong Republican, upon having had the honor of being introduced to Mrs. Douglas at Belleville, was at once taken captive by the bewitching charms of the lady Senator and was turned into an effusive admirer of Mr. Douglas. The "Anzeiger" thenceforth advocated Douglas's election.

THE BELLEVILLE MEETING

Of course Judge Douglas did not leave Belleville unvisited. He made the same pompous entry, accompanied by his wife, and addressed the people at Eimer's Hill. The town was crowded with people; but there was a remarkable lack of enthusiasm. The procession would have been a flat failure, had it not been for some five hundred Douglas men, who, with badges and banners, came over from St. Louis. And while curiosity brought very many people to the speaker's stand, it was at once apparent that all the shouting and cheering was done by the St. Louis folks. This had a depressing influence even on Judge Douglas, and there was considerable disappointment amongst his friends. A Republican mass meeting, addressed by Senator Trumbull and local speakers, was, if not as large as the Douglas meeting, far more spirited and exultant.

JOINT DEBATE AT ALTON

I attended only the last joint meeting, shortly before the election, at Alton. I arrived there in the morning, and found Lincoln in the hotel sitting-room. He at once said: "Let us go up and see Mary." I had not seen Mrs. Lincoln, that I recollected, since meeting her at the Lexington parties, when she was Miss Todd. "Now, tell Mary what you think of

our chances! She is rather dispirited." I was certain, I said, of our carrying the State and tolerably certain of our carrying the Legislature. St. Clair was perfectly safe. The outlook in Madison was good. We had just then been reading the St. Louis morning papers, where it was announced that more than a thousand Douglas men had chartered a boat to attend the Alton meeting, and that they represented the Free Soil party in Missouri and were enthusiastic for Douglas's election. We discussed fully the singular position that party had taken under the lead of Frank Blair, who had been the great champion of the cause of our party in Missouri, ever since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I found Lincoln a little despondent. He had come quietly down from Springfield with his wife that morning, unobserved, and it was not until an hour or so that his friends were made aware of his arrival. He was soon surrounded by a crowd of Republicans; but there was no parade or fuss, while Douglas, about noon, made his pompous entry, and soon afterwards the boat from St. Louis landed at the wharf, heralded by the firing of guns and the strains of martial music.

The speaking commenced at two o'clock. The stand was on the public square. It was occupied by the speakers and by the Lincoln and Douglas Reception Committees of Alton. Mr. Lincoln took me with him on the platform. Here I met, for the first time since 1856, Judge Douglas, who in his genial manner shook hands with me, apparently quite cordially. But I was really shocked at the condition he was in. His face was bronzed, which was natural enough, but it was also bloated, and his looks were haggard, and his voice almost extinct. In conversation he merely whispered. In addressing his audience he made himself understood only by an immense strain, and then only to a very small circle immediately near him. He had the opening and conclusion. His speech, however, was as good as any he had delivered. Lincoln, although sun-burnt, was as fresh as if he had just entered the campaign, and as cool and collected as ever. Without any appar-

ent effort he stated his propositions clearly and tersely, and his whole speech was weighted with noble and deep thoughts. There were no appeals to passion and prejudice.

The Alton speech contained, by general admission, some of the finest passages of all the speeches he ever made. When Douglas's opening speech had been made, he was vociferously cheered. When, after Lincoln's speech, which made a powerful impression, Douglas made his reply, there was hardly any applause when he closed.

RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN

I need not say that I was in the midst of this fight. I believe I spoke in every large city in the State, usually twice a day, and, towards the last, in every election precinct of St. Clair County. As to the Senatorial election, which depended on getting a majority in the Legislature, I was not so sanguine as most men of our party. The last Democratic Legislature had prevented a new districting of the State. The old apportionment had become unjust in the highest degree. A careful computation showed the remarkable result, that by the gerrymandering of the State seven hundred Democratic votes were equal to one thousand Republican votes. The split in the Democratic party amounted to but little. It rather helped Douglas, for his friends made him pose now as the martyr of his noble battle against the administration, which sought to admit Kansas as a Slave State under the fraudulent Lecompton Constitution; and inasmuch as a large part of the Republicans in other States were incessant in their efforts to make us in Illinois take up Douglas as the leader in this righteous cause, it made us lose a good many Republicans and made others lukewarm in their opposition to Douglas. We had, as it were, to fight our cause in our own State single-handed, without support from the outside.

Although John Scheel was prevented from returning to Belleville previous to the election, we still kept him in the field as a candidate for the Legislature. We elected, not only

him, but also Colonel Jarrot to the Legislature, and gave a large majority for the two Republican candidates for State offices and for a Republican Congressman; we also elected the entire county ticket. As in 1856, St. Clair in the south had proved itself the banner Republican county. But we lost the Legislature by about eight votes, which involved the defeat of Lincoln for the Senate. The popular Republican majority over Douglas was five thousand. The Buchanan candidates got no votes worth mentioning. That under all opposing circumstances Douglas succeeded, was proof of his immense power of personal attraction, which fascinated and infatuated such a large part of the people, and blinded them to his almost criminal efforts to reach the dazzling prize of the Presidency.

PERSONAL AND LOCAL

John Scheel and his family, with our Mary, had spent quite a pleasant and interesting time in Europe. After visiting London and Paris, they stayed mostly with their many relations, the Hilgards and the Engelmanns, in Rhenish Bavaria and Prussia.

I must not fail to mention that while the year before we had a great Saenger Festival at Belleville, in which Singers' Unions from St. Louis, Peoria, Highland, and other places participated, and which was extraordinarily successful, this year we had an equally fine festival of the Northwestern Turnerbund, lasting several days. Some eight hundred Turners marched in procession with their rifle and musical sections. Frederick Hecker made the festival speech, eliciting the greatest applause, particularly by the passages in which he with his usual caustic wit fired broadsides into Douglas's Squatter Sovereignty. The second evening of the festival was devoted to what was called intellectual gymnastics (Geistiges Turnen). Members read essays and recited poetry. Our Gustave belonged to the Turner pupils. His essay in that class, on Goethe's works, took the first prize, and he also received the first prize in recitation (Geibel's poems).

The burning of the Hamburg steamer Austria, in September, on the open sea, with a loss of nearly six hundred lives, spread a deep gloom over the country, and made us, for a while at least, forget the political life and death-struggle in which almost our entire population was engaged.

DEATH OF WILLIAM C. KINNEY

In the fall of this year (1858) William C. Kinney died at Belleville. He was a man of excellent mind. He was ambitious, but lacked the perseverance and self-confidence to be politically successful. He mistrusted his own powers and was inclined to look generally on the dark side of things. The loss of his wife, a daughter of Senator Kane, an intellectual and energetic lady, upon whom he used to lean in his frequent fits of despondency, a little more than a year before his own death, affected him deeply. He had also suffered from severe attacks of sickness some time before his last disease came on him. He left three daughters, who after their father's death remained with Mrs. Bissell, their aunt at Springfield, until some time in 1862, when they returned to Belleville with Mrs. Bissell, who died there some time afterwards. Louise married Gen. George W. Smith of Chicago; Felicité, our son Gustave; Lily remained single.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Nomination of Lincoln for the Presidency

The year 1859 was comparatively a quiet one. The Schiller Festival I have already touched upon by anticipation. The Legislature met early in January. I had business at the Supreme Court, and, at the instance of Governor Bissell, I took Mary along to stay at the Governor's house to assist Mrs. Bissell. As usual, I kept up a correspondence with the "Belleviller Zeitung," reporting the doings of the Legislature. At first their proceedings went along quite smoothly. Though the Governor in his message called attention to the Kansas troubles, and again condemned the outrages committed there by the Pro-Slavery party, the Democrats seemed to take no offense, and, indeed, though in a majority, they were by no means equal in talent and in parliamentary tactics to the Republicans.

WILLIAM R. MORRISON

William R. Morrison had been elected speaker. He was a native of Illinois, the son of John Morrison of Monroe County, who was an illegitimate son of William Morrison of Kaskaskia. John had, however, been recognized by his father, and was treated by all the family as one of them. John had a farm at the south end of Prairie du Long near Horse Creek, but, the farm being on rather indifferent land, he had opened a country-store a mile or so north of it, and accumulated some property. He was a very shrewd man, fond of politics and of office, and had been elected to various county offices. He finally removed to Waterloo and became a very active politician.

Bill Morrison, as our subject was usually called, even when holding high offices, had worked on the farm, had attended the common schools, and, after his father moved to Waterloo, was for a term or two sent to McKendree College. In 1846 on the outbreak of the Mexican war he entered Bissell's regiment as a volunteer when about twenty years of age, first as a private, being afterward promoted to orderly-sergeant. Soon after his return the gold-fever seized him. He traveled across the plains to California, worked placer-mines, gathered some gold dust, and returned to Panama. Soon after, he was elected clerk of the circuit court, — when I first saw him. In 1852 he was a member of the Convention which nominated me for Lieutenant-Governor. He had shown great attachment for me. On returning from that Convention, going down on a steamboat to St. Louis, I for the first time became better acquainted with him and his really very interesting character. He had been reading law while clerk, and had begun practicing about that time. Being very popular, he had had a good many cases, and in almost all of them he called upon me for assistance. In fact, some time in 1853, we formed a regular partnership in his county, and had for a number of years quite a large practice there. He was a most valuable partner; for he always made himself familiar with all the facts of a case. He did not always know all that his witnesses would prove, but always found out what the testimony on the other side would be. He was by nature a master in judging men. In the selection of jurors he never made a mistake. He was not a fluent speaker; in fact, he was very reluctant to make a speech at all. I could hardly get him to make the first statement of a case. When he did, it was always terse and cautious. In later years he often would tell his friends that I encouraged him to speak by advising him that they were a set of fools and he was the only wise one. If he did that, he could get along. I may have said something to this effect, though not in the precise words for which he made me responsible when telling this anecdote.

Morrison had one of the clearest heads I ever met, and, what is still more to his credit, he was one of the most truthful and trustworthy men. He always said what he meant, sometimes too bluntly, though in a way never offensive to his enemies. As he was positive in his opinions, he had, of course, political and personal enemies, though perhaps less than any man of a like frank, manly and decided character. He was respected very much by his political opponents. Let me give an instance. When, in 1865 or 1866, I was in Washington and on the floor of the House of Representatives, Washburne introduced me to Thaddeus Stevens, the most radical Republican of the times. He took a seat at my side, and we had quite a chat. Amongst other things he said: "Bill Morrison, I believe, is a member from your district?" "Yes," I said, "and I am sorry for it." Morrison by a small majority had been elected as a Democrat, and I was then a consistent Republican. "O, don't say so," said Stevens, "he is a Democrat, to be sure; but he is one of the best men in our house. That man's word can always be relied upon. He never deceives you, and he has a very long head, too."

His popularity was very great amongst the Americans, the Irish and particularly the Germans. He entered into the national traits of the Germans better than most American politicians. Very temperate himself, he was yet pleased to see them enjoy themselves at their wine or beer. He was familiar with everybody, without in the least seeking to be so. Flattery was unknown to him. Ambitious he was, and as a politician very far-sighted. He was four times a member of the Legislature, and one time its Speaker. He was elected to Congress five times, always as a Democrat, sometimes even in a Republican district. Repeatedly Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the most important place after the Speaker's in Congress, he was looked upon as the leader of his party, not so much in the House itself as a debater, (for he never overcame his reluctance to public speaking,) but in the party councils. Of course, he was often bound to speak,

particularly when he was a candidate before the people, and when he did speak, he always spoke excellent common sense, sometimes mixed with very witty and humorous remarks.

In 1854 we differed politically; but this difference had no effect upon our personal intercourse. We remained friends, though, of course, after we came together again in 1872, our relations became still closer, and particularly through the very warm friendship that sprang up between him and my son.

Toward the end of the session, upon special invitation, Augusta also came up to Springfield. It was a very gay time; numerous parties were given; and there was a ball at the Governor's house. I think the several stays at Springfield, at the Governor's house, where they met the best society, and at Mrs. Bissell's, who herself was most amiable and refined, was not only very agreeable to Mary and Augusta, but taught them to move at ease in larger circles than those at their home.

THE GERMAN REPUBLICANS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS AMENDMENT

There was no general election in our State this year; but the municipal and county elections in Illinois, as also the general elections in most of the Northern States, were very favorable to the Republican cause. Some considerable trouble, however, arose from the passage of an amendment to the Massachusetts Constitution, providing that naturalized citizens should not be allowed to vote or hold office until two years after the date of their naturalization. As the Republicans were supposed to have a majority in that State, (which was hardly true, as the American party was tolerably strong there, and, besides, it was not certain but that many Democrats might have voted for the amendment,) the Democrats charged this unfriendly legislation against citizens of foreign birth upon the whole Republican party. Particularly the German element became much excited. The more radical German

Republican press advised the German Republicans to punish the Republican party by voting at the next election for the Democrats. Other German papers proposed to hold a general German convention of German Republicans for the purpose of agreeing upon what course they should take in this emergency. In Cincinnati several societies, some of a socialistic and communistic character, under the lead of the well-known August Willich, who was one of the military commanders in the Palatinate and the Baden Revolution of 1849 and who became later a distinguished general in the Union Army, had held a meeting, and had passed a resolution requesting some so-called prominent Germans to issue a manifesto declaring the principles of the German Republicans, and protesting particularly against discrimination between native and naturalized citizens. It appeared from the proceedings of the meeting, and from the editorials of the "Cincinnati Republican," the editor of which was Colonel Willich, that the idea was to call upon Republicans as well as Democrats, to leave their old parties and to form a new party upon the basis of general humanity, social reform and political morality. The Germans invited to frame this manifesto were John B. Stallo, Carl Schurz, Frederick Hecker, Adolph Douai of Boston, Rusch of Iowa, Anneke of Chicago, Frederick Kapp of New York, and myself.

All these various proposals to protest against the action of the State of Massachusetts appeared to me to be inadvisable. The Republican National platform adopted in Philadelphia had expressly declared itself against any inequality of rights between native and naturalized citizens. The American Republican press had almost unanimously condemned the Massachusetts amendment. N. B. Judd, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, had in the name of that committee published a strongly condemnatory letter. Mr. Lincoln had in a communication to the German paper at Springfield repudiated it most explicitly. In answer to the letter from the Cincinnati meeting, I declared my inability to draft

such a manifesto as was desired without a conference with the other gentlemen. As Mr. Stallo, however, was one of that number and resided in Cincinnati, I suggested that he should prepare the draft of an address, submitting it to the Cincinnati associations in the first place and then to his colleagues.

Douai thought that he could not undertake to represent the Germans, unless authorized by a general German organization, which he thought inadvisable. Schurz thought that without a previous conference and full understanding with his colleagues he could not undertake to act. Kapp thought the time was not appropriate, and advised his countrymen to wait until the different Republican State Conventions, shortly to be held, should have had an opportunity to express their views on this important question. Stallo wrote that most of his colleagues were better qualified to prepare such a manifesto, and that he would join them willingly, if such a demonstration should be found necessary after the State Conventions had made their declarations of principles. I am not aware that the other gentlemen ever replied to the request. At least, I did not hear of it.

The great indignation felt by the Germans, and expressed in the entire German press with more or less vivacity, concerning this Know Nothing movement in Massachusetts, had, however, an excellent effect. Commencing with Ohio, in all the Northern States, the Republican State Conventions most strongly expressed themselves against the spirit of the amendment, taking thereby the wind out of the sails of the Democrats, who had attempted to make immense capital out of the action of the Massachusetts people. But still, up to the very day of the election, the Democratic papers harped lustily upon the Know-nothingism of the Republican party.

JOHN BROWN, AND THE HARPER'S FERRY RAID

Another untoward event affecting the fortunes of the Republican party happened in October. John Brown, a New Englander, had with his four sons gone to Kansas, and was

one of the foremost leaders in resisting the Missouri Border Ruffians by force. Occasionally he went into Missouri liberating slaves. He left Kansas in the summer of 1859, visiting several of the Northern States, and planning the liberation of slaves on a large scale. He with some of his Kansas associates took up his abode near Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and one Sunday night, with two of his sons and some fifteen others, some of them negroes, attacked and took possession of the United States Arsenal at the Ferry, "in the name of Almighty God." He and his friends then went out into the country, set free some slaves on neighboring estates, made some white men prisoners as hostages, and then resolved to take to the mountains, hoping that a general insurrection amongst the slaves would take place. But, before he could execute this plan, some United States marines from Washington and some Virginia militia arrived. He retired to the engine-house at Harper's Ferry, and barricaded himself. But the soldiers burst the doors open, and a fight ensued in which eight of his men were killed and three, amongst them two of his sons, were mortally wounded; the others, mostly negroes, were captured. Brown himself, severely wounded, was also captured. During the fight several people of Harper's Ferry were killed by Brown and his men.

Brown and some of his associates were indicted for murder and high treason; were defended by able counsel; but, of course, were convicted by a jury and hanged, some in December, some a month or two later. There was tremendous excitement all over the country at the outbreak, and this totally insane attempt at an insurrection was charged upon the Republicans as being at least its intellectual promoters. Brown really belonged to no party. He stated at his trial that he acted "on John Brown's account," "that slavery was forbidden by God, and he was only obeying God's commands in trying to crush it." There is no doubt that he was a monomaniac, insane on this one point; but he forbade his counsel to defend him on the plea of insanity.

The Republican press universally condemned the act; but some of its organs rather eulogized the man and his stoical bearing at the trial, which, by the way, some of the Southern journals also did. Some of the German radical press went so far as to exalt, not only the man, but the act itself. Our friends became very much alarmed. Trumbull wrote me a most anxious letter about it. It was in every way a most unfortunate affair, not so much that it did harm to the Republican party, but that it was used not long after as a reason to justify secession. If such things could happen, it was said, while the Democrats were in power, they surely would occur with far more chance of success, when the Government would fall into the hands of Black Republicans.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN WAR

The outbreak of the Franco-Italian war against Austria had diverted a great deal of attention from home affairs. While there was a general sympathy with Sardinia to shake off the Austrian yoke, yet the alliance with Louis Napoleon was considered very ominous, particularly among the Germans, who hated the destroyer of the French Republic. The feeling was very much divided. I myself did not know if I could rejoice at the French success, or regret the Austrian defeats.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Toward the end of 1859 the question of Presidential candidates began to be mooted. The Northern Democracy appeared to be almost unanimous for Douglas. He had also very numerous adherents in Kentucky, Missouri, and Louisiana. But the South generally, although not united as yet on a candidate of their own, either maintained an ominous silence or in some regions repudiated Douglas outright.

Of Republican candidates there was no lack. Seward, however, seemed to be the choice of most of the Northern and Northwestern States. In point of ability he certainly had no superior. He was a man of long political experience, had

been a power in his own State, whose governor he had been, and was the acknowledged leader of the Republican party in Congress. Seward was a man, not only of considerable general information, but of much thought, a subtle reasoner, a skilful debater, and at times a great orator. He was of a social and rather jovial disposition, fond of good living, and in conversation often bluntly original. Radical in theory, he was conservative in action, and in this particular misunderstood by both parties. He showed much aptitude in diplomacy, and was not at all inferior to other diplomats in duplicity. Often he finessed, as it may be called, too much; not considering that even second-rate foreign ministers would at once see through his fine-spun arguments and discover that he was trying to dupe them. Compared with the despatches of European diplomatists, his were too diffuse and were considered more as philosophical essays than as sober state papers. Seward had just returned from a tour through Europe and parts of Asia, and had been shown great attention by leading statesmen and otherwise distinguished persons. The German element was particularly enthusiastic for Seward.

Senator Chase of Ohio was at least equal to Seward, as far as natural genius was concerned. He was perhaps a more logical reasoner than Seward, and a greater lawyer. He was radical in action as well as in thought. The great State of Ohio was for him, and he had friends in almost every other State. Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania was brought forward by his own State, but did not find much support anywhere else. Edward Bates was the choice of Missouri, and, strange to say, was most strongly supported by the Germans, who were really almost the only Republicans in the State. Being an old-line conservative Whig, and having presided over the Whig Fillmore Convention in 1856, which endorsed, not the platform, but Fillmore, the nominee of the Native American Convention, he had very many friends amongst the Republicans or People's party, as it was called in Pennsyl-

vania, and was considered very strong in Indiana. Since 1856 Bates had joined the Republican party in a measure. He was an upright man, a prominent lawyer, a most eloquent orator, but by no means qualified to be the leader of such a party as the young Republican party then was.

Upon consultation with some of the members of the Republican State Central Committee and other leading Republicans, it was agreed that the best policy for the party in our State was to keep Lincoln in the background for the present, or at least not to push his claims to any extent. The friends of Seward, Bates, Cameron, and Chase, would fight against each other, and necessarily damage the candidates they upheld. Lincoln, being out of the struggle in a measure, would be let alone, and, when brought forward at the proper time, would meet with no embittered enemies. Illinois, however, made quietly a strong point. When the National Central Committee met in New York, N. B. Judd, one of the members, succeeded in getting Chicago selected as the place for the National Presidential Convention. Seward's friends pleaded strongly for some city in New York; Chase's, for Cleveland or Columbus, Ohio; Bates's, for St. Louis. As Lincoln was not considered a candidate in the first instance, but only as a possible one in case of a failure to select one of the more prominent candidates, Chicago was considered as a sort of neutral ground, and, therefore, after a long combat, carried the day. I am pretty certain that, had the Convention been held at any other place, Lincoln would not have been nominated.

DEATH OF GOVERNOR BISSELL

On the 18th of March, 1860, Governor Bissell died after a short sickness, of pneumonia, in his forty-ninth year of age, before the expiration of his term. In him Illinois lost one of its ablest, most honorable and eloquent sons, and I one of my very best friends. It was not granted him to see the cause victorious for which he had so nobly fought. I had been with

him in January and February, had early in March hastened to his sick-bed, but had to leave it before he breathed his last.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS

The Douglas Democrats held their State Convention early in January. It was a very dull one. Everyone seemed afraid to say anything offensive against the regular Democracy. Charleston, at that time not easy of access, had most strangely and ominously been selected for the meeting of the Democratic National Committee. The delegates appointed by the State Convention of Illinois were not only stout Douglas men, but were also very much in favor of slavery as a principle. In their resolutions, after recommending Douglas as a candidate, they ignored the Dred Scot decision, or rather misrepresented it as an indorsement of the Squatter Sovereignity doctrine, while, at the same time, they pledged the Illinois Democracy to support any candidate nominated at Charleston. Some four or five counties were not represented at all, and the Convention contained not one-half as many members as the Republican State Convention of the previous year. Somewhat later the regular Democracy held a State Convention, and, after denouncing Douglas and his party, also appointed delegates to the Charleston Convention. As a curiosity, I may mention that the Buchanan delegates for Charleston from the Belleville Congressional District were John Reynolds, the most prominent Pro-Slavery man in the State, and James Hughes, Buchanan's postmaster in Belleville.

At the April Convention in Charleston a proposition adopting outright the Cincinnati platform of 1856 was voted down. It was denounced on the floor of the Convention by Southern delegates as a swindle, and as double-faced, being interpreted in the North differently from what it was in the South. Another resolution, endorsing distinctly the Dred Scott decision and knocking Popular Sovereignty in the head,

was also voted down; and, finally, the Cincinnati platform was adopted with the following qualifications:

"Inasmuch as there are differences of opinion in the Democratic party as to the power of a Territorial Legislature and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution over the institution of slavery in the Territories, the Democratic party will abide by the decrees of the Supreme Court on questions of Constitutional Law."

Thereupon the delegates of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, South Carolina, Florida and Arkansas, withdrew. Balloting for nominations commenced. Douglas got a large majority after these States left the Convention, but not, as had been the rule in all Democratic National Conventions since 1844, a two-thirds vote. After innumerable ballotings, the Convention adjourned without making a nomination, to meet again at Baltimore on the 18th of June. The latter Convention was a most boisterous one, and it was evident that there was an incurable split in the Democratic party. This rump-convention nominated Douglas. It was supposed that the South had intentionally produced this condition of affairs, in order to allow a Republican candidate to be elected, and to take such election as a pretext for secession. No doubt, some of the Southern leaders may have planned such a scheme; but, with a majority of the Southern party, secession was not intended, and the disagreement was much regretted. That the election of a Republican President justified secession was altogether an afterthought.

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

On the 9th of May, the Republican State Convention was held at Bloomington, for the nomination of Presidential electors, Governor, and other State officers. I had been appointed by the county convention in St. Clair as one of the delegates. But knowing that Lincoln would be recommended for President, and that N. B. Judd, from his own frequent representations to me, would certainly be nominated for Governor, I felt no particular interest in the Convention; and, as I

had some rather important cases to try in Monroe County, just at the time of the meeting of the Convention, I went down to Waterloo. While sitting one morning in the court house, Judge Underwood came in with a St. Louis newspaper in his hands, and asked me whether I knew that I had been appointed delegate-at-large to the National Convention at Chicago. It was a surprise to me, as I had not communicated any wish for this or any other appointment. I had also been made a member of the State Central Committee. I learned afterwards that it was left to Mr. Lincoln to name the delegates-at-large for the State, and that he had handed in a list containing the names of Gustavus Koerner, Norman B. Judd, and, as substitutes, Orville H. Browning and Judge David Davis. Amongst the delegates from the districts were Judge Stephen T. Logan, Burton C. Cook, and George Schneider of Chicago.

Presidential electors for the State at large were John M. Palmer and Leonard Swett. To my surprise Judd, candidate for the nomineeship for Governor, was defeated, probably by an intrigue of Mr. Swett, and Richard Yates was nominated. As Yates had been several times a member of the Legislature, had distinguished himself in Congress as a most resolute opponent of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was personally exceedingly popular, a very fine speaker and of engaging personality, his nomination was well received. As Colonel Bissell, the late Republican Governor, had been taken from the Democratic ranks, it was probably thought more politic to take this time one with Whig antecedents. Francis A. Hoffmann was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor. The fact that the two delegates-at-large to the National Convention, as well as the nominee for Lieutenant-Governor were former Democrats, that one of the two Presidential electors-at-large was also a Democrat, that many of the other electors and delegates had been Democrats, sufficiently showed that the Republican party of Illinois at least was not an old-line Whig and Know Nothing party, but that the Democratic

element had a principal share in it. I may as well remark here again, that, in this all-important campaign of 1860, the heaviest and most important work was done by those who had belonged to the Democratic party, at least in the West.

Trumbull, Judd, Palmer, I. N. Arnold, Cook, Fuller of Boone, Frederick Hecker, Francis A. Hoffmann, John Wentworth, Hermann Kreismann, Caspar Butz from Illinois, Senator Doolittle, Carl Schurz from Wisconsin, Frank Blair and some of his Democratic friends from St. Louis, did magnificent work on the stump. And Medill and Ray of the Chicago "Tribune" and George Schneider of the Chicago "Staatszeitung," the leading Republican papers of the Northwest, all recruited from the Democratic party, contributed largely to the victory of the Republicans.

The resolutions adopted by the Convention were substantially those that were afterwards adopted by the National Convention at Chicago and condemned in the most explicit terms such action in regard to naturalized citizens as had been enacted by the Massachusetts Legislature. Lincoln's nomination by this State Convention for the Presidency was received with indescribable enthusiasm. Mr. Arnold, a sober historian, in his book, "Lincoln and Slavery," says, "for fifteen minutes cheers after cheers went up from the crowd."

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

I arrived at Chicago a day before the meeting of the National Convention. The city was overcrowded. It was estimated that from the neighboring counties, from Wisconsin and Michigan, at least twenty-five thousand persons had arrived in the city. Outside of the regular delegates a very large delegation from the various Republican societies had come from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. A Seward delegation, handsomely dressed and with badges and banners, from New York, nearly one thousand strong, paraded the streets; other delegates did the same. An immense wooden building called the Wigwam, capable of hold-

ing some ten thousand people, had been erected on Lake Street. From all the States came very full and enthusiastic regular delegations, even from Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Virginia. The delegates from these Slave States were mostly highly intelligent Germans. Missouri under the lead of Frank Blair was largely represented. They had taken a suite of rooms on the first floor of the Tremont for their headquarters. Fred Muench, — "Far West," — Judge Krekel, C. L. Bernays, and a great many other noted Germans were among them,— all, strange to say, very enthusiastic for Edward Bates. They made a great display and showed much activity. Our Lincoln headquarters were also at the Tremont; but there was very little noise about it. Judd, Cook, Yates, Palmer, Judges Davis and Logan, Jesse K. Dubois, Orville H. Browning and myself were almost the only persons who were constantly there; but, of course, we held communications with all our Illinois friends, and received regular and reliable information from all parts of the city. While the friends of the other candidates held processions and marched around with bands of music, we had made arrangements that the Wigwam should at the earliest opening every morning be filled with Illinoisans. We had them provided with tickets before tickets were distributed to others.

The feeling for Seward was decidedly the strongest. Nearly all the German delegates, with the exception of those from Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, considered Lincoln only as a possible candidate, and preferred Seward to Chase, Cameron, or Bates. Schurz was enthusiastic for Seward. When I visited German localities, where, of course, the Presidential question was passionately discussed, I was almost the only one who advocated the claims of Lincoln, not only as the best and purest, but also as the most available candidate.

The first day the Convention was organized Governor Edward Morgan of New York, Chairman of the National Central Committee, called David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to preside temporarily over the Convention. Wilmot had, as early

as 1848, proposed in Congress, that in all Territories which we might acquire from Mexico slavery should never be introduced, and had become famous as the originator of the Wilmot Proviso. He was a Democrat, a man not of superior talent, but honest to the core, simple and unaffected. He looked like a country gentleman, had a very amiable, kind and pleasant face, was quite easy in his manners, and in several conversations with him I found him a most agreeable companion. In a brief, but happy speech, he addressed the Convention, clearly defining what the Republicans aimed at.

"We oppose," he remarked, "the new dogma by which the Constitution carries slavery into our Territories. We will read the Constitution as our fathers read it. They went to the grave, hoping earnestly that the stigma of slavery would soon vanish. Shall we leave our Constitution to our children and our children's children as one which carries freedom, or as one which carries slavery into the countries which we may acquire? That is the question. And we Republicans have but one answer to it: Freedom follows our flag, not slavery!"

In the evening the permanent organization took place. George Ashmun, a distinguished member of Congress from Massachusetts, was made president. He made a short, but very impressive address. The various committees were then appointed. A member from each State and Territory represented in the Convention was put on the platform committee. I was the one from Illinois. Judge Jessup, from Pennsylvania, having been first named, was made chairman. We met in the evening in the parlor of the Tremont House, but soon came to the conclusion that there were too many to work at such an important document with any degree of promptness. So the chair appointed a sub-committee of seven. It consisted of Judge Jessup, George Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Horace Greeley, who represented Kansas in the Convention, Carl Schurz, S. Otto, of Indiana, and myself. The name of the other member has escaped me.

Next day we met pretty early in the morning. Jessup

had a draft which was quite voluminous, containing, however, a very forcible indictment of the sins and crimes of the Democratic party, lately committed. I presented our Bloomington resolutions. We had not much difficulty in harmonizing. We wanted to disguise nothing. The only trouble was given us by Greeley, who insisted upon a strong protective plank. We did not consider the tariff question at this particular time as one of primary importance, and we humored him by declaring that "while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." This amounted to no more than the establishment of a revenue tariff bill with incidental protection, and did not differ essentially from former Democratic declarations on the same subject. But what was most curious, Greeley did not want a direct repudiation of Douglas's Popular Sovereignty doctrine. Here, of course, we did not yield, but condemned the doctrine most emphatically. Greeley left the committee, and did not further participate in our discussions of the platform.

Schurz and myself insisted on a resolution concerning the Massachusetts Amendment, and after some considerable discussion one was adopted. It was as follows:

"The Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship heretofore accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and is in favor of giving a full and sufficient protection to all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad."

This plank was much stronger than a similar one adopted by the Democrats at Charleston.

In the meantime, Frank Blair and the delegates from Missouri had not been idle for Bates. They had learned that on the second day of the Convention the delegates from Penn-

slyvania and Indiana had met at the court house for consultation. The Pennsylvanians had been instructed for Cameron, but about their second choice there was much difference of opinion. The Republican party there was not well organized, and it contained a majority of old-line Whigs and Native Americans. The natural tendency of a majority of the party was to nominate a prominent Whig who had been more or less affiliated with the American party. Bates filled the bill. The Indiana delegation was not instructed; but the Whig party had furnished by far the greatest contingent of the party in that State. The Bates men, having learned of this meeting, appeared there in force, and Blair had already commenced making a speech for Bates when word was sent to our headquarters of what was going on. Browning and myself were immediately despatched to counteract the movement. I heard the last part of Blair's speech. He was followed by Fred Muench, who promised the vote of Missouri for Bates, and Judge Krekel closed in a rather able speech for Bates.

I now asked leave to speak for Lincoln. The court house was crowded with many other delegates and with citizens of Chicago. The moment I named Lincoln the cheers almost shook the court house. I controverted the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, said that outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench no Republican presidential candidate could get a vote; that the State was for Douglas, and that these same gentlemen, led by my friend Blair, had made Missouri a Douglas State two years before, and had opposed Lincoln in his race for the Senate; that I was astonished that my German friends from Missouri talked of supporting Bates, who in 1856 had presided over a Whig National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated Fillmore and Donelson, after they had been nominated by the Know Nothings; that Bates in the municipal elections of St. Louis had several times supported the Know Nothing ticket; that I would tell this meeting in all

candor that if Bates was nominated, the German Republicans in the other States would never vote for him; I for one would not, and I would advise my countrymen to the same effect.

Blair replied, but with much less vigor than he had thrown into his first speech. Browning spoke from a Whig standpoint: that Lincoln had been a Whig, which ought to satisfy the Pennsylvanians and those Indianians who held still to some of the Whig principles. On the other hand Lincoln had always opposed Native Americanism. This would secure him the foreign Republican vote all over the country. He wound up with a most beautiful and eloquent eulogy on Lincoln, which electrified the meeting. The delegates then held a secret session, and we soon learned that Indiana would go for Lincoln at the start, and that a large majority of the Pennsylvanians had agreed to vote for him for their second choice.

Later in the canvass I received a letter from Judge Davis of the United States Supreme Court, in which he informed me that De Vries, a leading Republican politician of Indiana, had begged him to write me to come over to Indiana, and to make some speeches there. "He says," Judge Davis wrote, "he had heard your speech in the Chicago Convention to the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegates, and he thinks you can do a great deal of good in Indiana."

Our platform was presented to the Convention on the evening of the second day. The resolutions were read one by one, and, with one exception, were at once unanimously adopted. The resolution opposing any change in the naturalization laws, and disapproving of any act of State Legislatures to impair the rights of naturalized citizens, was asked to be amended by Mr. Wilmot by striking out the words State Legislature. Wilmot was a strong opponent of the Native American party, but as an old Democrat he thought the National Convention should not interfere with the Constitutional rights of the States to regulate the right of voting as they pleased. The chairman, Jessup, thought there was

no interference meant, and that the Convention had a right to express its approbation or disapprobation of any act of a State Legislature. Messrs. Schurz and Hassaurek spoke to the same effect. And now happened a rather comical scene.

Among the delegates from Massachusetts, whose seats were right in front of those of the Illinois delegates, was John A. Andrews, one of the foremost Republicans of New England, fiery, energetic, and most eloquent, and soon to be governor of Massachusetts. At first he paid no particular attention to the debate on the resolution; but when Massachusetts was mentioned as being the State whose action was disapproved, he turned round to Boutwell, who sat on his left, and exclaimed: "That will never do! This is aimed at our State." And with that he rose, and called out: "Mr. President!" He being a man of great influence, it is hard to tell what might have become of the resolution, had he been recognized by the chair. But Boutwell, as a member of the platform committee, who had become convinced that this very section was all-important to keep the German Republicans in line, at once laid hands on Andrews's shoulders and sought to push him down, while I, sitting right behind him, took hold of his coat tails and held him down; and while he was looking round with the greatest astonishment, seeming to ask for an explanation, the vote was taken on the resolution and the next one was read. Andrews was greatly excited, but Boutwell and I succeeded in quieting him.

The platform as a whole was exceedingly well received all over the country. It was very vigorous, yet furnished hardly any point that could be successfully assailed.

LINCOLN NOMINATED

On the morning of the third day the balloting began. When the chairman of the New York delegation, William M. Evarts, nominated William H. Seward, there was most tremendous cheering. It appeared as though the whole crowd of spectators had all participated in the shout. But when

Norman B. Judd, after a few highly impressive words, named honest Abe Lincoln, there was such an outburst of cheering as made the vast edifice actually tremble. It seemed as though it would never end. Bates was then nominated by Frank Blair; Cameron, by Pennsylvania; and Chase, by Ohio; all of which nominations were civilly applauded. It was at once evident that the battle lay between Seward and Lincoln. Two hundred and thirty-three votes were a majority. Seward on the first ballot obtained one hundred and seventy-three and one-half, Lincoln one hundred and two, Cameron fifty, Bates forty-eight, and Chase forty-nine. There were some scattering votes. On the second Seward one hundred and eighty-four and one-half, Lincoln one hundred and eighty one. On the third ballot, Seward one hundred and eighty-one, Lincoln two hundred and thirty-one and one-half, Chase twenty-four and one-half, Cameron eight, Bates twenty-two (only the Missouri vote). Pennsylvania and Indiana had nearly all gone for Lincoln. Before the final vote was declared, Ohio changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln, which would have nominated him, but other votes also were changed for Lincoln, so that on the third ballot he had three hundred and fifty-four, a majority of more than a hundred necessary to a choice. The nomination was then made unanimous. William M. Evarts and Carl Schurz, both most deeply affected, while not disguising their regret at the defeat of their favorite, in very beautiful language pledged their States for the support of Lincoln, and predicted that Seward would do all in his power to bring about the success of the party. Their speeches were really a very affecting and interesting part of this memorable convention.

"No words," says Mr. Arnold, "can adequately describe the enthusiasm by which the nomination was received in Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the Northwest. A man who had been placed on top of the Wigwam to announce to the thousands outside the progress of the balloting, as soon as the secretary read the result of the third ballot, shouted to those below: 'Fire the salute, Lincoln is nominated.' The cannon

was fired, and before the reverberations died away, a hundred thousand voters of Illinois and the neighboring States were shouting, screaming and rejoicing over the result. The nomination of Lincoln was hailed with intense enthusiasm, not only by the crowds in attendance and the Northwest, but it soon extended through all the Free States."

After a recess the nomination of Vice-President took place. The two prominent rivals were Hannibal Hamlin, an old Democratic stand-by of Maine, and the intrepid Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky. Hamlin was nominated, owing probably to his being a resident of the East, on the second ballot.

When in the evening I resorted to the place where the German delegates and German visitors from other States used to congregate, I found them generally very despondent. Seward, or even some other radical Republican, such as Wade or Chase, had been their choice. They believed that Lincoln's nomination would not meet with half the enthusiasm that Seward's would have met with, in which they were very much mistaken. Seward was in fact far more conservative on the slavery question than Lincoln. Besides, his very eminence as a statesman had raised against him in his own State and in his own party dangerous rivalry, and it was very doubtful whether he could carry his own State; and without New York no Republican victory was to be expected.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONVENTION

This Chicago Convention I consider one of the most interesting incidents in my life, ever to be remembered. Besides being among a highly excited multitude of people surging through all the principal streets, listening now and then to the innumerable speeches made every evening at all public squares and from the balconies of the great hotels, and working for Lincoln wherever I could, I came in contact with the most eminent men of our party. There was old Francis P. Blair, the bosom friend of Andrew Jackson and the Nestor of the old Democratic party, whose acquaintance I had already made at Washington in 1840. He brought me a letter

from Senator Trumbull advising me, if I should not succeed with Lincoln, to go in for Judge McLean, who was the next highest candidate for President in the Philadelphia Convention of 1856 and had written a most able dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case. Amongst other distinguished men present were William M. Evarts, General Nye, Horace Greeley, Governor Morgan, Governor Raymond, William C. Curtis, from New York, William Kelly, David Wilmot, Governor Reeder, from Pennsylvania, Carter, Hassaurek, Joshua Giddings, from Ohio, Schurz, from Wisconsin, John A. Andrews and George Boutwell, from Massachusetts, and many others.

LINCOLN NOTIFIED

A committee made up by the vice-president, headed by Ashmun, the president, had been appointed to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination. They were to start in the morning on an extra train. I went down to Springfield on the regular train, and arrived a few hours before the committee did. In company with E. Peck, later one of the judges of the Court of Claims in Washington, I called on Mr. Lincoln at his handsome, but unpretending frame-house in a quiet part of the city. Entering the hall, on the right, there was a library or sitting-room, which was joined at the south by another, probably the dining-room. The door of the first room was open, and there was a sort of long table set on one side, on which stood many glasses, a decanter or two of brandy, and under the table a champagne basket. Cakes and sandwiches were just being placed on the table by a colored man. We went in there first, and asked the servant what the proceeding meant. "O, this is for the Chicago folks, that come down to congratulate master." Presently Mrs. Lincoln came in. After the customary "How do you do's?" she asked us what we thought of setting out this lunch for the committee. We told her at once that this would hardly do. This meeting of the committee would be a somewhat solemn business. Several, perhaps, of the Eastern men were strictly

temperance people, and they might think treating the committee would not be the proper thing. She remonstrated in her very lively manner, but we insisted on dispensing with this hospitality, which we appreciated ourselves, but which might be misconstrued. I finally told the black man bluntly to take the things out into the back room, which he did. But Mrs. Lincoln still argued with us. Lincoln, being in the parlor right opposite, came in, and, learning of the trouble, said: "Perhaps, Mary, these gentlemen are right. After all is over, we may see about it, and some may stay and have a good time."

We went to the parlor and gave Mr. Lincoln a good many particulars about the Convention, which of course interested him much. Some very humorous remarks were made about it, Mr. Peck himself being a very witty and lively talker. Some other of Mr. Lincoln's particular friends called in. About six o'clock in the evening the committee called, and after the usual salutations, — Mr. Lincoln standing on the threshold of the back parlor and leaning somewhat on an arm-chair, — the committee formed before him in the front parlor, and Mr. Ashmun very formally addressed him in a well-considered speech. Mr. Lincoln looked much moved, and rather sad, evidently feeling the heavy responsibility thrown upon him. He replied briefly, but very pointedly. Somehow, all of us felt more serious than the occasion called for. All appeared to have a foreboding of the eventfulness of the moment, and all felt that in this contest there was more than the mere possession of power and office at stake, nay, the vital principle of our national existence. Ice-water, it being a very hot evening, was the only refreshment served.

The Republican Committee of Springfield had arranged an elegant supper for the committee at the hotel. After that, every one repaired to the State House and the square around it, where a vast deal of speaking and cheering was going on. Henry I. Raymond made a most capital speech in the hall of

the House of Representatives, — one of the finest of the kind I ever heard. He was one of the great lights of the Republican party of New York. The whole town was alive all night. Champagne flowed in the hotels; toast followed toast. Bands of music played in the streets. Fireworks were let off. Even the Democrats, who all liked Lincoln personally, joined in the jubilee.

CHAPTER XXXII

Lincoln's Election, and the Outbreak of the Rebellion

And now commenced a campaign such as I never witnessed before or after. No party ever entered upon a canvass with more devotion to principle than did the Republican party in 1860. The spring elections in all the Free States had been favorable, and inspired us with a confidence which is already half the victory. In point of talent the Republicans were far superior in the press and on the tribune to the Northern Democracy. With few exceptions the flower of the Whig party and of the old Democratic party had joined the Republican ranks. And when in June the Douglas Democratic party, according to the terms of their adjournment, met again at Baltimore in convention and found themselves almost deserted by the Southern members, who on their part met at the same place and adopted an out-and-out Southern platform on the slavery question, (the former nominating Douglas and Johnson and the latter Breckenridge and Lane,) it became almost evident that by this split Republican success would be certain, and the canvass was carried on by the Republicans with a vigor, energy and enthusiasm heretofore unparalleled.

It is true Douglas made almost superhuman efforts. Up to this time, candidates for the Presidency had, from a sort of delicacy, refrained from entering personally into the canvass. On a few occasions, when serenaded or at receptions, they had made brief addresses; but Douglas now made a regular campaign of it, spoke at all the principal places North and South, and displayed a mental and physical vigor worthy

of a better cause. That he had to make, particularly in the South, some very inconsistent and humiliating concessions, was forced upon him by his effort to sustain at the same time his doctrine of Territorial Sovereignty and the Southern heresy that the Constitution carried slavery by its own construction into all the Territories of the United States.

ORGANIZING FOR THE BATTLE

Arrived at home, I became busily engaged in organizing for the battle. The "Belleviller Zeitung" was in excellent hands. Frederick Rupp, who had had a thorough collegiate education, and, having been involved in the Revolution of 1849, had become an exile, settling in Belleville, where he acted as a clerk in stores and as a bookkeeper, and also gave lessons in the ancient languages, and who was a steady, prudent business man, had bought, some years before, the "Belleviller Zeitung," had enlarged it, and had put it on a solid financial foundation. He had employed Franz Grimm as editor, who had also while at college become involved in trouble with the government in 1848 and had had to flee the country. Grimm had been one of the most radical revolutionists, and attached himself here to the extreme wing of the Republicans. Yet he had practical sense enough to know that as a journalist, particularly in Southern Illinois, he should not go too far and make the paper a rank abolition-organ. He was an enthusiast, perfectly honest and truthful, and withal an able writer. He devoted all his time to the paper, filling weekly some three or four of its very large columns with well considered editorials and digesting all important speeches and documents in such a manner as to give correct and full information to his readers. Perhaps he was a little too voluminous. The paper soon made itself noted. A great many of its editorials were copied in the large German papers, and in fact the paper during the years 1858-61 had become a power. One of the first to volunteer, he fell

for his ideas on the bloody field of Shiloh, a captain in the Forty-third Regiment of this State, universally regretted.

Republican clubs were formed in all the precincts and also "Wide Awake" societies. Of these it was said by a historian of the times:

"One of the most efficient agencies and one of the most characteristic of the people and the times, by which the canvass of 1860 was carried on, was an organization of the young men known as 'Wide Awakes.' They embodied nearly all the young men of the party, a semi-military organization, but without arms, wearing glazed caps and capes and at night carrying torch-lights, and ready at all times for work, — turning out at political meetings, escorting speakers to and from the places of speaking, singing patriotic songs, circulating documents and canvassing votes."

It was calculated that towards the end of the campaign more than half a million of men were in the organization. A great many of them were voters, and even elderly men became members, as, for instance, Governor Morgan of New York, who was a regular member and marched in the processions.

I succeeded in getting up a company of "Wide Awakes," followed by others, so that in Belleville alone they numbered about 300. Mascoutah turned out nearly as many, and in most of the election precincts companies were formed. Some had white capes and caps; most, however, black ones. The caps were bordered with red, white and blue ribbons. They were indeed a very valuable auxiliary and by their very presence prevented fights and riots, which, as the Democrats were desperately enraged, would have been but too common.

MEETINGS AND SPEECHES

It would fill several pages were I to name all the meetings that I attended and enumerate all the speeches I heard or made myself. In St. Clair County our greatest demonstration took place at the end of July. Previous to it I had gone up to Marine in Madison County, where I met Carl Schurz. We addressed a very large and enthusiastic meeting, Schurz speaking in English and I in German. We both then came

down to Bellville, where Schurz stopped at our house. The next day the meeting took place in a beautiful grove in Cabanne's Addition. The procession had been formed in West Belleville. There were nine hundred wagons in line and as many country people on horseback. The "Wide Awakes" and other citizens marched in columns of four. Before the speaking commenced, the thirty-two young ladies representing the States, Frank Blair, Carl Schurz, Peter Foy, Colonel Peckham, and others from St. Louis, with numerous Belleville citizens, partook of a lunch at our house. Sophie and our daughters extended the most liberal hospitality to the assembled guests. Blair spoke first in his snappy, flowing, fiery way. Schurz followed in an excellent German speech. But really the immense assembly was so enthusiastic, so excited that they hardly needed any exhortations. At night several thousands marched in torch-light processions.

Another immense meeting at which I was present was at Springfield in the Fair Grounds. No less than four thousand "Wide Awakes" from Sangamon and the adjoining counties marched in procession. The assemblage in the Fair Grounds was estimated at 60,000. Innumerable speeches were made by orators from Illinois and from abroad. A great many had come to see Lincoln; he could not help but come out to the Grounds. Of course there was a vociferous call for a speech. He did not take one of the stands, but made a few remarks merely expressive of his feelings of gratitude for the interest shown to him. The Wigwam, opposite to where the Leland now stands, was crowded at night. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, Trumbull, Yates, and myself were the speakers. But as the torch-light procession was passing by, it taking nearly two hours before it got through, bands playing and cannon firing, I have no idea that the audience derived any benefit from our speeches.

BELLEVILLE DEMOCRATIC MEETING

Our great meeting at Belleville in July had roused the Democrats. Great preparations were made to outdo our

meeting. While we had only a county meeting, theirs was advertised as a Congressional District meeting, and invitations were sent to all the counties in the district. James Allen, the Democratic candidate for Governor, a very able man and a famous stump-speaker, was to come, and, besides him, a half dozen of the most eloquent Democratic speakers of the country were announced to be present, — though it was well known to the managers that hardly anyone of them would make an appearance. Don Morrison was the leading spirit. He did not care a straw about Mr. Douglas. It was conceded by all thinking men that Lincoln would carry the State. The Democrats in Illinois were fighting for the Legislature, as they did in 1858, and for the Senator to be elected by it, inasmuch as Trumbull's term was to expire on the 4th of March, 1861. Morrison himself thought he might be his successor. The meeting was gotten up regardless of expense. In numbers it fell far behind the Republican demonstration, but it was most handsomely arranged. A large array of Amazons were in the procession. Their platforms and banner-wagons were richly gotten up. They had splendid bands of music from St. Louis. The marshals rode blooded horses. It was a fine sight. Allen, Morrison, William H. Snyder and others spoke. In imitation of the "Wide Awakes" a Democratic club of young men called the "Broom Brigade" had been formed in St. Louis and had come over. They were handsomely uniformed and carried large brooms. But how different was their conduct from that of the "Wide Awakes!" Towards evening most of them got drunk. They raided every respectable saloon, because the barkeepers would not let them have liquor and cigars for nothing. When going down to the cars to be taken home to St. Louis at night, they yelled like Indians and insulted everyone they met, cursing the Belleville people as Black Republicans. The upshot was, that they got into a fight and that some of them were very badly handled. The rowdyish behavior of these boys and of many

grown-up Democrats excited a reaction, and no doubt lost them a good many votes in the county.

HEIGHT OF THE CAMPAIGN

At a Republican demonstration in Chicago when Seward spoke, which, however, I did not attend, ten thousand "Wide Awakes" marched in the procession. Seward acted most nobly. He made many speeches in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. He even went clear to Kansas, and spoke in St. Louis to an immense audience.

Governors, senators, and members of Congress of both parties took the stump, and for the last two months business was almost suspended; the people hastening to and fro to hear stirring speeches and to march in mile-long processions. It was a general political intoxication; the Republicans, however, everywhere surpassing their opponents in earnestness and enthusiasm. And, as it turned out, amongst all the friends and admirers of Lincoln, none were more ardent and eager than the German Republicans. The name of Lincoln seemed to have a charm in it.

At a county convention we had made our nominations for members to the Legislature and for county officers. John Scheel had very reluctantly consented to become a candidate for the Senate. The Congressional Convention offered to nominate me for Congress, but I again declined. I thought I could be more effective if I was not speaking as a candidate, and, as on former occasions, did not feel any desire to be in Congress. Judge Gillespie was nominated with the hope that his old Whig friends and the Native Americans would vote for him against Mr. Foulke, who was a mere light-weight of no consequence.

There was another party in the field which called itself the Constitutional Union party. It was principally composed of Southern Whigs and Native Americans. It held a convention at Baltimore and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, passing but one res-

olution, to the effect that it recognized no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws.

Of course, this meant nothing. The Republican platform as well as the two Democratic platforms, had also declared in favor of the Constitution and the Union; and that the laws should be enforced, was a mere platitude. Both Mr. Bell and Mr. Everett were very able and highly respectable gentlemen, had been distinguished members of Congress, and had held high offices in their own States! but they strangely misunderstood the signs of the times if they thought they could rally a majority of the people on such an anodyne program.

At that time Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, held their State elections in October, and the result of those elections was always an indication of what the vote would be in the November Presidential election. Now all these States went Republican, which, of course, made Lincoln's election still more certain.

ELECTION DAY

At last the decisive day, the sixth of November, arrived. By eight o'clock in the evening we had already ascertained that St. Clair County had elected the entire Republican ticket, Lincoln receiving eight hundred majority. But that hardly excited any interest. At that hour the despatches from the outside would come in. The telegraph office was crowded. The first reports from Illinois left no doubt of Lincoln's having carried the State. From Wisconsin and Iowa similar favorable reports came in. About ten o'clock we heard sufficient from Ohio and Indiana to know that Lincoln had got their votes. About half-past eleven we got the anxiously looked for first news from the city of New York. It had gone Democratic by about thirty-five thousand votes. Most of the people in the office thought all was lost. Thirty-five thousand majority! Lincoln is beaten! I took off my hat, waved it, proposed three cheers for Lincoln, and sent some bystanders

up town to get a basket of champagne. No doubt most persons present thought me crazy. But it was well known to experienced politicians, that, if the Democratic stronghold could give only 35,000 majority, it would be easily overcome by the State vote. Yet I could hardly convince the crowd of the correctness of my opinion. But about twelve o'clock, just when the champagne arrived, there came a despatch from New York in the following terms: "Long Legs has carried the State by about forty thousand." Another basket was sent for. Lincoln was elected!

In Illinois Lincoln's majority over Douglas was 13,000. Yates and the entire State ticket were elected by 12,000 majority, and the Republicans had also succeeded, in spite of the unjust apportionment, in electing a working majority in both Houses of the Legislature. John Scheel for Senate, although he received about six hundred majority in St. Clair, was yet defeated by about ninety votes, owing to an unprecedented majority for Underwood in Monroe County, which was obtained, as was generally believed, by an importation of Missourians. As there existed no registry law at the time, such an importation could easily be accomplished, since in the Mississippi-Bottom precincts in Monroe all the election officers and the people generally, were most radical Democrats and more Pro-Slavery than the Missourians themselves. Similar practices had also reduced our majority in St. Clair County by an unexpectedly large vote in the Illinoistown precinct opposite St. Louis. Still, our average majority in the county was some seven hundred, and a gain of more than three hundred over the election of 1858. As usual, Underwood's friends had distributed again my Republican tickets, but for Scheel's name Underwood's had been substituted.

In the electoral college Lincoln received one hundred and eighty votes, Breckenridge seventy-two, Bell thirty-nine, Douglas twelve. Douglas had received only the Missouri vote, nine, and the New Jersey vote, three. Of course, the popular vote was quite different. Lincoln had received in all

1,800,000, Douglas 900,000, Breckenridge 685,000, Bell 585,000. Lincoln had, therefore, only a plurality of votes as compared with the votes of the three other candidates. But that had happened before in Presidential elections, and was a matter of very frequent occurrence in State elections for governor, congressmen and all other State officers, was perfectly constitutional, and therefore furnished no ground for complaint to the Secessionists. Besides, the Douglas vote was not a disunion vote, nor was the Bell vote. The Breckenridge vote might be considered in the main a disunion vote, and, compared with the Lincoln, Bell, and Douglas vote, was very insignificant. Bell had received the votes of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.

LINCOLN IN SPRINGFIELD

Not long after the election I went to Springfield. Mr. Lincoln was of course the center of interest. He usually received visitors at the Governor's office in the State House. But the State Central Committee had a room in one of the side-streets, where he met a few of his nearer friends for consultation. Being a member of the State Committee, I of course was frequently in this special council. Among those whom Lincoln mostly consulted were Norman B. Judd, Judge Logan, Jesse Dubois, and some other members of the Central Committee. John G. Nicolay, a young man, but very sensible and discreet, acted as his private secretary, which post he retained during Mr. Lincoln's presidency. I find that in a communication of November 18th, to the "Westliche Post," I gave some account of the condition of things, as I found them at this important period. Here are a few extracts:

"Mr. Lincoln receives his visitors with his accustomed cordiality, illustrates his conversation with apt anecdotes, and laughs very heartily when others laugh. It was soon settled that Lincoln should do nothing to define his future policy. The many requests and statements, coming in part from sincere friends of his, particularly from the Border States, in part also from rather suspicious sources, such as the 'New

York Herald,' that he is to issue a manifesto to quiet the South, should be disregarded. Lincoln has no idea of taking a position towards the South which might be considered a sort of an apology for his election. Lincoln having yesterday read an article in a Virginia journal, in which it was said, that he, in order to quiet the South, should merely declare that the South had the same right to bring her slave property into the Territories as the North had to bring her property there, remarked that that reminded him of the story of the little girl who had asked her mother to run out and play. The mother refused. The girl only begged the harder until her mother lost patience and gave her a whipping, upon which the girl exclaimed: 'Now, Ma, I can certainly run out.' That there is a throng of office-seekers, as the Democrats try to make it appear, is not true. A few of the visitors may like to call themselves to his recollection; but it is well known that no important appointments will be fixed upon before consultation with prominent leaders from other States. Of course, amongst ourselves, the cabinet question is often discussed. I have my own views about it, which, however, do not rest upon any definite opinion expressed by Mr. Lincoln. I presume that Mr. Seward will be offered the Secretaryship of State or the London mission. Should he decline both of these positions, Preston King, or Governor Morgan, of New York, might get either place. Pennsylvania may propose Cameron, Judge Reeder, or Wilmot for a cabinet post. Governor Chase will have to be taken into consideration. Perhaps the Attorney-General or the Secretary of the Interior may come from Illinois. Montgomery Blair is spoken of also for Attorney-General.''

When I wrote about one cabinet minister being likely to be taken from Illinois, I meant Norman B. Judd.

LETTER ON THE STATUS OF NEGRO SLAVES UNDER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

I may remark here, that in the Dred Scott decision, in which it was taken for granted, that the immense territory which extended west from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico north to the sources of the Mississippi River, known as the Louisiana Purchase, was all slave territory when we acquired it from France by

the treaty of 1803, it was contended by some judges of the Supreme Court that by the stipulations of that treaty we were bound to retain slavery in all this vast region, and that we never had a right to interdict it in any part of it, as had been done by Congress when the Missouri Compromise had been enacted. Having a general impression from my reading of French history that France had abolished slavery in all its colonies, I had for some time past investigated the matter closely, and had found that the National Assembly as early as 1789 by a general law abolished the slave trade, and that the French Convention in 1793, had also passed the following law: "The National Convention agrees that the slavery of negroes is abolished in all the colonies, that all men without distinction of color are French citizens and shall enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution." At that time, however, Louisiana belonged to Spain, but was retroceded to France in 1801 by the Treaty of San Ildefonso, and remained to France until 1803, when it passed to us.

Now it seemed to me clear, and I had in the meantime taken legal advice from Mr. Hilgard, Sr., who had been judge of the Supreme Court in Rhenish Bavaria, under the French law, that so far from the negroes in Louisiana being slaves when we purchased the country, they were not only free but French citizens and entitled under the treaty stipulations to be protected in all their rights. I considered this point at least as a very interesting one. The establishment of it was of course at this time only of theoretical value. But I elaborated it in a letter, dated October 20, 1860, to the "Missouri Democrat," and it was republished in a good many papers in the North, amongst others in the leading Republican paper in Cleveland, Ohio.

GOVERNOR CHASE

While I was in Springfield during the winter after the election, Mr. Chase paid a visit to that place. I had not known him before, and one morning he had himself introduced to me at my room, and said he was glad to make my

acquaintance; that he had read my article and was highly pleased and interested by it, and only regretted that I had not sooner given publicity to my view. I told him that I was not willing as a lawyer to commit myself on so important a question; that I had written for information to my European friends a year before, but had only lately received such reliable information, with the citation of all the laws and treaties bearing on the question, as would have justified my publishing my opinion.

Governor Chase was a very handsome and commanding looking man, of graceful manners, of high intellect and vast information. In ordinary times he would have made an incomparable President. But it is very doubtful whether he could have steered the ship of state safely through the storms of the rebellion. He was far more ambitious than Lincoln, and had not the latter's almost saintly patience and self-denial. He had not the same sympathy with the people, even the humblest, that Lincoln possessed; nor could he read so accurately the average feeling of the American people as Lincoln did. Chase would have attempted to reach his ends by mighty strides, while Lincoln, although somewhat in advance of the masses, sought to attain it step by step. Lincoln by his pure and unselfish conduct raised no rivalry at all in his own party; Chase would, most unquestionably, have met with strong opposition in its ranks.

SECESSION

On the 20th of December the Legislature of South Carolina called a convention, which passed an ordinance, declaring that the State had dissolved her connection with the United States government. Other States had already taken, by their Legislatures, steps in the same direction, calling conventions evidently with a view of following in the footsteps of South Carolina. Buchanan, in his message to Congress on the first Monday of December, 1860, had taken the strange position, that, while secession was unconstitutional, yet, as that

same Constitution did not provide for forcing a State to remain in the Union, he saw no way of preventing secession. What, however, was still more alarming was, that a good many people in the Free States had come to think that rather than have a civil war, it would be best to let the States wishing to secede, go in peace. Some rather prominent Republicans seemed to favor this. Horace Greeley for one, ever impracticable, gave out in his "Tribune" the motto: "Let the erring sisters depart in peace!"

Looking upon these signs as most dangerous, I sent an extended communication to the "Missouri Democrat," in which I sought, by reference to the very first words of the Constitution, by the debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution, and in the State Conventions which finally adopted the Constitution, and by reference to the decisions of the Supreme Court, to establish that, while States could not be forced to remain in the Union, the people of the States as citizens of the United States, could and should be forced to remain loyal to the Constitution, or be punished for high treason. I argued, that, if we could not live together in peace as one nation, we certainly could not live in peace as two nations having different domestic institutions; that secession would be the end of the only free government in the world, which we were bound by every consideration of material and moral welfare to transmit intact to our posterity; that civil war was preferable to the destruction of our Union; and that, should it come, the government should call at once for such a military force as would make resistance impossible. This article was republished in many papers, and, upon requests from friends, it was published in pamphlet form, and scattered far and wide. In private conversation, I impressed Lincoln as forcibly as I could with the idea that, in case this emergency should happen, he should call into the field at once several hundred thousand militia. I mentioned to him what the Swiss government had done, when seven cantons, only some years previously, had seceded, and had raised an army of

forty thousand men. The Bund raised 100,000, which at once without serious fighting made resistance hopeless. These two documents are among my papers.

The pressure brought to bear upon Lincoln, after South Carolina had seceded, to soothe the South by a manifesto of a conciliatory character, raising hopes of the concessions that under his guidance Congress would be likely to make, became very great. But when Lincoln once had made up his mind, he showed a firmness which even many of his friends had not expected to find in him.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL CONNECTIONS WITH LINCOLN

On the meeting of the Legislature and the session of the Supreme Court, I went to Springfield and hardly ever left the capital until some time in May. Yates was inaugurated; Cullom elected Speaker of the House; while Francis A. Hoffmann, Lieutenant-Governor, presided over the Senate. Yates and Cullom were rather young and inexperienced, and needed a good deal of assistance. There was no trouble in electing Trumbull United States Senator. He had made himself a great name in the Senate, and had exerted himself valiantly in the last campaign; so that he was deservedly elected without opposition for the next term. It was during this session that I became really intimate with Governor Yates. He used to consult me frequently; and, as Mr. Lincoln spent much of his time in the Governor's office, I had an excellent opportunity of studying the character of the President-elect also. To be sure, we had been before on very friendly terms, but more in a social and professional way than in a political one. Till 1856 we had belonged to different political parties; still, ever since 1842 I was always the greatest part of the winter at Springfield, as a member of the Legislature, as Lieutenant-Governor, or on professional business and as judge of the Supreme Court.

Lincoln, after court adjourned for the day, was a regular visitor in the court-rooms, where judges and lawyers

used to spend their evenings, and entertained the company very often by telling his anecdotes, of which he seemed to have an inexhaustible fund. For some reason or another he seemed to take a particular liking for me. Being engaged together in an important case in 1854 for the city of St. Louis against the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company, or rather against the directors of that company, as also in another case in the United States Court for certain stockholders in the Atlantic Railroad Company against some creditors of that road, I had also occasion to learn his way of practicing law. Of course he argued some cases before the Supreme Court while I was a member, but they had generally been of little importance, though we always admired his extreme fairness in stating his adversary's case as well as his own, and the often quaint and droll language used by him.

Of his good disposition towards me I may mention one instance. Under the charter of the Central Railroad, that corporation was exempt from paying taxes on the land granted to it by the State in consideration of paying into the treasury seven percent of the annual gross income of the company. It had appeared to our State Auditor and Treasurer that the returns made of such income were much too low, and yet there seemed to be no remedy, if such was the case, to get the road to do justice to the State. A special law was passed appointing the Supreme Court to sit as a trial court and to hear evidence as to the real income of the company, and to decide what the amount to be paid should be for some years past. The Governor and the State officers had appointed Judge Logan and Mr. Lincoln special attorneys for the State to try the case at Mount Vernon in the fall term of 1860. Before that time, however, Lincoln had been nominated, and he at once gave up his practice. Just before the term came on, I received a commission from the Governor to take Lincoln's place; and I learned afterwards that this appointment was made at his instance. It was quite an important case, for if the State succeeded there would have

been several hundred thousand dollars coming to it according to the information of the State officers, received from numerous persons apparently well informed.

It was upon this occasion that I became acquainted with the late General McClellan. He had resigned from the engineer corps, had been appointed chief-engineer of the Central Railroad and, I believe, had been vice-president of the same. He was the principal witness for the company. The trial lasted some days, and I, alternately with Judge Logan, had to cross-examine him at length and very thoroughly. The hotel accommodations at Mount Vernon at that time were most miserable. It so happened that he and Mr. Steward, one of the counsel for the road, and Judge Logan and myself, had to be put in one room, with but two beds.

McClellan was hardly of medium size, but well and compactly built, and had quite a pleasing face and very agreeable manners. As nothing then could lead one to foresee his future distinction, I must say I did not pay much attention to his appearance, and I cannot now picture him to myself in imagination. I know this much, however, that he showed in his testimony a perfect familiarity with the railroad business to the minutest detail, and was at home in giving figures. He certainly left the impression of a very great intellect in his profession at least. His testimony carried the judges in favor of the road, although we had a good many railroad men on our side to show that the revenue must have been much greater than the road had thus far returned. But of course there was a good deal of guess-work in their testimony.

Lincoln, though in very limited pecuniary circumstances, was not only exceedingly moderate, but generous in his professional charges. In one very important case involving a constitutional question, and in which the Central Railroad succeeded in getting rid of paying some hundred thousands of dollars annual taxes, he had charged but $5,000.00. The road thought the fee too high. Mr. Lincoln did not want to ask anything unfair. He wrote me a letter, stating that as I

knew all about the case, and had been present when it was argued, he would be obliged to me to give him my opinion whether his demand was unreasonable or not. He also stated that he had written to some other members of the bar, and he would be guided by our opinion. I advised him that his charge was very unreasonable, and that he ought to have charged at least $10,000.00. I presume he received about the same answer from the other gentlemen.

In the case of the Atlantic Road stockholders, men of wealth, I had advised them to employ Mr. Lincoln as my assistant, knowing his great influence with the federal judge then presiding. It is true, I had studied the case, and made up my opinion regarding it, but still we consulted a good deal about the defense to be made, and put in our answer, though the case did not come up for argument until June, 1860, after Lincoln's nomination. He asked to be relieved from attending to the case under the circumstances, which demand was of course granted by our clients, who, however, offered to pay him a handsome fee for the work he had done thus far. He utterly refused to take anything, although they almost pressed the money on him.

Now at this time, one Cotton State seceding after another, and a weak cabinet letting the Union go to pieces, Lincoln felt the want of support and advice, though he was not very prone to be turned from his own determination by others. As I was one of the few who took part in the various discussions of these startling events, I was brought nearer to Lincoln than ever before. I cannot say that there was any warm friendship between us. Lincoln, though one of the most just, kind and indulgent of men, who intentionally I believe never did an unkind thing to anyone, was not in my opinion, as also in the opinion of others who knew him well, really capable of what might be called warm-hearted friendship. But I can say in truth that I enjoyed his confidence to a very great extent.

It will be remembered that at the Decatur State Conven-

tion in 1860 he had placed my name first on the list of State delegates-at-large to the National Convention at Chicago. Now early in January the State of Virginia by its Legislature had passed a resolution proposing the appointment of commissioners by the several States to meet in convention on the 4th day of February at Washington to consult about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties between the States. As some of the Republican States had at once accepted the invitation, our Legislature rather reluctantly, and rather, as they stated, out of regard for the State of Virginia, and from love of the Constitution, passed resolutions for the Governor to appoint five commissioners to meet the delegates from the other States. If Illinois had declined the invitation it might have been considered as an indisposition on the part of the President-elect to lend himself to any sort of conciliation. Governor Yates of course left it to Mr. Lincoln to select the commissioners, and when the nominations were made, I found my name again amongst the number. They were Ex-Governor Wood of Quincy, Judge Stephen T. Logan of Springfield, Burton C. Cook of Ottawa, Thomas Turner of Freeport, the last two members of Congress, and myself. As I was certain that this conference would have no result, inasmuch, as when the appointment was made, nearly all the Cotton States had already seceded and had appointed delegates to meet at Montgomery on the same fourth of February for the purpose of organizing a government, and that the only result might be a proposal to surrender matters of principle, I at once declined, but asked the Governor, without consulting Mr. Lincoln, to appoint John M. Palmer in my place, which he did. There being now three former Democrats delegates in the commission, I was sure that our delegates at least, would not accede to anything which might show a weakness on the part of the Republican party. I have before mentioned that the Republicans of Democratic antecedents, as a general rule, were firmer and more energetic in facing the rebellion, than those members who had heretofore belonged to other parties.

Early on Sunday morning, January the 6th, I heard a knock at my door while I was still in bed. I unbolted the door, and in came Mr. Lincoln. "I want to see you and Judd. Where is his room?" I gave him the number and presently he returned with Judd while I was dressing. "I am in a quandary," he said; "Pennsylvania is entitled to a cabinet office. But whom shall I appoint?" "Not Cameron," Judd and myself spoke up simultaneously. "But whom else?" We suggested Reeder or Wilmot. "Oh," said he, "they have no show. There has been delegation after delegation from Pennsylvania, hundreds of letters, and the cry is 'Cameron, Cameron!' Besides, you know I have already fixed on Chase, Seward and Bates, my competitors at the convention. The Pennsylvania people say: 'If you leave out Cameron you disgrace him.' Is there not something in that?" I said: "Cameron cannot be trusted; he has the reputation of being a tricky and corrupt politician." "I know, I know," said Lincoln, "but can I get along if that State should oppose my administration?" He was very much distressed. We told him he would greatly regret his appointment. Our interview ended in a protest on the part of Judd and myself against the appointment.

POSSIBLE DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENT

I must now refer to a rather unpleasant incident in my political life. At no time before or after Mr. Lincoln's election had I spoken to him about having a wish to hold an office. But when the Legislature had met, some of my friends, Governor Yates for one, and Lieutenant-Governor Hoffmann for another, had been talking to Mr. Lincoln about appointing me to the Berlin mission. I had not suggested to them anything of the kind, but they informed me that Mr. Lincoln had said that he would do his best for me, and had spoken in such terms about their application that they felt certain that I could obtain the place if I wished it. I told them that I would accept it if offered, but would not ask Mr. Lincoln at

that time for any office. It soon, however, got into the papers that Judd would have a cabinet office, and I the mission to Berlin. In fact, I received several applications for secretaryship of legation from gentlemen in different States, who labored under the wrong impression that ministers had the appointment of secretaries of legation. Not only that, but so widespread was the rumor of my nomination for that office being contemplated that it got into the papers in Germany, and I received several congratulatory letters from friends in Germany. Now it is certain that Mr. Lincoln had intended to make Judd a cabinet member. But when he came to Washington, Congress and the Peace Conference being in session, there was such opposition from some of the members to Judd's appointment that he was bound to yield to it. I presume this pressure upon him came from Lincoln's old conservative Whig friends and from Union men in the Border States. By the time of Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Washington it was pretty well known who would be in the cabinet: Seward, Chase, Montgomery Blair, Gideon Wells of Connecticut, Bates, Cameron and Judd. Now it so happened that Seward and Bates were the only old Whigs, while all the others had been strong Democrats. Seward, Chase and Judd, were moreover, considered as very radical. Besides, it was urged that, the President being from Illinois, that State should not have a cabinet minister, also. Under all these circumstances Mr. Lincoln could not well be blamed for yielding to these considerations. But Judd had been so prominently brought before the public, having even accompanied Mr. Lincoln to Washington, that he had to be recognized, as the phrase goes, and so he got the Berlin mission just a few days before the inauguration. I was informed of this in due time, and did not at all think hard of Mr. Lincoln, who had personally promised me nothing. An old-time Whig, Caleb F. Smith, of Indiana, was substituted for Judd and was given the Interior Department, —as bad an appointment as that of Cameron and as short-lived.

BEARING AND CHARACTER OF LINCOLN

In spite of all the anxiety and perplexity of the situation, Lincoln, when in a mixed company, was often as jovial and even as droll as usual. But the almost perennial sadness and gloom which was so distinguished a feature in his character, was rather heightened by this, for no one felt deeper the awful responsibility cast upon him, and none perceived more clearly the danger of the situation. Some of his visitors from the East, from his conversation, frequently interspersed with quaint illustrations and laughable stories, I know, left with the idea that he was a frivolous man. But they judged from only one side of his complex character, which even to this day has remained an enigma to all those who did not know him intimately. And even some of those have misunderstood him. Most of his biographies are exaggerated and inflated panegyrics, which none would have condemned more strongly than Mr. Lincoln himself, if they had been written while he was amongst us. It is doubtful to my mind whether any one but Lincoln could have carried the Union through the raging war of the rebellion. It required just such a complex and anomalous character. His success in saving the Union without overstepping the Constitution to a fatal extent, has made him the idol of the people. Perhaps for his fame in the world's history his death when it happened was most fortunate.

LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION

On the 11th of February, Mr. Lincoln left Springfield for Washington. I had returned to Belleville a few days before. On the first of March, after having learnt for certain the fact that Judd would receive the Berlin mission, I left for Washington to attend Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, which I had intended, and had promised Mr. Lincoln, to do. Even the day before the inauguration a strong effort was made to change the cabinet as regards Mr. Chase. I was myself present, when some very prominent men from Ohio, Judge Carter, for one, tried to persuade Mr. Lincoln to sub-

stitute some other man from Ohio for Mr. Chase. The entire conservative element thought him too radical. Mr. Lincoln listened quietly and gave no definite answer. But Judd, Cook and myself, after the Ohioans left, most decidedly and almost passionately urged the President not to yield. He made no change, and I believe would have made none even if we had not interposed.

At Washington I met and made the acquaintance of many very distinguished men: some of them members of the Peace Congress, which had just adjourned after passing some unmeaning resolutions that died away unnoticed; others, members of Congress; and still others, prominent Republicans from all quarters. Mr. Lincoln himself introduced me to Charles Francis Adams, who soon after went to England as our minister. Amongst others, I was introduced to General Scott, Senator Andrew Johnson, the next Vice-President, to Sumner, and even to the Vice-President, John C. Breckenridge. Washington was crowded. Thousands of young men had come for the sole purpose of protecting Mr. Lincoln against violence or assassination, all well armed. The city itself was intensely secessionist. There was one or two militia companies of Americans, whose loyalty was strongly suspected. Only one German company of rifles could be relied upon, and some few hundred marine soldiers, and a company of U. S. artillery. There were strange rumors, and a general feeling of uneasiness and anxiety prevailed. Even General Scott was alarmed. Some guns were placed at points from where Pennsylvania Avenue could be placed under fire. It was said that all along the line of the procession General Scott had stationed riflemen at intervals on tops of houses. I did not see them. I did not see the procession at all. I had with Senator Trumbull gone to the Senate Chamber. At about eleven o'clock the procession had reached the Capitol, and President Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln, Vice-President Breckenridge and Hannibal Hamlin had entered the Senate parlor. Very soon the judges of the Supreme Court and the diplo-

matic corps came into the Senate Chamber, and under the lead of the United States marshal, all moved out on the east portico, where a sort of platform had been run out from the marble steps towards the open place fronting the Capitol. Of course I do not mean to give a description of this momentous scene. Here, however, is an extract from a letter I wrote to Sophie:

"Washington, March 4, 1861.
Five o'clock in the afternoon.

Dearest Sophie:

Lincoln is President. In the presence of at least ten thousand people he took the oath and read with a firm voice his inaugural. I stood close to his chair; next to me stood Douglas. On the other side of Lincoln stood Buchanan and Governor Chase of Ohio; opposite to him, Chief Justice Taney. At the close of his speech he was cheered by thousands. The weather was fine and the greatest order prevailed."

While the weather was fine, it was nevertheless quite cold on that platform. Douglas had no overcoat, and I saw he was shivering. I had not only a big overcoat on but also a thick traveling shawl, which I flung over him to make him comfortable. At several passages of Lincoln's inaugural, Douglas pressed my arm, saying, "Good, good." Yet only a few days afterwards he commented very severely on the speech, called it a declaration of war, and placed himself and all his friends in Congress in opposition to the administration.

Another quotation from my letter to Sophie:

"Concerning myself I can say only what I informed you of before I left. Lincoln could not make his cabinet as radical as he wanted to. Judd, who had counted with certainty on a place in the cabinet, and for whom we had all interested ourselves, was put back, and Lincoln had to offer him the Berlin mission. This is all right, and my friends cannot complain about it. Besides, Lincoln had never made me any promise. We do not like the cabinet as a whole, but Lincoln was forced into some of the appointments. The Union men in the Border States declared to him that they must give up the fight, if the cabinet was made too radical.

"You know that I do not care anything about this mat-

ter. It is only that it was so generally taken for granted that I would get the mission, which is disagreeable."

After remaining a couple of days in Washington I returned to Belleville.

The time from the inauguration to the firing on Fort Sumter and its surrender was one of deep depression for all friends of the Union. There were rumors of the administration weakening, of rebel commissioners being received with a view of compromising, of Seward's playing fast and loose. The cry of some of the most influential papers, "Let the erring sisters go in peace," was still heard. Some of the reports of what was going on at the capital were probably unfounded. Great dissatisfaction prevailed, and the press in the Northwest particularly was loud in its denunciation of Lincoln and Seward.

THE CALL TO ARMS

It was almost a relief to the Union men when the news arrived of the bombardment of Fort Sumter and its surrender on the 14th of April. Everybody felt that the die was cast. "This is the last of slavery," were the first words uttered by me when the telegram was read in a crowd. On the 15th the President's proclamation appeared, calling upon the loyal governors for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion. The public square at Belleville was at once crowded with men and women. Some one struck up the Star Spangled Banner, and the whole assemblage at once joined in, many with tears of emotion in their eyes. There was no distinction of parties. A meeting being organized in the court house, a most radical Democrat, John Murray, was called to the chair. Jehu Baker made an impressive speech. I spoke briefly, and when I called upon the assembled multitude to rise and to affirm they would stay by the Union to the very last, all rose and swore they would. It is impossible to describe the feeling of enthusiasm which pervaded the whole North. In all the loyal States of the Union the people of all classes rose, and men and money were furnished in lavish profusion. More than

thirty millions of dollars were offered by Legislatures, banks and other corporations, and private individuals. There was but one cry: "To arms — to arms!"

ILLINOIS ORGANIZING

The same day Governor Yates by proclamation convened the Legislature in special session for the 23d of April for the purpose of organizing troops and placing the State on the best footing to render assistance to the general government in preserving the Union. At the same time the Adjutant-General proclaimed that the quota of Illinois was six regiments of infantry. Then there was a perfect race as to who should volunteer first. Augustus Mersy, whom I have mentioned before as having been an officer in the Baden army and as having with that army joined the people's cause in 1849, after commanding as a colonel and brigadier-general in various actions against the Prussians, at once started a company the day after the President's call. A second one was organized by Mr. Tiedemann. Word was sent from Mascoutah that one was getting up there, and from Lebanon came the same information. Henry Goedeking and Sharon Tyndale, then postmaster, were most active in getting these companies organized. They and some other patriotic citizens pledged their credit to furnish them at once with simple uniforms, blue blouses and military caps, and to provide for their support until they reached the camp designated at Springfield. Our ladies worked day and night for their outfit.

The same day the Governor issued his proclamation, he telegraphed me to come up at once, as he wanted to have me with him. I stayed two or three days in Belleville until I saw that everything relating to volunteers, consisting mostly of the best part of our youth, was going on right. Arrived at Springfield, I was at once overwhelmed with business. Fortunately I found Trumbull also there. Yates was overrun with people about volunteers, about appointments, and with visitors from curiosity. He did not know how to get rid of

them, and left really most of the important business to us. McClernand, a strong Democrat, but equally strong for the Union, came in often and gave us good counsel, particularly about Southern Illinois, where his influence was strong.

Our militia for years had existed only on paper. We had an adjutant-general, commissary and quartermaster-general, some brigadier-generals and their staff, but no privates. With the exception of some volunteer companies in some of the larger cities, we had no brigades, no regiments, no battalions. The adjutant-generals and quartermaster-generals were appointed by the Governor from his friends from civil life anxious to have a title but perfectly ignorant of the duties of their office. To assist Adjutant-General Colonel Mather, the Governor had appointed a gentleman from Massachusetts, who had been a high officer in the well-organized militia of that State, and seemed to understand the routine business, John B. Wyman, afterwards colonel of the 13th Illinois, who fell in battle. Governor Woods volunteered his services as assistant quartermaster, but everything was at first in great confusion. It was very strangely supposed that I understood something about military matters. To be sure, I had been pretty well drilled at the University, and later on when a member of the national guard at Frankfort, in the manual exercises and also in marching. I had practiced target-shooting, both at Frankfort and when out on the farm the first year I came here, and had hunted a good deal; so that I was familiar with fire-arms. I was used to riding all kinds of horses, knew how to feed, to curry, and to saddle them, but that would not enable me to command a regiment or a brigade. I had always been fond of military history, had read the history of military campaigns, from Xenophon's Anabasis and Caesar's Gallic and Civil wars, which by the way I found most tedious reading, down to those of the Crimean War. I had always witnessed with pleasure field manœuvres, had traveled distances to see them, knew the difference between tactics and strategy, but that was the sum and sub-

stance of my military knowledge. Nevertheless, I was constantly appealed to, when questions of organization or disposition of troops came up for consideration. This made me write by way of a joke to Sophie on the 24th of April: "Kiss Victor and tell him that his father has become minister of war."

On the 23d of April the Belleville companies came up to Springfield under the command of Captain Mersy, — five large companies. They were the first that came from a distance. Many of the boys had been members of the various volunteer companies that had existed from time to time at Belleville. A large number were or had been Turners, and understood marching to perfection, and some of the older men had been in the military service in Germany before they came here. Besides, some three or four days before they came up, they had been very actively drilled. The whole body in their plain but handsome uniforms looked very fine. One or two companies from the adjoining counties had previously arrived, but they came in their common clothes and in a crowd, not understanding anything about marching. We had sent a band of music to the depot. Gov. Yates and myself and some of the State officers received them. They formed at once in good style, more than five hundred strong, and marched up to the State House like drilled soldiers. All Springfield was on the streets and they were welcomed with a most enthusiastic cheer. I wrote to Sophie: "Our Belleville boys put the people into raptures. It was a proud sight."

The companies were too large and a sixth one was formed out of them. Three companies from Alton, mostly Germans, joined them the next day, and, with a company from Montgomery, they concluded to form a regiment, the 9th, really the 3d, for, very foolishly in my opinion, the first regiment was called the Seventh, out of regard it was said to the six regiments Illinois had sent to Mexico. Of course, I could have been easily elected colonel of the regiment, three-fourths of whom were Germans, but I did not feel myself qualified to

undertake such a responsibility. Besides, I knew I could do more for our common cause as a civilian than as a colonel of a regiment. At my instance the regiment elected E. A. Paine colonel. He was a West Pointer, had been in the Mexican War on the staff of Gen. Zachary Taylor, and was well recommended to me by Governor Yates and others. At the time he was a lawyer in our State. The regiment would have greatly preferred Captain Mersy. But Mersy had lived almost exclusively amongst the Germans and wrote English very imperfectly, and could not at the beginning at least have been able to represent the regiment properly before the higher authorities. He himself did not think that he was well qualified for the station. He was elected lieutenant-colonel; Jesse J. Phillips, now Circuit Judge Phillips, was elected major. It was certainly one of the best, if not the best, regiment of the three months' men. At the end of the year Colonel Paine was made a brigadier-general and Mersy became colonel, but the regiment was generally commanded by Phillips, one of the most dashing officers of the Union Army; Mersy commanding the brigade, to which the regiment belonged, through nearly all his time of service. Fritz Scheel, then hardly eighteen years of age, was a sergeant and was soon made second lieutenant. Fritz Ledergerber was a second lieutenant, and Henry Kircher was a non-commissioned officer during the three months' service.

CAIRO AND ALTON OCCUPIED

On the 30th of April the regiment was sent down to Cairo. A day or two after my arrival at Springfield, the Secretary of War, Cameron, sent a dispatch to the Governor of the following import: "Take possession of Grand Cairo at the earliest moment!" His "Grand Cairo" raised a great laugh, but we immediately telegraphed to General Swift, a brigadier-general of our militia at Chicago, (the same Mr. A. Swift, banker, who had lent our Adolph the money to go to Germany and fight for the popular rights,) to despatch at

once what forces he could gather to Cairo, taking care to send a pilot engine ahead, as the secessionists in southern Illinois might have torn up the track or burned the bridges.

The Governor had by this time received from respectable citizens letters informing him that in some of the southern counties the disunion feeling was very strong; that secret meetings had been held in the woods; and that Capt. Carter (who was a member of the State Senate) was organizing a company to go South. It was even reported that John A. Logan had addressed a crowd ready to join the Confederacy, encouraging them in their undertaking. The charge against General Logan, when he after some hesitation joined the Republican party, the war being over, was renewed by wrathy Democrats, and supported by affidavits, one of which, it was said, was made even by a brother of his. My recollection, however, is that Logan succeeded in clearing himself of this accusation, although at the time, and even some considerable time after Douglas had denounced secession and had promised his support to the war, Logan was still opposing coercion and denouncing Douglas.

Swift was an energetic man. Money was furnished by the rich Union men of Chicago at once, and in less than twenty-four hours after he had received the order he had placed at Cairo two companies of the Chicago Zouaves, an American company, the Turner Cadets and the Lincoln Rifles, (the two last made up of Germans,) and four companies of light artillery from Chicago, Ottawa, Lockport and Plainfield. A company of infantry from Jacksonville was also instantly dispatched. Early in May, the 8th, 10th and 11th regiments followed to Cairo, and Brigadier-General B. Prentiss, having been elected brigadier under our old militia law, took command of the place. A fort was thrown up where the rivers meet, a battery of U. S. heavy artillery manned it, and Cairo remained safe during the whole of the war.

On consultation and without waiting for orders from Washington, the 7th regiment was stationed at Alton and the

12th at Caseyville on the Ohio and Mississippi Road only six miles east of St. Louis. I said "without waiting for orders;" for after the "Grand Cairo order" for a week or more no word could be got from Washington, a secession mob at Baltimore having on the 19th of April attacked a regiment from Massachusetts while passing in the cars through the city, having taken possession of the city, having cut down the telegraph lines leading north and west, and having burned the bridges on the railroad to Philadelphia and New York. Harper's Ferry was occupied by the secessionists and all communications on the Baltimore and Ohio Road were interrupted. The Governor sent Speed Butler, the son of our Treasurer, William Butler, as an express to Washington. He was a discreet and very determined youth, made his way to Harrisburg, and by by-ways got into Washington, getting the necessary orders for arms, tents and equipments for our troops, and communicating with the President.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Illinois Organizing

At the time the regiments were organizing at Camp Yates on the Springfield Fair Grounds, about the 23d or 24th of April, my friend E. B. Washburne came down from Galena in company with a gentleman, whom he introduced to me, (the Governor not being in the office,) as Captain Grant of Galena. He said that they had had a Union meeting at Galena, that Captain Grant, though a Douglas Democrat, had gone to the meeting, presided over it, and had exhorted the people to raise a volunteer company; that he, Washburne, thought, that, as the Captain had been for years in the regular army, had been in the Mexican war, and had in the West acted frequently as regimental quartermaster and commissary, he might be a very useful man in these departments at Springfield, which he understood were filled by men who did not understand much of the business.

GRANT IN SPRINGFIELD

I must confess that Grant at that time did not look very prepossessing. Hardly of medium height, broad-shouldered and rather short-necked, his features did not indicate any very high grade of intellectuality. He was very indifferently dressed, and did not at all look like a military man. After awhile Governor Yates entered his private office, which had a separate entry. Hearing him, I took Washburne and Grant to Governor Yates, and went back to my desk. It was not long before they came out again, and Washburne looked rather dissatisfied. He said that the Governor had told him that there was no place for Captain Grant, as there were now

sufficient assistants in the military offices, but he would consider the matter and let him know the result. I learned afterwards that for some reason or other there was not the best feeling existing between Yates and Washburne, the trouble having originated at Washington when both were members of Congress. Washburne spoke rather unkindly of Yates after this interview. I, on my part, thought that Captain Grant would be a very valuable acquisition, considering the confusion still existing in the war-office, and expressed myself to that effect. I told Washburne that I would talk plainly to Yates about it. And so I did. And when Captain Grant called next day, Governor Yates offered him an appointment as assistant quartermaster-general at $2.00 a day, which the Captain accepted.

Captain Grant would very often drop into the office where I was, and, when at leisure, would smoke his little canestem pipe, the same as I did. When in a larger company, he was very reticent, and hardly spoke; yet, when only one was present, he conversed quite freely. I thought he was quite a good fellow for a West Pointer. Some time afterwards, in May, he was made commander of Camp Yates, where he became quite popular amongst the boys. Later on in May, ten new regiments of State troops were organized; and the one in the camp at Mattoon having become dissatisfied with their colonel, and having informed Governor Yates that the regiment which had been mustered in by Captain Grant as assistant adjutant-general desired to have Captain Grant appointed their colonel, Governor Yates issued him a commission. It was the 21st regiment.

When, in 1883, General Grant was an invited guest of the Villard excursion to Oregon, on the occasion of the completion of the Northern Pacific, a section of the party, to which I also belonged, was quartered for several days at the Lafayette Hotel at Lake Minnetonka. Both General Grant and I stopped there, and late one evening had a chat in the corridor of the house. We came to talk of our first meeting in Spring-

field. He told me that when he first understood that the Mattoon regiment desired him to take the colonelship, he felt very reluctant to accept the office, and told Governor Yates so. He objected, because he did not want to assume the responsibility of commanding a regiment. But the Governor replied that he, Grant, was certainly better qualified than nearly all the other colonels to whom he had issued commissions, and handed him thereupon the list of appointees. "I looked over it," General Grant said to me, "and I knew but two of the men, and these only by reputation. 'Well,' said I, 'if these men think they can lead a regiment in the field, I may try my luck as well.'" "But," said the General to me, "after I was out with the boys a couple of weeks, I felt I could take any responsibility, however great."

These were his very words. I was therefore astonished, when the General's Memoirs came out after his death, to read, that he gave quite a different version of his first entry into the Union service. In those Memoirs he does not mention Washburne, who had been throughout the war his warmest and most effective friend, but with whom he had fallen out when he was a candidate for a third Presidential term, and of whom he spoke to me with great bitterness. He said in his Memoirs that he had come down to Springfield to accompany the Galena company, the captaincy of which he had declined, merely to see them mustered in; that he knew no one at Springfield, had seen Yates at the hotel table, had never been introduced to him, but that when he, Grant, was about to return to Galena, the Governor came to him and offered him the place of assistant adjutant-general. General Grant then very modestly says in his Memoirs that he availed himself of the services of Mr. Loomis, the chief clerk, who understood the business perfectly and kept things in perfect order. Having returned to Galena, his business with the State being at an end, he wrote a letter to Adjutant-General Thomas in Washington, offering his services. In this letter he says that he felt himself competent to command a regiment. He

received no answer. He adds, however: "I felt some reluctance in suggesting as high a rank as the colonelcy of a regiment, feeling somewhat doubtful whether I would be equal to the position. But I had seen nearly every colonel who had been mustered into the service from the State of Illinois and some from Indiana, and felt that if they could command a regiment properly and with credit, I could also."

This discrepancy between my statement and that of the General regarding his first appearance in Springfield and his appointment, arises undoubtedly from the fact that the General kept no diary, and that, after being engaged for many years in events of the most momentous importance, his memory in comparatively small matters and incidents often failed him when he wrote his Memoirs, shortly before his death and while stricken with a mortal disease.

THE SITUATION IN ST. LOUIS

In the latter part of April a dispatch was received from St. Louis that the steamboats John D. Perry and C. E. Hillman had left that port for New Orleans with a large cargo of lead and also some cases of revolvers and cavalry accoutrements and quantities of powder. Now a very delicate question came up. These boats had left the port of a sister State under the flag of the United States and undoubtedly provided with proper clearance papers from the United States custom-house officers. There was not, nor ever could have been, a war between Illinois and Missouri. The boats belonged to well-known citizens of St. Louis, perhaps Union men, but bound thus far, as public carriers, to ship any goods consigned to the lower ports. Trumbull, I believe, was not in town. I advised the stopping of the boats at Cairo upon the principle, as I remarked, of "silet toga inter arma." Yates was equal to the occasion. There was no time to be lost. With Washington we were just then not in communication. The commanding officer at Cairo was ordered to seize the boats, search them for contraband of war, take it out, and

deposit it safely at Cairo and wait for further orders. The order was executed. A detachment of Zouaves under Lieutenant Scott on a tug or ferry-boat, mounted with a cannon, steamed some miles up the river, lying in wait. When one of the boats came in sight a shot was fired across the bow of it, which made her stop. A boat with the Lieutenant and some soldiers made up towards the steamer, but she was immediately run ashore and her crew took to the woods. She was then manned by our men and taken down to Cairo, where she was overhauled and large stores of lead and other warlike stores taken out. She then got permission to proceed. I think she returned to St. Louis. The other steamer, having got wind of what had happened to her companion, took at once the back track to St. Louis.

This event created at once terrible excitement in St. Louis, and also in the other Border States. Even Union men in those States and in the Free States denounced the act as a high handed one against a sister State. It must be recollected that during the first months of the war a great confusion of ideas prevailed concerning the status of the two belligerents. Kentucky for several months claimed neutrality. The rebel Governor of Missouri, C. F. Jackson, was treating in St. Louis with some prominent Union men for some sort of neutrality for that State. But the clamor soon ceased when far bigger events loomed up. The act of the Governor of Illinois after awhile was not only approved by the Secretary of War, but all communication by boat or otherwise with the rebel States was stopped by order of the President.

The messenger whom we had sent to Washington brought back an order on the commander of the Arsenal in St. Louis for 10,000 stands of arms. Our own State Arsenal contained no more than about 600 muskets and rifles of various patterns. But the trouble was how to get the arms. The condition of things was alarming in St. Louis. The Governor of Missouri had in the most insolent manner refused to comply with the President's proclamation to furnish the quota of militia for

his State. The Legislature at Jefferson City was by a large majority in favor of secession. Under the State militia law the Governor had ordered a camp of instruction to be held at St. Louis. A few battalions had already repaired to the camp, called Camp Jackson. The streets in the camp were named Jefferson Davis, General Beauregard, etc., etc. Most all of the men, and their commander, General Frost, were disunion men. But, besides that, a league of citizens in St. Louis had been organized, calling itself "friends of the Constitution," and in the various wards disunion assemblies were formed under the name of Minute Men. As Governor Jackson had seized the United States Arsenal at Fayette, Mo., these various disunion companies had been furnished with arms and ammunition. On a hill in the northern part of the city they had erected a battery. The possession of the St. Louis Arsenal was in contemplation. There was only one small battalion of U. S. infantry at Jefferson Barracks, ten miles below St. Louis, and only a small detachment guarded the Arsenal. St. Louis, about that time, contained a population of some 175,000 people, two-thirds of whom may be said to have been either out-and-out secessionists or at least opposed to making war on the rebellious States.

The sea-port for St. Louis was New Orleans. The trade of the city was principally with the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. Some of the most influential and richest men were slave-holders. The American merchants were deeply interested in the Southern trade. There being no railroads running parallel with the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, steamboating was at its height and many thousands of merchants, sailors and laborers depended upon that interest. The Irish population had always been radically Democratic, and were besides inveterate enemies of the black people. It was constantly dinned into their ears that the war was entered upon by the black Republicans to free the negroes. Fortunately there was already a large German element in St. Louis, which

almost unanimously and enthusiastically stood up for the Union. Captain Lyon had been sent from the East, and took command of Jefferson Barracks and the Arsenal. In a few days Union regiments were formed with the approval of Captain Lyon. Thousands flocked to the Arsenal. It was Frank Blair who with his known energy and boldness took the first and principal part in the rising for the Union. He became colonel of the first regiment, made up mostly of Germans and of personal American friends and adherents of his. Henry Boernstein, who, in his younger years, had been some time in the Austrian military service, undertook the organization of a second, Franz Sigel of a third, and Major Schutterer of a fourth regiment. At the time, however, I speak of, the formation and organization was going on, but was not yet completed.

In order to get the arms, it was understood some prudence should be exercised. The owner of the regular Alton packet-boat was confidentially asked whether he would undertake to go down to the Arsenal and ship the arms on board and bring them to Alton. Though a strong Democrat, the owner said he would try to do it, even if the rebels would blow his boat to hell. The boat made her regular evening trip down to St. Louis, remained at its landing, dropped down to the Arsenal, got the arms aboard in a very short time, and, putting on a full head of steam, passed the city without molestation. The boilers had been secured by bales of hay. A German company or two acted as escort. Captain Lyon, however, being still apprehensive that an attack might be made on the Arsenal by the Missouri militia and the city mob in such numbers as to overpower his forces and get possession of the arms, sent up 21,000 stands of arms instead of 10,000, and also ten guns and plenty of ammunition and accoutrements, retaining, however, enough for all the volunteer troops he could raise. We now had arms enough for our six regiments, with some to spare.

This expedition and its successful result made a great

ado at the time, and rather depressed the St. Louis secessionists, who had loudly boasted that the taking of the Arsenal was only a question of time. When it became known that we had a surplus of arms, the governors of other States applied to Governor Yates to let them have some of them. But of course we could not dispose of them at our pleasure. Soon, however, a very good-looking and amiable gentleman made his appearance in Springfield, presenting himself as an aide to Governor Dennison, of Ohio, and the bearer of a requisition from the Secretary of War on Governor Yates for 5,000 of the Springfield muskets. The Governor was not present, (it was supposed he was in Jacksonville,) and our adjutant-general was not willing to let the arms go without an order from the Governor. The messenger from Ohio, James A. Garfield, was very impatient to get the muskets. Cincinnati, he said, was greatly alarmed. They feared an invasion from the Kentuckians. I then told the adjutant-general that I would take the responsibility, and gave an order for the delivery in the name of the Governor. Garfield felt very much relieved. When I met him after the war on the floor of the House of Representatives, when I had really forgotten all about the circumstance, he mentioned it, and said that he would always remember the handsome way in which I had treated him and helped him along in his business.

ATTITUDE OF DOUGLAS

Another meeting in those days of much interest was that with Douglas. He had left Washington on the 18th of April, after having called on Lincoln and told him that, though he was unalterably opposed to the political principles of the administration, he was fully prepared to sustain him in preserving the Union. Of course, the past was forgotten. In his fertile mind he had already laid out plans for the coming campaign, and in his fervid and impressive way laid them before us. The day after his arrival he addressed the people in the State House. The crowd was immense, and his patriotic

views were loudly applauded. He had made speeches on the way to Springfield, and left us for Chicago, where he spoke to one of the largest meetings ever held there.

Douglas's influence was of large advantage to our cause, as he was really the idol of the Northern Democracy. The counter-efforts that were made for some time by John A. Logan and Dan Voorhees, who denounced Douglas as having betrayed his party, fell dead, and Logan soon found it advisable, in order not to kill himself forever, to join the volunteer army.

WAR MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR

The Legislature, in pursuance of the Governor's call, met in extra session on the 23d of April. Governor Yates, being overrun with visitors of all kinds, and overwhelmed with a multitude of letters, principally with reference to accepting companies for the three months' service, begged me to write his message to the Legislature for him. I did so. The original manuscript is amongst my papers, as is also the printed message, wherein are marked the few sentences he inserted, to make it look more like "Dick Yates," as he laughingly told me. This was not an easy task. The occasion called for elevation of style, but, emanating from the executive of the State, the message had to be free from rhetorical and passionate utterances. I will give a few passages of the document.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois:

"Gentlemen: The Constitution authorizes me on extraordinary occasions to convene the Legislature in special session. Certainly no occasion could have arisen more extraordinary than the one now presented to us. A plan conceived by some able but misguided statesmen of the South for many years past, founded upon an inadmissible and destructive interpretation of our National Constitution, and considered until very recently as merely visionary, has been partially carried into execution by ambitious and restless

leaders to the peril of our noble Union, of our Democratic institutions, and of our public and private prosperity."

After showing briefly how utterly without reason were the charges made against the Federal government to justify secession, and after recounting the recent revolutionary and warlike proceedings and dwelling upon the almost too forbearing and pacific policy of the Federal government, I continued.

"A simple attempt on the part of our Constitutional Government to provision a starving garrison in one of our forts, of which the revolutionary authorities had received official notice from the government, has been made the occasion for a destructive bombardment of that fort. Overpowered by numbers our gallant men had to lower our glorious flag and to surrender on terms dictated by rebels.

"The spirit of a free and brave people is aroused at last. Upon the first call of the Constitutional Government they are rushing to arms. Our own noble State, as of yore, has responded in a voice of thunder. Party distinctions have vanished in one night as if by magic. Men of all parties vie with each other in devotion to the country. The services already rendered me in my efforts to organize troops, provide means, arms and provisions, by distinguished members of the party hitherto opposed to me in political sentiments, are beyond all praise and are by me on behalf of the State most cheerfully acknowledged. There are now more companies received than are needed under the Presidential call, and almost an unlimited number are formed waiting further orders. Nearly a million of money has been offered to the State as a loan by our patriotic capitalists and other private citizens to pay the expenses connected with the raising of our State troops and temporarily providing for them.

"Civil war, it must be confessed, is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a people. Would that the calamity could be averted! But the destruction of our government is a far greater evil."

In the printed message the following passage is inserted by the Governor:

" And such a war! It is said, when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war. When American shall meet

American, when the fiery impetus of the South shall come into contact with the cool, determined bravery of the North, then blood will flow to the horses' bridles."

Other insertions of the Governor are of the same florid character, so foreign to my style of writing. I give this merely as one instance. But the responsibility was on him, not on me, though in the State House circles it was no secret who was the author of the message. I also called the attention of the Legislature to the embarrassing condition that the Governor found himself in on account of the entirely disorganized state of our militia force. The militia law, itself an old legislative relic as it stood, was wholly inappropriate to modern times and had become obsolete, — wherefore I recommended the speedy enactment of a new militia law, recognizing the principle of volunteering as one of its most leading features. "Such a law," the message said, "ought to be plain and intelligible, as well as concise and comprehensive. It ought to provide for many emergencies and future contingencies, and not for the present moment alone."

Being by no means as sanguine of a speedy triumph of our cause as most men, even our most prominent members of the Federal administration at Washington, I thought it right to foreshadow a less hopeful future. So the message goes on to say:

"I trust that our conflict will not be a protracted one, but, if unfortunately it should be, we may well expect that what now is done by enthusiasm and in the first effervescence of popular excitement, may hereafter have to be done by a stern sense of duty to be regulated by an equally stern law. Trials may come which can only be met by endurance and patient performance of prescribed duty."

After recommending some necessary financial and other measures, the message concluded as follows:

"I commend the destiny of our noble and gallant State in this, its hour of peril, to your wise and patriotic deliberations and prudent deliberations. May the God of our Fathers who led them through many and serious trials to a glorious

triumph and who gave them strength to build up our sacred Union and to frame a government which has been the center of our affections and the admiration of the world, still be with us and preserve our country from destruction. (Here Yates had inserted a stirring rhetorical sentence, but the original is as above.)

I concluded as follows, and Yates made no alterations:

"In the firm belief that we are in the hands of a Supreme Ruling Power, whose will is wisdom, let us manfully sustain our rights and our Constitution and Union to the last extremity. Let us so act that our children, and children's children, when we are laid in the dust, will hold us in grateful remembrance and will bless our memories of the heroes and patriots who achieved our Independence and transmitted to us the priceless heritage of American liberty."

WAR SESSION OF THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE

It was evident that the session of the Legislature would be a short one. Several of the members were already officers in the regiments. Others were desirous of entering the State military service, as recommended in the Governor's message; still others, interested in commercial and industrial pursuits, were anxious to return to their business at home, as a financial crisis was necessarily to be expected upon the outbreak of war. A great many banks had deposited, as security for their circulation, Southern bonds, before always considered perfectly good, but of course now almost valueless. Anticipating the desire of many members to remain in session as short a time as possible, it was thought that the Executive should take the initiative in legislation and not leave it to the usual unsystematic action of single members, who would crowd in a number of bills, each perhaps with the same object but in a multitude of shapes and with individual idiosyncrasies. A few days before, at the commencement of the session, all the bills thought necessary for the occasion were prepared in the Governor's office, and the Chairmen of the Committees on Military Affairs, on Finance, and on Judiciary, were called in, the bills at once submitted to them, their opinions taken,

and the amendments suggested by them adopted. Having agreed on all points, they on their part laid them before their committees, got them approved, reported them at once to their respective houses, where with very little opposition they passed under suspension of rules in a few days. No buncombe resolutions were discussed or passed, and in ten days the Legislature adjourned. By one law the organization of the six regiments was provided for in detail; by another entitled "An act to prepare the State of Illinois to protect its own territory, repel invasion, and render efficient and prompt aid to the United States, when demanded," ten regiments of infantry, one battalion of artillery, and one regiment of cavalry were authorized to be raised, one in each Congressional district, which were to repair to the camps of instruction for thirty days and to be ready to enter the United States service in case of a new call for soldiers being made on the State. By another law the militia of the State was organized upon an effective plan, dividing it into active or voluntary or reserve classes. A war-fund, by the issue of bonds for two millions, was provided for, and a commission created to audit and certify all accounts for supplies and munitions of war, clothing, etc., furnished for Illinois troops, and all accounts in any manner accruing for organizing the troops under the call of the President for volunteers. A severe law to prevent the giving of aid to the enemies of the United States, and also one against the obstruction of transportation of troops or military stores, were enacted, inflicting heavy penalties upon the offenders. Another law provided for the establishment of powder-magazines, for the purchase of arms, and still another to prevent the use of telegraph for illegal and revolutionary purposes.

It will be readily understood what amount of labor devolved, during these days, upon the Governor and upon those whom he had called to his assistance.

In a letter to Sophie on the 24th of April, I said: "Trumbull and myself are the confidential advisers of Yates and have to direct him with everything. Many nights I have not

gone to bed before two o'clock in the morning." I acted during this time and for many weeks afterwards as a volunteer. I held no office, and claimed and received no remuneration.

SENT AS REPRESENTATIVE TO THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE AT CLEVELAND

On the first of May, Governor Yates insisted on my accompanying him to Cleveland, where a meeting of the Governors of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois was to take place, to consult on some kind of joint action, in order most effectually to sustain the Washington Government just then supposed to be very much in need of material and moral support. When the time came for parting, Yates pleaded the necessity of remaining at Springfield, as he had to approve the bills just then being passed at railroad speed, (the Legislature having fixed its adjournment for the third of May,) and invested me with authority to represent him, giving me *carte blanche* to act as I thought best.

I left late in the evening of the first of May, and was due at Cleveland in the afternoon of the second. But about one hundred miles east of Springfield near the State line, we were delayed some six hours by the wreck of a large freight train. I missed the connection at Toledo for Cleveland, and had to stay all night there; so that I reached Cleveland only by dinner time of the third of May.

The first thing I there learned was, that the meeting had already adjourned an hour before, and that most of the members had left or were on the point of leaving. Governor Dennison, of Ohio, was still there, and he gave me a brief relation of what had been done and told me to come along with him to Columbus, where he would write out a memorandum of their action. They all had arrived on the second in the afternoon, had at once held a preliminary meeting that evening, and that morning had merely reduced to writing what they had agreed upon the night before.

I was much disappointed, not that I thought I could have had any particular influence on their deliberations; yet I wanted to tell them of the spirit that prevailed in Illinois. And I was also anxious to make the acquaintance of so many prominent Republicans. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, Governor Morton of Indiana, Governor Randall of Wisconsin, and Governor Blair of Michigan, had been present. John Bigelow, who represented Governor Morgan of New York, and George B. McClellan, who had been appointed by Governor Dennison, major-general of all the militia of Ohio, had also attended this gathering.

As the train for Columbus did not leave until late in the evening, I went out to the great camp which had been established at the west end of the beautiful Euclid Avenue. There were already some three or four thousand volunteers there, organized into regiments. Some of them had been in militia companies before this, wore their nice and somewhat fantastic uniforms, and were well drilled. Towards evening they had a dress parade, and thousands of people had come out, a good part being ladies. Great enthusiasm prevailed. There was singing of patriotic songs; the musical bands played; and the sutlers' tents were well patronized. It was the honeymoon of the war.

At Columbus the next morning I called at Governor Dennison's house, — it being Sunday. He showed me a copy of a memorial which was to be delivered to the President. The conference recommended, in the first place, the erection of a Department of the West, including even the western part of Pennsylvania; secondly, the establishment of uniform rules as to the stopping of supplies to the South; thirdly, the making of the West, on the Ohio and Mississippi, the base of operations; fourthly, the pursuance of a vigorous war policy, the troops to be moved at once and kept in action, and West Virginia to be made a field for military operations. Bigelow and Governor Curtin were deputed to lay the result of the deliberations of the conference before the President.

Governor Dennison took occasion to express to me his great satisfaction at the promptness with which his request for arms was complied with by Illinois. He appeared to me a very pleasant, calm and sensible man, who, while he had his heart in the cause, was not demonstrative. I thought at the time that he was perhaps not as resolute and energetic as the occasion required. But I believe he gave great satisfaction while he was Governor. On the resignation of Montgomery Blair as Postmaster-General, he was appointed in his place by President Lincoln.

Governor Dennison advised me on my return to call on Governor Morton at Indianapolis. I did so. I found Governor Morton in his office, head over ears in business. Before him on a table were spread letters and all sorts of papers. The secretaries were busy writing near him at their desks, and handed him papers to sign. Messenger boys brought him telegrams; visitors on business crowded around him. Still, I managed to have twenty minutes' private conversation with him, giving him an account of what we were doing in Illinois and of the condition of affairs in St. Louis. He was pretty severe on the administration at Washington. Morton's personality was striking. He was then in robust health, pretty strongly built, of a rather darkish complexion, and of regular but energetic features, and resolute in speech; one felt at once that he was the right man in the right place. At a later period, while in the Senate, he was a very leading member, and, I believe, exercised more influence over Grant for good and bad than any other man. The opposition used to call him Grant's evil genius. At the time of my first meeting with Morton I formed a very high opinion of him, and, as far as mental power is concerned, I have never changed it.

I returned to Springfield on the 6th of May and made my report.

MISSION TO ST. LOUIS

Prior to my departure for Cleveland, with a view to the condition of affairs in Missouri, the Seventh regiment, Col.

John Cook commanding, (the first organized for the present war,) had been ordered to occupy Alton; the twelfth regiment, Col. McArthur commanding, had been sent to Caseyville; and the State regiment for the eighth Congressional district, about to be organized under the Ten Regiment Law, then passing the Legislature, was to have been encamped at Belleville.

Governor Yates informed me that he had just received a highly confidential communication from St. Louis that Captain Lyon was about executing some plan, that he would like to know whether in certain contingencies he might rely on some assistance from our State, and would like to have the Governor despatch some trustworthy person to consult with him and concert measures. Governor Yates asked me to go down and learn from Captain Lyon in what way he could be of service to him. He authorized me to enter into any arrangement I thought practicable and not injurious to our State. So without going first to Belleville, I went to the Arsenal at St. Louis, called first on Col. Frank Blair, who was Lyon's confidential adviser, and he at once went over with me to Lyon's quarters and introduced me to the Captain. Yates had given me a letter to him, in which it was stated that I had authority to make arrangements to the extent indicated to me.

The Captain was rather reticent, spoke indefinitely, only inquired about the location of our troops, — how near they were to St. Louis, — and seemed to be well satisfied when I told him the Alton regiment could be sent down to Illinoistown in two hours by boat, by rail in one, and the Caseyville regiment in twenty minutes. He referred me to Colonel Blair who had, he said, full authority to act in this matter. Now Blair, without telling me anything in particular, nor mentioning any time, gave me to understand that they intended breaking up Camp Jackson in the western part of the city, where some battalions of State militia had been concentrated by the secessionist Governor; that there would be

little trouble about effecting this part of the plan, but that he did not know whether this might not occasion a general rising of the secession mob in St. Louis, the extent of which no one could foresee. The Union men might be met by an overwhelming force, and, in that case, help from Illinois might be extremely welcome.

I told him that Illinois was most deeply interested in keeping Missouri in line, and that anything done toward defending the Union government in Missouri would be defending the State of Illinois; that I could pledge Governor Yates for sending all available troops to the assistance of Captain Lyon, without waiting for orders from Washington, in case of an emergency; that if Governor Yates should receive a despatch calling for help, he would at once order the Alton and Caseyville regiments to St. Louis; there were already, as I understood, some five or six companies of the State troops at Belleville, that the regiment would be full in a few days, and that I would take the responsibility of bringing them over, as they would like nothing better than to have a fight. But I ought to know, I told Colonel Blair, about the time the requisition would probably be made, as transportation for the troops had to be provided for. He said, within a few days, if at all, the plan was to be carried out.

I then went to Mr. Bacon, the superintendent, or president or vice-president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, a thorough Union man, to whom, as Blair told me, I might to a certain extent, confide the matter. I, however, merely told Mr. Bacon that the Governor of Illinois in a few days wanted to change the location of the Caseyville regiment to Illinoistown and that I was authorized to tell him to keep a sufficient number of platform cars and a locomotive there to take the regiment at a moment's notice. He seemed to understand the matter, for he volunteered to have cars ready also at Sandoval, so that any other regiments on the Illinois Central road could be sent down there, to be taken by the Ohio and Mississippi to Illinoistown.

When I saw Captain Lyon at the Arsenal he was, of course, not much known outside of military circles. Within the last six months I had become acquainted with so many interesting and prominent persons, that, when introduced to him, my observation was merely a superficial one. I could hardly give a slight description of his person. My general impression was, that, while there was very little military air about him, he was an earnest and energetic man of few words.

DEATH OF MRS. THEODORE ENGELMANN, AND MARRIAGE OF MARY KOERNER

I now returned to Belleville, where I soon was engaged in business relating to public events. Before I refer to them, however, some occurrences will have to be noted concerning my private life. On the last day of January, while I was at Springfield, Mrs. Engelmann, our beloved grandmother, being about eighty years of age, died after a short illness. I have spoken of her before. She retained her mental faculties to the very last, and still formed a center for her very large family of children and other relations. Beloved by all for the sweetness of her temper, the kindness of her heart, and her bright and vivacious mind, her loss was deeply felt.

Our Mary, for some time past, had been engaged to her second cousin, Henry Engelmann, the geologist and mineralogist, with our entire approbation. He was a most upright and honorable young man, and very proficient in his profession. He had been occupied in preparing a geological and mineralogical paper as part of the report submitted by Gen. Albert S. Johnston concerning the expedition in which he had taken part, and had spent the fall and part of the winter of 1860 at Washington completing it and supervising its printing. The term of the State Geologist, Mr. Worthen, and of the assistant geologist, had expired at the end of the year, and Governor Yates, in May, 1861, had appointed Henry assistant State Geologist. Southern Illinois was assigned to him as his field of labor in the geological survey, and he immediately went to work there. Having now obtained a more per-

manent position, he was married to our Mary on the 2nd of August, 1861, at our house at Belleville, but had to make his residence not long after at Springfield, where the State office was.

GRANT IN BELLEVILLE

I found Belleville all alive. The Fair Grounds had been converted into a soldiers' grounds. Two companies from Belleville and one from Monroe were already there; two more from Clinton and one from Washington arrived a day or two after my return. The fact is, the ten State regiments had been filled up almost in the twinkling of an eye. Twice the number of companies had been formed under the President's first call as were required to make up the quota of the State, and so most of those that were rejected were still at their respective places of rendezvous; for, the Governor having recommended in his message the formation of ten regiments of State troops, there was no doubt the Legislature would at once pass a law to organize them. Joe Kircher and Henry Goedeking had been appointed by Governor Yates, an old friend of these gentlemen, commissioners to provide the regiments with camp-equipage, with the usual rations, blankets, etc. They raised the money on their own credit, and were anxious to know how to keep the proper books and to procure the necessary vouchers for their outlays, and had written to the Governor to send some officer down to see whether they had pursued the proper course thus far. On the 8th or 9th of May, Captain Grant called at my office, as I was the only one he knew in Belleville, and asked me to take him to Messrs. Goedeking and Kircher, the Governor having sent him down to give them the proper instructions. I went with him, and, after he had been an hour or so with them in their office, he joined me again, telling me that he had found everything in "apple pie order," and that they would have no trouble in having their accounts passed by the Board of Auditors at Springfield. I invited him to go down to the camp, which had been named Camp Koerner (the camp at Caseyville went by the name of Camp

Bissell). The boys were drilling. Some companies appeared already quite soldier-like. I introduced Captain Grant to the officers already elected, and, it being about dinner-time, we took a soldier's dinner in the officers' mess; and, as the Belleville citizens had sent in wine and beer in very liberal quantities, we had quite a good time amongst the boys. On going back to my office, Captain Grant told me on the way, that he would like to visit Caseyville, where Colonel Arthur's regiment was encamped, as Arthur was an old acquaintance of his from Galena. I told him it was only six or seven miles off, but he would have to take a buggy to get there. "That is all very well," Captain Grant said; "I have passes for my railroad transportation, but I don't have any money to pay for a buggy." "O, never mind," I said, "I have a buggy and horse, and will ask some friend to drive you there." Just at that moment, Hermann G. Weber, who was then, I believe, county-assessor, was riding in his buggy over the public square. I hailed him, and asked him whether he was engaged this afternoon. He replied in the negative. I told him that this was Captain Grant, Assistant Adjutant-General from Springfield, who had been here on business and who wanted to go to Caseyville, and that if he was at leisure he might take him there. Weber said he would do it with a great deal of pleasure, so Captain Grant got into Weber's buggy and left Belleville with Weber.

I did not see him from that time until the war was over. In his Memoirs General Grant says he went to Belleville to muster in a regiment, but, as there were only a few companies on hand, he went to St. Louis. His memory has failed him. No mustering in took place except when a full regiment, or at least a battalion, had been reported to Springfield, and as no such report had been made, he could not have been sent on that errand.

CAMP JACKSON TAKEN

On the 9th of May, I got a confidential communication of what was to take place in St. Louis on the following day. I

immediately went down to the camp and told Captain Dougherty, who, as the oldest captain, commanded the men, to have all the companies then in camp ready to be transported to St. Louis, where they would be armed and might be needed. Being the attorney of the Belleville and Illinoistown road, I ordered a number of platform-cars to be ready next morning for the transportation of troops. The Fair Grounds were right alongside the railroad. I gave Captain Dougherty, who was afterwards elected colonel of the regiment (22d Ill. Infantry), no details. Yet he seemed to be much elated at the prospect of having a possible brush.

On the next day, May 10th, Camp Jackson was taken. It was a complete surprise. The Union forces surrounded the Camp on all sides and in such numbers that General Frost surrendered, and his troops were taken to the Arsenal as prisoners. With few exceptions they took the loyalty oath and were paroled. On marching back with the prisoners, one Union regiment was attacked by a mob; rocks were thrown, and some pistol shots fired, by which the captain of one company was killed. Without orders the company fired into the crowd, and some persons were killed and wounded, amongst them, as often happens on such occasions, peaceable people who were there from curiosity merely. Yet there could be no blame on those who fired, as they had acted clearly in self-defence. Of course, there was great excitement in the city; but the mob found out that the secession business was more dangerous than they thought it was. A few collisions between soldiers and rowdies happened a few days afterwards, but the peace of St. Louis from that time on remained undisturbed.

EQUIPPING VOLUNTEER TROOPS

The State regiment at Belleville kept me pretty busy, as also did a considerable correspondence, arising from the fact that Colonels Frank Blair, Henry Boernstein and Franz Sigel had issued an address to the loyal people of the United States generally, in which they stated, that the Governor of

Missouri, having refused to furnish troops to the general government, volunteers had organized at St. Louis for the defense of the Union, and that for the present they had no means to clothe and feed the regiments already formed except by voluntary contributions. They therefore called upon the people of the loyal States to assist the loyal citizens of St. Louis in supporting the Union forces, and without my knowledge I was named as one of a committee of three to receive and distribute the donations of money or other useful articles for the soldiers. Of course, I could not refuse. But it gave me a great deal of trouble. I was written to by gentlemen from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia for information as to what would be most needed. From others I received at once money-checks. I advised my correspondents to send all clothing at once to the commandant of the Arsenal and the money to the St. Louis member of the committee, and in this wise I was somewhat relieved from the task. The volunteers were also very soon mustered into the United States service as independent regiments and were taken care of by the government.

DEATH OF DOUGLAS

Having been called again to Springfield, I was there when the news was received of Senator Douglas's death at Chicago on the third of June. A meeting of the citizens of Belleville was called to express their sentiments of regret at this unexpected event, and a delegation appointed to attend the funeral. Having been selected as one of the deputation, I went to Chicago. The whole city was in mourning. Nearly all the houses in the principal streets and all the public buildings were draped in black. Most all the stores were closed for the three days that the body lay in state; so were the theatres, and all other places of amusement. I think there was really amongst most of the people a very heartfelt regret at the Senator's decease just at a time when he had re-endeared himself to so many who had to oppose him on principle for the three past years. A society was formed at once to bring

about the erection of a suitable monument to the departed statesman, and I was made a member of the executive committee. But the war intervened, and many years elapsed before the present monument on the lake shore was finally erected and dedicated. From what Douglas had told us at Springfield, we had inferred that Douglas would have liked to take a place in the army, and, judging from the fact that some of the lawyer-generals, such as John M. Palmer, John A. Logan, Frank Blair, John A. McClernand, James A. Garfield, Walter Gresham, John C. Breckenridge, made quite good generals, there is no telling what Douglas might have accomplished as a soldier. Had he died two months sooner, his name would not have shone as bright in the remembrance of the American people as it now does.

PRESENTS COLORS TO THE BELLEVILLE REGIMENT

On my return from Chicago, I presented a regimental flag to the regiment of Belleville from the steps of the court house. I took a particular interest in this, because I knew nearly all the officers and a great many of the privates, who had come from St. Clair and the adjoining counties belonging to the judicial circuit in which I had practiced so long and had presided as judge. This 22d regiment very soon had a hard experience. It formed part of the troops which in November fought that unfortunate battle at Belmont, which was as foolishly conceived as it was miserably conducted. Our troops behaved well enough, but lost heavily in dead, wounded and prisoners. Col. Henry Dougherty of the 23d was left on the ground severely wounded; so was Capt. Thomas Challenor of Belleville, and both taken prisoners. The whole thing ended in an ignominious flight. It was utterly without object, and undertaken by General Grant without orders from the commander of the department. In any other country Grant would have been removed from his position at once.

In speaking of Colonel Dougherty I was reminded of him not long ago at the reunion of soldiers held at Belleville for Southern Illinois, September, 1889. At the Fair Grounds where the old soldiers were encamped, — the same where the 22d regiment had encamped in 1861, — some veterans asked me to come to the headquarters of that regiment to see a certain lady. I went there and was introduced to a very matron-like woman, well but plainly dressed, who was no one else than the widow of Colonel Dougherty. She said she wanted to see me very much. She had been present when I presented the colors to her husband, and had heard my speech and the reply of her husband. "O," said she, with tears in her eyes, "my poor husband had to lose his leg at Belmont, at that unnecessary butchery brought about by the folly of the commander." She was much moved and so was I, as she brought home to me memorable events of auld lang syne.

FURTHER INCIDENTS

I frequently went over to the Arsenal. I found Fred Hecker there with his little son Arthur. He had insisted on being taken into Sigel's regiment as a private, and he was actually doing a private soldier's duty. It was one of his eccentric ideas. He was then over fifty years of age. Arthur got quite sick, — dangerously so. But very soon Hecker received news that his friends in Chicago had obtained authority from the government to raise an independent regiment, and that the regiment would elect him colonel. He seemed to hesitate at first, but finally went to Chicago. The regiment was named the "Hecker Regiment," though its official designation was the "24th Illinois Infantry." Before his regiment was fully organized, it was ordered to Upper Alton, where a camp of instruction under the orders of General Pope had been established. In order to show that there everything was not so bright and smooth in this rapid organization of forces, I will quote some passages from a letter I received from Hecker, dated Alton, May 21, 1861.

"My dear Friend:

When we saw one another last, and you advised me to accept of the regiment, and promised me your support, I did not think that I should have to trouble you so soon. When I came to take charge of the regiment I found out that the whole thing was a humbug, by which the President and myself were duped. I found officers in great numbers, but few privates. Like a condottiero, I had to begin with recruiting and found a great deal of opposition. I was ordered, with the six companies gotten up, to this place. In vain I have appealed to the Governor for tents, arms, rations, etc., etc., while the American regiments are provided with everything. I could not even get permission to put my men into the old penitentiary building. Not even for the sick could I get a proper place to put them. I would like for you, before going to Springfield, to visit me here in camp. I would tell you many things which I have no time to write, for what I have had to undergo the last fortnight can hardly be imagined."

Some allowance must be made for Hecker's impatient character. When a few days afterwards I went to his camp, tents had been received, and there was no lack of rations, and Hecker as well as his men seemed to be in good spirits. I spent nearly a day amongst them. As I had many friends in the other regiments, I saw a good many of them, and found that they complained as much of neglect as Hecker did. To raise armies of hundreds of thousands of men out of nothing was a most gigantic task, and no people but the American, where the smallest community in case of emergency acts for itself upon its own good sense and without waiting for orders from high authority and brings order out of chaos, could have accomplished it.

But Hecker was not alone in complaining to me. On the 23d of June, Lieutenant-Colonel Mersy wrote me from Camp Defiance (Cairo), a letter in which he asked me to come down as soon as possible. "Col. Paine," he wrote, "was not the right man; he was an old fogy, a martinet, and was constantly electioneering. Gen. Prentiss," Mersy wrote further, "has promised the men, that, if they will enter the three years' ser-

vice, they can reorganize and elect new officers, and now the damned electioneering business begins again, and with that everything goes to the devil." He complained also about the treatment of the Germans in the American regiments. "Now, when the electioneering is going on, the Germans are called the best soldiers, the best drilled and disciplined men; but, previous to that, they were constantly neglected. If it is in any way possible, dear Koerner, come down quick. The boys are all in good plight."

By this time Colonel Frémont, who at the outbreak of the Rebellion was at Paris, had returned to the United States and offered his services to the government. There was a great desire here in the West to have him appointed commander of the Western Department. General Harney, who had filled the post, though a Union man, was suspected by some of being not quite in unison with the popular feeling, being a slaveholder and a Virginian by birth. This was unjust, as I knew personally; but he was very old and of course not as ardent and enthusiastic as Lyon or Blair, and the Western Republicans generally. Lyon temporarily had taken his place. Efforts were making for Frémont. Governor Yates and the State officers, as also a great many Missourians, wished me to go to Washington and see the President and to use my best endeavors to bring about the appointment of Frémont. The Germans were also anxious to have Sigel made a brigadier-general and to have the German regiments of Missouri placed under his command. Charged with many other commissions, I started for Washington, where I arrived on the 5th of July.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The City of Washington in 1861

The city was full of troops. I was informed, that on the 4th there had been grand parades in the city and adjoining camps, fifty thousand men being out. Opposite to my hotel a row of houses was occupied by a New York Zouave regiment. Another regiment was camped on the Capitol grounds. On Arlington Heights were several regiments, amongst others the much vaunted 7th New York volunteer regiment, said to be worth in the aggregate five millions of dollars. They looked very stylish; but I doubted much whether they would fight as well as they looked. They were a great attraction to the ladies, who thronged their camp. One of the finest regiments I saw was on the grounds of the German Sharpshooters' Society. It was the German regiment of Colonel Von Gilsa. They looked like regulars.

INTERVIEW WITH LINCOLN

On the 9th I wrote to Sophie that the heat was excessive, but that I was well. Among other things I said:

"Yates has also arrived here, and several other Illinoisans. Hecker and another colonel from Illinois came here yesterday to get an order for arms, in which they succeeded. I had a long conversation with Lincoln about a great many things. He was exceedingly kind and explained a great many things which however were not altogether new to me. I positively declared that I would not accept the appointment of brigadier-general, and gave him my reasons. Colonels Turner and Hecker, as soon as they arrived, and before I knew that they were in Washington, had been to see Mr. Lincoln and had demanded my appointment as brigadier-general, receiving

from him the reply that I did not wish to have the place and that I had positively refused it. This rather singular incident was however quite agreeable to me, since I have now witnesses that I have refused this place, as I have several others. Thou knowest that the people, which cannot at all conceive that one does not grab at anything one can get, will not believe me, when I assert that I have no desire for place and have gone so far as to refuse one. On last Sunday evening in company with some of the gentlemen from Illinois I was for three hours with Mr. Lincoln, when we discussed the events of the day, and where I learned a great many things; for Lincoln is naively open-hearted."

THE SITUATION AT THE FRONT

I visited the forts already erected and in course of erection south and west of Washington. Some of them were already mounted with guns of the heaviest calibre. To my unmilitary eye it appeared that the capital could easily be defended by a few thousand men against a *coup de main* of the Confederates. Under this impression I could not understand during the course of the war the extreme fear of the military authorities for Washington. They seemed to have entertained the idea that the rebel forces could easily take the city. It was this anxiety which kept a large force away from the active battlefields to cover Washington, thereby producing rather unfortunate results.

In company with a friend I visited Alexandria about seven miles south of Washington. It required, however, a permit to cross over into Virginia, which, of course, I had no difficulty in obtaining. I have it now before me and as a curiosity I will transcribe it.

"Headquarters, Military Department,
Washington, July 9, 1861.

"Pass Governor Koerner two days over the bridge and within the lines. By order of General Mansfield, Commanding.

"(Signed) Drake DeKay, Aide-de-camp."

Endorsed on back:

"It is understood that the within named and subscribed accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will be

ever loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union or in any way aiding her enemies, penalty will be death.

"(Signed) G. Koerner."

After crossing the long bridge over the Potomac we arrived at an earthwork and a camp of soldiers. An officer examined our pass and we went on; passing, on our way to Alexandria, numerous camps of Union soldiers. Alexandria for some considerable time past must have appeared to a modern eye as a very antiquated, quaint city. The houses of brick and stone were of ancient architecture. Many of them however seemed to have been the abode of wealth and pride. At the present time it wore a sad look of desolation. A great many dwelling houses and stores were shut up. Nearly all the wealthy and well-to-do people had fled when the Union army had taken possession of the place. Commerce and trade, which had heretofore been pretty brisk, were at a standstill. Few people were seen on the streets, and had it not been for a large Union army in the outskirts of the city, from which officers and men came occasionally into town, one would have thought it a deserted place.

Of course, I attended several times both Houses of Congress, which had assembled in special session. In the House, as well as in the Senate, there were still some members from the South, — some loyal, as Senator Johnson from Tennessee, and Representative Crittenden from Kentucky. Breckenridge was still in the Senate from Kentucky; so was my friend and university class-mate Powell, also from Kentucky.

I also busied myself somewhat with legislation. I drew up a bill, that all aliens of the age of twenty-one years who had enlisted or who would enlist in the army or navy of the United States, either in the regular or volunteer forces, and who had been or might be honorably discharged, should be admitted as citizens of the United States on petition, without any previous declarations of their intention to become such, after one year's residence in the United States previous to

their application. My friend Mr. Arnold introduced it in the House and it was readily passed there and in the Senate.

PROPOSES A BILL TO PUNISH TREASON AND SEDITION

Having had some experience of the great difficulties the Union forces and the Union men generally in Missouri had in dealing with loose bands of guerrillas or with disloyal people who individually committed acts of violence against loyal men and destroyed bridges, telegraph wires, and obstructed railroads, I prepared very carefully a bill entitled "A Bill to suppress insurrection and sedition, and for other purposes." It provided that the commanding general of the army and the commanders of the several departments should have power within their several commands or districts of country, which may have been or should hereafter be declared to be in a state of insurrection or rebellion, to declare by proclamation the territory so designated or any part thereof to be in a state of insurrection; that after such declaration the said commanders should make and publish such police rules and regulations as might be deemed necessary to suppress the said insurrection and to restore order and protect the life and property of all loyal citizens; that all civil authorities should be bound to carry said rules and regulations into effect; but that, if from any cause the civil authorities should fail to execute the same, these rules were then to be executed and enforced by the military forces. It provided further, that while such a state of insurrection existed the operation of the writ of habeas corpus was to be suspended where arrests had been made by any military authority; that all persons found under such a proclamation in arms against the United States or otherwise aiding or abetting their enemies and taken by the forces of the United States, should either be detained as prisoners for trial on the charge of treason or sedition, or might, according to the circumstances of the case, at once be brought before a court-martial to be dealt with according to the rules of war in respect to unorganized and lawless armed bands not recog-

nized as regular troops, or might be discharged on parole not to serve against the United States, nor to aid or abet their enemies or opponents; that no death sentence pronounced by the respective court-martial should be executed before it had been submitted to the commander of the military department or the commanding general of the army of the United States, who should either approve or commute the sentence or discharge or pardon the person so sentenced. All paroled prisoners found in arms against the United States were to be court-martialled and sentenced to death under the afore-named conditions. All persons suspected of disloyalty were to be brought before the military authorities of the respective district and have the oath of loyalty administered to them, and, on refusal, such persons were to be detained as prisoners until quiet and peace were restored in the district where such arrests had been made. Finally, it provided, that, if any person during any insurrection or war was found destroying or to have destroyed any railroad tracks, rolling stock or machinery necessary to operate a railroad, or any bridges, highways, ferry-boats, or any other means of transportation and communication, or any telegraph office, telegraph wire or post, or other machinery used to operate a telegraph, with a view to opposing the government or aiding or abetting its enemies, such person should be brought before a court-martial and dealt with according to the rules and regulations of war usually adopted in such cases, and should suffer death, unless the court pronounced some other penalty. All such sentences were to be submitted for approval as in other cases.

This bill, Senate Bill, 37th Congress, First Session, July 17th, 1861, is amongst my papers. I submitted it first to Mr. Lincoln. He thought there were many good points in it, but that he would first have to have General Scott examine it; and if the latter thought it right, he would approve of it. General Scott examined it, thought it proper, and even suggested an additional section, placing certain employees in the soldiers' camps under military rule. Senator Trumbull intro-

duced it in the Senate, had it referred to the Judiciary Committee, of which he was chairman, and reported it back with a recommendation that it should pass. It was most violently attacked by Breckenridge and other Southern disloyalists, and also by Southern Senators otherwise loyal, as by Powell of Kentucky, and Bayard and Salisbury of Delaware.

It somehow or other leaked out who the real author was, and some Senators in their speeches denounced the bill as the product of one from the other side of the water who did not understand free institutions. Trumbull, however, put this to rest by asserting that it had received the approval of the President and even of General Scott. But by long speeches and by using all sorts of parliamentary tactics no final vote was reached before the adjournment of the special session. Had it passed, the numerous arbitrary arrests in the Border and even the loyal States, the armed collisions which took place even in Illinois between the loyalists and disloyalists, would have been avoided. The government found it necessary in the course of the war to do without law what they could have done under law. The loyal people took the matter in their own hands. When they got hold of guerrillas, they shot them down without giving them a trial. Inferior officers ordered men to be executed in retaliation for murders of Union men committed by lawless people in their neighborhood.

FRÉMONT'S APPOINTMENT

At Mr. Trumbull's I met Gen. Frémont. We had obtained what we had wished. He had been appointed major-general of the regular army, and the Department of the West, enlarged by including Illinois, Indiana and a part of Kentucky, was assigned to him with many extraordinary privileges, amongst others the temporary appointment of his staff. Blair and myself had also succeeded in getting a brigadier-generalship for Colonel Sigel. The army was ordered forward to Centreville. I saw the regiments that had been stationed in and around Washington. It was a beautiful sight.

Some ten regiments and a park of field artillery went through Pennsylvania Avenue fully equipped for war. They marched by columns of companies filling the whole width of that wide street. When the Gilsa regiment turned the corner of Willard's Hotel into the street leading to the long bridge, the line in making the turn was as straight as an arrow and the immense crowd on the sidewalks broke out into a cheering that made the welkin ring. I felt proud of my old countrymen.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN

Now it was generally expected that in a few days there would be a battle, as the Confederates under Beauregard held a strong position at Manassas on Bull Run. Although I had pressing business at home, I hated to leave. I wanted to be near where great events were to happen. I went to Lincoln and asked him about the prospect of a battle. He said that Scott had told him there would be none this side of Richmond. Beauregard had only about 25,000 men, and knew very well that our forces amounted to nearly double that number. He was not such a fool as to accept battle. The Confederate force under Johnston was in the Shenandoah Valley, kept in check by Patterson with a force equal to his. Richmond was strongly fortified, and both Beauregard and Johnston would retreat to that place on the advance of our troops. Lincoln said that Scott would have delayed the advance; but all the volunteers were three months' men, and their time would run out in a few days, — in fact, some of the regiments already claimed their discharge. Besides, the cry, "On to Richmond," was too powerful to be resisted. The people generally believed — so Lincoln said — that the rebels would run anyhow.

I thought so myself. On the 18th of July I wrote to Sophie from Washington that I expected to leave there in a day or two:

"The army has gone forward, and all is tolerably quiet. What I desired to do here, I have in a measure accomplished. My stay here was at all events interesting, and I have learned a good deal. I think we will have Richmond in a few days

and that the war will hardly last longer than three months." [This, my opinion, would alone have prevented me from taking a military office, if there had been no other reason.] "I have told Mr. Lincoln plainly that I never would accept an office for which I did not believe myself fully qualified."

Of course I was very much mistaken; but this idea of a speedy victory and the quick suppression of the rebellion was, at the time when I wrote, so general, that it impressed itself strongly on my mind.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad being in possession of the government for the transportation of troops and military operations, I had to take a roundabout way via Baltimore, Harrisburg and Pittsburg. Leaving Washington in the afternoon of Saturday the 20th of July, I reached Cincinnati on Sunday late in the evening. That Sunday the first battle of Bull Run was fought. While on the way, and not expecting any particular news from Washington, we learned nothing of interest. We stopped at Cincinnati only long enough to take in a new conductor and for me to take a place in the sleeping car which was there attached to our train. I lay down about ten o'clock, and was fast asleep, when some one came to my berth and shook me by the shoulder, waking me up. It was the conductor, who, being a St. Louis man, must have recognized me. "I beg your pardon Governor," he said, "but I thought you would like to hear the good news. We have lammed the 'Secesh' and they are in full retreat. The men in the telegraph office at the station just passed have received a despatch from the Cincinnati operator only a few hours ago, announcing a great victory of the Union Army." I was delighted, thanked the conductor very much, and could not sleep for several hours, so excited was I. Arriving in the morning at East St. Louis, and going down from the O. & M. depot to the Belleville depot, I found there several Belleville people who had just come across the river. They looked quite sober and long-faced. I was somewhat surprised, but could not contain myself in telling them the good news that I had heard in the night. They shook their heads and told me they

had just seen extras announcing a terrible defeat of the Unionists. I still believed that there was some mistake about it. But landing at the depot in Belleville, where the telegraph office was, I was shown a very full dispatch, stating that McDowell had vigorously attacked the Confederates, had driven them about noon from most of their positions, and that some of their troops had beaten a hasty retreat, but that about that time they had been strongly reinforced by Johnston's army from the Shenandoah Valley, had renewed the battle, and had turned the tables on the Unionists. A panic ensued. The Black Horse of the "Secesh" were doing dreadful work amongst the fugitives. This was a dreadful disappointment; but such was the spirit among our people, that there was no despondency: everybody seemed to think that now we should double our exertions.

ORGANIZING A GERMAN REGIMENT

Immediately on my return, I conceived the plan of organizing a German brigade of at least two regiments, and of offering them to the government under the new call for four hundred thousand men, authorized some time before Bull Run by act of Congress. Before I had gone to Washington, I had journeyed to Cairo at the instance of Colonel Mersy and staid there several days. I found a great deal of dissatisfaction. The time of the six or eight regiments then stationed at Cairo and in the neighborhood was expiring, and, as the President, even before the act of Congress, had made a call for troops to serve three years, the colonels and the officers generally were anxious to have their men reënlist, organized as they were. But a large number of the soldiers willing to reënlist for three years wanted a reorganization. The election of officers at the first call had taken place in a great hurry. Many mistakes had been made. Amongst the privates there was of course a desire to take the place of the unpopular officers. As before stated, the 9th regiment was tired of its colonel, Paine. A great many declared that they would not reënlist

under him. There were amongst the other regiments hundreds of Germans who wanted to enter the German regiments. In fact, there were enough dissatisfied Germans there to make up a regiment. In St. Clair and the adjoining counties there were also a great many Germans who had not yet served and who after Bull Run were anxious to show their love for the Union by joining the army.

Frémont reached St. Louis and had taken command of the Western Department some time in July. His name had exercised a magical influence; particularly so amongst the Germans. There was a sort of romantic halo about him. Many had voted for him for President. I am sure that thousands of young men in Illinois, Missouri and the Western States generally would never have volunteered but for him. Sigel having been made a brigadier-general, the Germans were particularly anxious to fight under him. Under the impression that I would have no trouble in raising at least two German regiments, I wrote to Senator Trumbull and enclosed my proposition to form a German brigade to the President on the 24th of July. Trumbull informed me that the President would not take the responsibility of acting definitely in the matter, but he would lay my letter before Cameron with such an endorsement as would insure its serious consideration at the War Department.

In the same letter Trumbull spoke of the Bull Run battle:

"I was over the river on the day of the battle, though not near enough to see the enemy or any of the fighting, but I saw our men in their flight. It was dreadfully humiliating to witness their condition. Our disaster was in my judgment all owing to the want of proper officers. Everything at Centreville seemed to me to be in the utmost confusion. There was no order and no head. Perhaps we could not have defeated the enemy and taken all their batteries, but there was no sort of occasion for our flight. I saw soldiers running at full speed, and some actually throwing away their guns when there was no enemy in sight, or, in fact, as I am satisfied, not within three miles of them, and that, too, when our reserves were within half a mile. The reserves seemed to have performed

no services whatever. You know how it is in the cabinet; and, I fear, the confusion existing there reaches into the military department. We need some systematic men at the head of affairs. McClellan has made a good start and may remedy the evil."

The reserves spoken of by Senator Trumbull were Blenker's German division, which was not ordered forward. But these reserves were drawn up in order of battle before Centreville, and remained on the field all day and the night following, while the fugitive army came through their lines. It turned out afterwards that not more than half of our army in front had been made use of. Surely McDowell had not shown any ability at all to lead even as small an army as forty thousand men.

In order to succeed, however, in raising the brigade, (of which I had declared at the start that I would not take command,) no time was to be lost, for Belleville had become a favorite recruiting place. The new three years' regiments organizing in Missouri sent recruiting officers over, the colonels at Cairo were busy to get men in place of those who refused to reënlist. I wrote again to the President and to Trumbull, urging a speedy decision, as my men were getting impatient and would join other regiments unless soon assured of service in the German brigade. On the 3rd of August I received a dispatch from Washington that the matter was still under advisement. There were three splendid companies from Cairo already organized in Belleville. I kept them a few days. I could not keep them longer. One company under Captain Kaercher left on the 6th day of August for St. Louis to join the 12th Missouri under Osterhaus. To give an idea of what sort of men they were, I will mention the names of the officers and non-commissioned officers, amongst whom were our noble nephew, Joseph Ledergerber, and cousin Tyndale; Captain Kaercher; First Lieutenant A. Affleck; Second Lieutenant Joseph Ledergerber; Orderly-Sergeant Fritz Kessler; First Sergeant Charles Deeke; Second Sergeant William Aulbach; Third Sergeant Henry Kircher; Fourth Ser-

geant George Wend; First Corporal G. Wetzlau; Second Corporal Troilus Tyndale; Third Corporal F. Sunkel; Fourth Corporal H. Nebgen. Frederick Ledergerber's company also started for St. Louis.

Under these circumstances on the 8th of August I published in the papers that under existing conditions I had to give up the plan of forming a German brigade, and sent a despatch to the President to the effect that my application was withdrawn. Mr. Lincoln regretted it, and in his letter of August 8th expressed himself as follows:

"Without occupying our standpoint you cannot conceive how this subject embarrasses us. We have promises out to more than four hundred regiments, which, if they all come, are more than we want. If they all come, we cannot take yours; if they do not all come, we shall want yours. And yet we have no possible means of knowing whether they will all come or not. I hope you will make due allowance for the embarrassment thus produced."

Still, there were hundreds of young men in St. Clair who were yet hoping to get into a German regiment, and I also constantly received letters from persons in other counties offering to enter one, if I succeeded in getting the authority. I applied to Governor Yates; and, although he had accepted regiments enough to fill our State quota under the new call, he gave me authority to organize an independent regiment and to send up companies as soon as formed to Camp Butler. I immediately gave public notice of this authority, and companies were at once formed in St. Clair. Capt. Julius Raith, brother-in-law to Doctor Reuss, who had been in Captain Bissel's regiment in the Mexican War, who was a man of energy and very popular, and who was then carrying on his business as a millwright, in which he excelled, at O'Fallon, a strong Democrat heretofore, was one of the first to enlist, and rendered most valuable services in recruiting. Our Adolph, the soldier of Mexico and Schleswig-Holstein, was also most active, went through the State and succeeded in enlisting several excellent companies. Still it was an up-hill business, as many

had already enlisted in other companies. William R. Morrison was also organizing a regiment, and, as he was very popular amongst the Germans, he had a good many of them from Monroe and Randolph in his regiment. By virtue of most strenuous exertions I succeeded, however, in having seven companies in Camp Butler by September. It took Morrison several months longer before he filled up his. Of this regiment, which named itself after me, but whose official name was the Forty-third Infantry, Julius Raith was appointed, by Governor Yates, colonel, Adolph Engelmann lieutenant-colonel, A. Dengler, who had been in Sigel's regiment during the summer campaign, major; while Captain Stephani, Franz Grimm, Dr. Starkloff, Wm. Ehrhardt, Tobien, Schemminger, and Ernest Decker, were or became captains in the regiment.

RELATIVES IN THE WAR

I may as well say here that our family was well represented in the Union forces during the war. Adolph became colonel of the 43rd, after Colonel Raith had fallen at Shiloh, commanding a brigade most of the time. Fritz Scheel was an officer in the 9th, until he was disabled for further service by a wound received at Shiloh. Frederick Ledergerber was major in the 12th Missouri and was wounded at Ringgold, Georgia, where the talented and amiable Joseph Ledergerber, captain, was killed. Another nephew, Ernest Decker, was captain in the 43rd Illinois, but on account of serious sickness was bound to resign, and his early death was undoubtedly a consequence of the heart-disease he contracted in the army. Ernest Hilgard was in the 43rd; Charles Hilgard in the 12th Missouri; and so was Troilus Tyndale, who was seriously wounded at Pea Ridge. They were cousins of Sophie. My own short service in the army I count for nothing.

Our young and lovely niece, Charlotte Ledergerber, volunteered to act as nurse in the military hospital at Benton Barracks, and performed most valuable service under the greatest self-sacrifice; while Sophie, sister Elizabeth Scheel,

and a great many patriotic ladies of Belleville, most industriously prepared underwear, stockings, lint, etc.

APPOINTED ON FRÉMONT'S STAFF

While I was thus busily engaged in organizing the regiment, Governor Yates wrote me, that he thought it of great importance to have some one from Illinois on General Frémont's staff. Nearly all, if not entirely all, of the Illinois regiments belonged to this department. He said that everyone about the State House wanted me appointed. I declared myself willing to take the place of aide-de-camp, since this involved no responsibility, — such an officer having only to execute the orders of the commanding general. Indeed, I had been of late so much amongst soldiers, had been considered in all the camps as a military officer, and had shared the honor of one, that I had become somewhat enamored of a soldier's life. It seems that Governor Yates saw General Frémont, or wrote to him about the matter, and, on the 10th of September, I received a letter from Major J. H. Eaton, of the United States Army, military secretary of General Frémont, saying that he had invited me to take an appointment in his staff with the rank of colonel, and that he would be happy to know if I would accept that position. I wrote a letter of acceptance. As General Frémont issued only temporary commissions, my friends thought it best that the President should appoint me; so, on the 28th of September, I received the appointment of aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel in the service of the United States from the President with directions to report in person for orders to Major-General Frémont, U. S. Army. This Presidential appointment gave me an entirely independent position.

When I called on General Frémont he received me as cordially as lay in his nature. He knew very well my relations with Mr. Lincoln, and, as there were already deep murmurs of discontent with his administration of the department, it was his policy to be on the best terms with me.

CHAPTER XXXV

With Frémont in Missouri

The loss of the battle at Wilson's Creek, where General Lyon fell, on the 8th of August, 1861, as also the surrender of Mulligan's brigade at Lexington, were by many ascribed to Frémont's inaction. On the 21st of August he had issued a proclamation declaring martial law throughout the State of Missouri, and the property real and personal of all persons in the State who would take up arms against the United States, confiscated to the public use, and their slaves free.

While this proclamation created the wildest enthusiasm on the part of the ardent Republicans, particularly amongst the Germans, it was strongly condemned by the conservative Union men in St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, and in the Border States generally. It did indeed go much farther than the confiscation-law of Congress, passed in July. President Lincoln, always anxious to keep the Border States in, disapproved of the measure. But, being always careful not to hurt the feelings of men he believed honest in their opinions, he called Frémont's attention to the law, and asked him to modify his order in accordance with it. But Frémont was stubborn, and refused to make the change, informing the President that if he disliked the order he should cancel it himself. Lincoln did recall it. But this conduct of Frémont was not calculated to make the relations between him and the President pleasant. It was an outright act of disobedience to orders emanating from the commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States.

FRÉMONT'S DIFFICULTIES

There were many other complaints. The erection of a number of forts at an immense expense round St. Louis, thought to be perfectly unnecessary by military men, the making of large contracts for arms, accoutrements and supplies against the existing rules requiring open bidding, the establishment of a mounted body-guard of picked young gentlemen, principally from Ohio, and the creating of offices and officers unknown to the service, made him quite unpopular at the very start with the war department. And, besides this, he was very difficult of access, was cold and reticent in conversation, and had brought along with him from the East an almost complete staff consisting of men unknown in the West. It was thus no wonder he met with much opposition. The Blairs, who worked for his appointment, became alienated from him; while Frank Blair openly quarreled with him, and was once even placed under arrest by the General.

Much of this opposition sprang from interested motives, as I had full occasion to observe. There were plenty of very warm Union men who yet sought to make very large profits out of their patriotism. These clamored for all sorts of contracts for horses, beef, mules, hay, wagons, etc., and, when they did not succeed, they naturally charged Frémont with favoring certain friends and acquaintances of his from the East or from California. But one thing cannot be denied, that Frémont did many acts entirely against the acknowledged rules of the service. He charged the officers of the regular army whom he found at St. Louis at the headquarters of the department, such as Colonel Andrews, the paymaster, Major Callender, of the ordnance department, and Colonel Eaton, of the engineer corps, with being too fond of "red tape," and forced them to do things which they believed to be illegal. They were all excellent officers, however.

On behalf of General Frémont, I must say that his situation was one of unprecedented difficulty. On his arrival in the middle of July, and within a few weeks after, he found

about 30,000 in and about St. Louis, who, with the exception of some regiments that had previously been in the three months' service, were all recruits hastily got together. The material was of the very best; for it was the youth who had hurried to the field under the first call in April and the later call in August, with no bounties dangling before their eyes, but urged only by their love for the Union. They were quite a different class from those who later in the war entered either under the spur of high bounties, or were forced in by the draft. It was, as I have said, splendid material; but it was raw material.

Frémont, having Bull Run before his eyes, was unwilling to enter into the campaign without organizing his forces and without collecting sufficient transportation and supplies of all kinds. Besides, his department, consisting of all the States and Territories west and northwest of Ohio and part of Kentucky, was, considering it was a time of war, much too large to be easily handled. Part of the troops, mostly Illinoisans, were in northern Missouri, and another very large part was at Cairo and in southern Missouri, and a detachment at Paducah, Kentucky. I speak from my own knowledge, when I say, that his correspondence with the governors of the different States, with the administration at Washington, with the commanders of the troops in these eight or nine territories, was immense, and could hardly be mastered by him, his private secretary, his military secretary, and his highly intelligent and most energetic wife, Jessie Benton Frémont, together. As for making contracts and attending to the routine of business. this had to be left to a great extent to subordinates, most of whom grossly abused his confidence.

FRÉMONT'S CHARACTER AND COURSE

Frémont was not only ambitious, but also vain, lending a ready ear to sycophants. He had very little knowledge of the nature of men, — at least I formed that opinion. General McKinstry, of the regular army, whom he had brought along,

and who was made quartermaster-general and also provost marshal, was unpopular in the regular army and as provost marshal had made himself perfectly odious by his vexatious measures. No one was permitted to leave St. Louis or St. Louis County without a pass similar to the one I had obtained in Washington in order to pass the military lines of the army. St. Louis was an open city, with a score or more of streets leading out into the country. Along the east line of the city and county flowed the Mississippi River, which could be easily crossed by small boats at any time. To draw a cordon around the county-boundary would have required half the troops then in the city. All saloons had to be closed by dark, and all persons found in the streets after nine o'clock were arrested by patrols. Numerous arrests were made of citizens suspected to be disloyal, and no redress could be had in the courts, as martial law had been proclaimed. A great deal of the dissatisfaction with Frémont was owing to McKinstry. I believe him to have been a brave and dashing soldier. He was more than six feet high and of corresponding robustness, of dark complexion and features indicating resolution and energy. He had "an eye like Mars to threaten and command." When in full regimentals on a powerful black charger he paraded the streets, he looked the very ideal of a soldier.

PREPARATIONS AND PERSONAL SURROUNDINGS

In haste I had to prepare myself for my new duties. I bought a saddle-horse, saddle and bridle, valise, trunk, blankets, sword and revolver. In a few days I had my uniform ready. I engaged an enlisted man, Ben Sauer, as a servant, and spent most of my time at headquarters, in the elegant and splendid residence of Colonel Brant, a relative of Mrs. Frémont on Choteau Avenue. But I had misgivings from the start. A few days after my entering the service, I met Montgomery Blair, who, with General Meigs, then, I believe, the quartermaster or commissary general at Washington, was at the Planter's House, where I staid. Montgomery

Blair, being an old friend of mine, took no pains to withhold from me his business. He, as a member of the cabinet, and General Meigs, had been sent by the President to look into the affairs of the department. He told me frankly that they had found a great deal of disorder and confusion; that money had been wasted to an incredible extent; that all rules and regulations of the service had been violated; and that they would have to make a very unfavorable report. From what he had said I was led to ask him directly whether it was in contemplation to supersede Frémont in command of the department. "I will tell you," Mr. Blair said, "but it must be considered by you as strictly confidential, that I believe that will be the upshot." Even if Blair had not made this a confidential matter, I should have kept it secret from policy, for, had at that early moment the belief been entertained of Frémont's removal, it would have at once stopped volunteering to a great extent.

At headquarters I conversed mostly with Colonel Eaton, military secretary and senior aide-de-camp, and with General Alexander Asboth. The latter was a Hungarian, who had been a prominent officer in the Hungarian army against Austria in 1848 and 1849, and who had been living in exile in London and Paris, and then in the United States. Frémont, I believe, brought him with him from New York. He was about forty-five or fifty years of age, tall and muscular, with a rather handsome face. His deportment was that of a soldier and a gentleman. He was chief-of-staff, to which position his knowledge of military affairs may have entitled him; yet he was of course a stranger to our mode of service and to the country and to the people among whom he had to act. He took great pains, however, with the present theatre of war. He had procured the best maps he could obtain, and was busy making diagrams, tables of distances, etc., etc. We became quite good friends. After Frémont's removal, he commanded a division at Pea Ridge, where he was wounded. He afterwards served in Kentucky and Florida, and was shot in

the head in a battle somewhere in the South. The ball was never extracted. After the war he was appointed minister to the Argentine Republic in 1866; he died in Buenos Ayres in consequence of his wound in 1868. Another Hungarian was on Frémont's staff as chief topographical engineer, Col. John Fiala, who married Judge Rombauer's sister. Col. A. Albert was also an aide-de-camp; with both of these gentlemen I became very well acquainted.

FRÉMONT'S STAFF

Speaking of Frémont's staff, I must say it was a curiosity. It consisted of no less than twenty-eight persons, enough for a commander of one hundred thousand and more. Some of the officers of that staff were unknown to our service, as, for instance, the "commander of the body guard," the "musical director," the "adletus to the chief of staff," (an Austrian denomination), and a "director of transportation," there being already a quartermaster-general and an assistant quartermaster-general on the staff, whose business was transportation. A "military registrator and expeditor" (no one knew what this meant), a "postal director," a "police director," and two private secretaries, fifteen aides-de-camp, from colonels down to captains. It was true, that some of these aides were mere volunteers, who, I believe, claimed no pay, but wanted merely to exercise a political influence, as, for instance, Owen Lovejoy, a member of Congress at the time, John A. Gurley, one of the best known Abolition leaders, and one or two politicians from Indiana.

The resident staff, which Frémont found at St. Louis and which he left there when he took the field, (St. Louis still being the headquarters of the department,) was very able: Colonel Eaton, Captain Chauncey McKeever, J. C. Kelton, (both young, but very bright and energetic,) Captain E. C. Davis, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, and F. D. Callender, captain of ordnance — all of the regular army. On the entire staff that he took to the place were only two officers of the

regular army, General McKinstry and Lieutenant-Colonel Totten, chief of artillery.

LEGAL DUTIES IN CAMP

That this strange composition was severely criticised may be imagined. Now it may be asked what my business was as aide-de-camp. There had been, as already stated, numerous arrests of high and low persons charged with disloyalty. General Frémont had brought along with him a lawyer of some distinction, R. R. Corvin, of Cincinnati, whom he had appointed judge-advocate. Major Corvin had examined into these cases, and had taken many depositions. Of course, it was his business to report on these cases, and to recommend releases or trials before a court-martial. But after I arrived he was ordered to turn all the records and papers over to me, and it was for me to advise what should be done. I have no doubt Major Corvin did not relish these proceedings; but neither he nor I could help it. There was some labor connected with the position. I found that the proofs of the charges of disloyalty amounted in most of the records merely to loud and disrespectful talk about Lincoln, to idle boastings in the streets and saloons, and to hurrahing for Jeff Davis. Some very prominent and otherwise very respectable citizens had also been proved to have expressed disloyal sentiments, but in no case was any overt act or aid or assistance to the rebels proved, or, at least so clearly proved as to justify a conviction in a court of law. I believe in every case but one I recommended immediate dismissal of the cases and release of the prisoners.

What became of these reports I do not know, as I soon left for the field. Trouble, however, I had enough. Patriots from Illinois who wanted contracts, or against whom complaints had been made on account of having failed to comply with their contracts, applied to me constantly to intercede for them with Frémont, which I absolutely declined to do, and for which I was roundly cursed. I being the only German aide-

de-camp on the staff, German officers who thought that their commands had not received proper accoutrements or had been in some way neglected, brought their complaints to me, and of course I tried to use my influence to have their demands, when reasonable, satisfied. Some letters written to Sophie at that time will best show how I felt.

"St. Louis, Sept. 24, 1861.

"Dear Sophie: Here yet (9 o'clock in the evening, Tuesday); but, as our baggage is just now being loaded on the wagons, I think we will get off to-morrow (Wednesday). It has been very tiresome, as we were ordered to be ready on Monday morning to start, and were delayed from hour to hour.

"Chaos reigns here. I will go with this expedition; and if things do not improve, I will resign. I have already talked very freely about the mismanagement of many things. His (Frémont's) surroundings, for the greater part, are good for nothing. Only an important victory can save him. This evening Osterhaus's regiment has gone up the river.

"I am fully equipped now, but still have bought nothing which I cannot easily re-sell. You see how much I suspect matters. But now farewell. Kiss all, and most of all the little one, and do not be too uneasy about me."

St. Louis, Sept. 26, 1861.

"Dear Child: After miserably waiting, it is said we shall start at noon today. I am well, and hope to remain well. We think we will be back in two weeks. Believe me that I will not court danger unnecessarily, since I have not entered the army to obtain military glory. My position does not of itself expose me to much danger, and so I hope to see you again in good health. Kiss all, and accept the most cordial greetings from me."

To explain my expectation of returning in fourteen days: In the first place I wrote to Sophie in a hopeful manner to dispel and diminish her anxiety; but the talk at headquarters really was that way. Strange enough, it was supposed that Price was still with his main force at Lexington, and that he, having fortified the place, would give us battle there. We were to stay only a day or two at Jefferson City, — the army to go by rail part of the way, reaching, in a few days, Lexing-

ton, smashing Price to pieces, and to return at once covered with glory.

IN CAMP AT JEFFERSON CITY

Our horses and servants had already gone to Jefferson City by river. We did not start, however, on the 26th, but on the 27th, just before dinner. Frémont's staff and our baggage went in two cars. At Herman we made a stop for refreshment. We had some excellent Herman wine and grapes, sandwiches, etc. The people there received us enthusiastically, as only Germans can. It was late in the night when we arrived at Jefferson City. As might be expected, no arrangements had been made for our reception. It was a tolerably bad night. Only one gentleman was there, — Ex-Governor Thomas Price, of Missouri, a Union man, — with a black fellow who had a small lantern. We had to climb up a rough, rocky hill to get into the city, and we lost one another; some getting into one street, some into another. The town was not lighted. Some four or five of us finally reached a corner tavern; but it was full, and we were shown to another one, — a large, three-story frame-house. But when we got in, we found that the landlord had left. A colored man, however, showed us up to a large room, where he said we might find some benches to rest on. Most of the room was already occupied by part of the body-guards, who slept on their blankets, using their saddles for pillows. My servant had been at the depot, where he had had to leave my trunk, there being no conveyance there, but he had got my blankets and carpet-sack so that I could make a sort of bed on the floor. He himself had put my horse in a stable where he slept, and I believe by order of General Frémont, who, I think, stopped at Governor Price's residence, the house had been cleared for the staff. At any rate we got some breakfast there. But the house was very uncomfortable, and, strolling through Main Street, I discovered a restaurant kept by a German. On entering I found some of my friends there, from the Osterhaus and other regiments, who had made this place their rendezvous.

It was not a lodging-house, but the keeper offered me a small room as long as I should stay in town, which offer I gladly accepted.

On Saturday, September 28, 1861, I wrote to Sophie:

"Dear Sophie: Last evening we arrived here. The place is full of life. Osterhaus's regiment is still here. I don't think we will leave before Monday. The weather today is wonderfully fine. The enemy is said to be still at Lexington. The staff is in a miserable tavern. There is not a public place here in which half of the window panes are not out. It is very much backwoods here. It is to be hoped that the enemy will run away; for I don't believe that we will attack them vigorously. It is the old story, always talking of a strong position, throwing up fortifications and other nonsense. Perhaps I may soon write something more interesting. At present only the most cordial greetings. Kiss all! They say that I look very well in my uniform. What dost thou think of it? Adieu — Adieu."

Instead of starting on Monday, the 30th of September, for the enemy, Frémont informed us that we would have to go into camp. "The sooner you gentlemen get used to camp-life, the better," said he. He gave us no further explanation. Of course, we were all surprised. We soon saw, however, the reason for this measure. General Pope, who commanded the Union forces in North Missouri, and who was to join the troops that had come from St. Louis, reported that he had not half enough transportation. Other commanders made similar complaints. At the same time, it was ascertained that General Price had left Lexington and was going southward to join General McCullough, who, with a large force, had occupied Springfield and its neighborhood. So the Union army would have to turn off from their line of march and traverse without railroad communication, a large region of country, which, of course, necessitated additional supplies of wagons, horses and mules, to collect which took much time.

CAMP-LIFE AND CAMP-COMPANIONS

Monday evening we went into camp on the hills, about a mile from the town, where, in a large, well-wooded pasture,

tents had been struck. Why the staff, which could have been accommodated in the State House or in one of the many deserted residences, where all the business could have been done without any trouble, was taken out into tents, was not easily explained. General Asboth was much dissatisfied. He had to pack up all his maps, diagrams, and a mass of other papers, and put them into a tent, where there was little light by day and none by night. All our baggage had to be taken up, and our horses, which had been stabled in town, were put into miserable log-stables and barns on an adjoining farm. The spot, however, was a beautiful one, with a splendid view up and down the river and of the rich bottom-forests on the north side of the river. There was one great drawback, however. Just before our arrival the country had been flooded by equinoctial rains. The ground was yet thoroughly wet, particularly inside of the tents, where the sun could not penetrate and dry up the soil. The ground soon became a perfect slush. But by procuring a few planks we mended the matter somewhat. The weather now was clear and in the middle of the day the sun was very hot, though the nights were comparatively cold. In St. Louis I had formed a mess with William Dorscheimer, son of my old friend Philip Dorscheimer, of Buffalo, and Colonels Shanks and Hudson, of Indiana. We got a mess chest with all the apparatus belonging to it, knives, forks, spoons, etc., and occupied a rather commodious Sibley tent.

William Dorscheimer was a young man, tall and of imposing stature, and of a handsome and intelligent face, the very picture of health apparently, — but only apparently. He was bright, well informed, and very refined. Indeed, he was at that time somewhat of a dandy. He brought with him from his father's hotel a well-trained body-servant of English extraction, who attended exclusively upon him. It took Dorscheimer about half an hour to dress in the morning, or rather to be dressed by his man, who actually put on his underwear and clothes, as does a maid for her mistress. We often

made our jokes about this, which he did not take in the best humor. After the war I became more intimate with him, on my several visits to Buffalo. He was appointed district attorney of the United States for the western district of New York by President Lincoln, after Frémont's staff was discharged. As park-commissioner he achieved great merit in laying out the beautiful Buffalo Park. When Tilden was Governor, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of New York. He was also elected to Congress, but resigned before his term was out to enter into journalism, editing the "New York Star." On account of his delicate health and that of his most charming wife, he made several trips to Europe, and died a few years ago in Florida, I believe. He was also an elegant writer, contributing from time to time to the magazines. In 1872, like so many other Democrats, he left the Republican party. The last time I saw him was in 1876, at Albany, New York, a few weeks before the Presidential election. He seemed then in better health than ever before. The other two gentlemen of the mess I soon lost sight of. I believe, however, Colonel Shanks was for some years a member of Congress.

A day or two after we had gone into camp, a curious episode happened. General Frémont handed me the last newspaper from St. Louis, containing a telegraphic dispatch that Colonel Koerner, of Frémont's staff, had been appointed brigadier-general. I at once pronounced it a mistake, telling him that I had repeatedly declined that office. Nevertheless, the news spread at once throughout the camp. In spite of my protestations, everybody came to my tent congratulating me. In the evening the splendid headquarters' band, which shared our camp under the leadership of my excellent friend, August Waldauer, who figured on the list of the staff as "musical director," gave me a serenade, and some one made me a flowery speech, to which I had to reply under some embarrassment. Thanking my friends for their kindness, I still assured them that it was all a mistake. And so it turned out to be. It will be recollected that my first appointment was by

Frémont. On the 28th of September I got my commission from the President. This was reported by telegraph, and, by mistake, it was stated to be an appointment as brigadier-general.

On the 1st of October, I wrote to Sophie:

"I am scribbling this in my tent on a little chest. We have had two tolerably cold nights in camp. Many of the officers have already caught the camp-diarrhœa, but I am free from it yet. I don't believe that we shall leave here before the end of the week." I then told her of the report which made me a brigadier-general, of the congratulations and serenade. "I would have at once declined," I wrote, "inasmuch as I had not accepted the office before. Thousand greetings, — kiss Victor many times! Little Frémont, only ten years old, wants to go with the body-guard into the fight. Victor should take an example, and not be afraid. Our camp has a very fine situation high up on the bluff and we overlook about ten camps, — a beautiful sight at night. Adieu."

Mrs. Frémont had arrived the night before with her daughter. She lodged in a farm-house near by, but spent most of the day in camp. Of course, there was much serenading. We passed our time practicing revolver-shooting and visiting other camps. I found my friend, Colonel Palmer, in one, and we had a very pleasant time. He had about the same opinion as I had regarding things, and that not a favorable one.

Frémont was a singular man. One afternoon he invited the staff to take a ride with him through the town and examine some earthworks that had been thrown up for our defense a mile or two out. He had a very fine blooded horse, and he, as is well known, was a magnificent horseman. The moment he reached town he went into a smart trot. It was not possible to keep up with his wonderfully fast horse; so nearly every one had to jump into a sort of racing gallop. Several of the staff were little used to hard riding, and fell behind. After looking a few minutes at the fortifications, we ran a race back through town and up the hill to the camp.

We lived somewhat better than the private soldiers, but

not much. We had to buy our provender at the commissary-stores, and there was not much variety to be got; beans and pork, sometimes fresh beef, potatoes, salt, corn-meal, vinegar, coffee and sugar, and bread, which latter was very good. We had at common expense hired a colored man in St. Louis to wait on us and to do our cooking. We had laid in some hams and some tongues, but they were soon gone, as we generally had guests at our table. There was no market in Jefferson City, either for meat or for vegetables. But our cook managed to get some extras from neighboring farms: cabbages, tomatoes, eggs, and occasionally chickens, which he probably stole, — for chicken-stealing seems to be a matter of principle with the blacks, — though we paid him a high price for them.

On the 3rd of October I wrote home:

"My Dearest Sophie: We live a little more comfortably than the private soldiers, but the difference after all is little. Sometimes the alarm is given at night, and we must all hurry out and run to the General's tent. There is much absurdity in all this. Since Monday Jessie and her daughter are here. Nearly all the officers are in love with one or the other, or at least pretend to be. The camp where the staff and body-guard are, is named Camp Lily for the girl. Serenades are the order of the day and night. We have Kost's silver cornet band under Waldauer's lead. Jessie is not handsome, but makes an impression; and she knows how to make herself amiable. For all she has engaging smiles and is frank and unaffected in speaking.

"Frémont is always absorbed in thinking; but whether his thoughts are worth anything, the result will show. Those closest to him are worthless; they are California adventurers or favorites of Jessie. The real military business is all done by Asboth, Albert, and Wagner (chief of ordnance), the last two German-Hungarians. Frémont is very civil to me, desires evidently that I should support him with the President. Trumbull, as Jessie, (who has just returned from a trip to Washington,) told me, had advised her that Frémont should at once send some one to Washington as an agent to press his requisition for arms, money and ammunition. But he does not seem willing to do it. Perhaps because he thinks that, in case matters do not go well here, he can make the administration responsible, perhaps he has got everything he wants.

"What the newspapers say about a great battle being on the eve of taking place at Lexington or some other place, is all guess-work. Frémont has such a force, particularly in artillery, that the Missouri band with Price cannot dare to meet him. A battle now cannot possibly enter into their plans; there may be here and there skirmishes, but great battles are all fudge, to amuse the readers. No officer of experience has any such belief. The last two nights we had big thunder-storms and heavy rains. It is very wet in our tent. But I try to keep my feet dry. It is still said that in a few weeks we will be back in St. Louis and in November will go down to New Orleans. I am thus far very well and this sort of life seems to suit me. My business is very light and consists in hearing complaints from suspected Missourians whose property has been taken by the military. But as nearly all cases in such claims are alike, I have made but two decisions, and everything is decided according to those precedents without giving me much trouble.

"Do not have any anxiety about me and write me as often as thou canst, as of course I love to hear from you. Greetings, and kiss the children, and let little Victor write to me. Thine, G."

One passage requires an explanation. I was appointed by Frémont president of a commission, consisting of Ex-Governor Price of Missouri, Owen Lovejoy, and myself, to examine into and decide on the many complaints that were made to the General by Missourians who, having been denounced as disloyal, had horses and provisions taken from them or fences taken up for camp-fires or timber cut down for various purposes. They usually came supplied with witnesses to prove their loyalty. Governor Price knew some of them personally, and, on his vouching for their Unionism, their claims were allowed and orders given to restore their property or to pay money for the damages proved. We held our sessions in Governor Price's house.

OWEN LOVEJOY

It was here that I became more intimately acquainted with Owen Lovejoy than I had been before. Lovejoy was a very portly man, with a kind and intellectual face, good eyes, and

healthy complexion. Though educated, I believe, for the clergy, he had for many years devoted himself to politics, had been a member of our Legislature, had been, and was then, I believe, a representative in Congress for the Princeton district. He was not a radical Abolitionist of the Garrison school, but was very much and very openly opposed to the institution of slavery, embittered, of course, by the tragic death of his brother Elijah, who was murdered by an Alton mob in 1835 for editing there a paper advocating the gradual abolition of slavery.

Lovejoy in many respects reminded me of Henry Ward Beecher. Both were clergymen, both were generous and social men. Even their personality was very similar. Like Mr. Beecher, Lovejoy was fond of society, was full of humor himself and as much pleased at hearing a good story as ever Mr. Beecher was. His personal courage was shown in a hundred cases when in his public addresses he braved furious pro-slavery crowds. In this also he not only equalled but surpassed Beecher. Both were idealists and both most impressive and eloquent speakers. There are passages in some of Lovejoy's congressional speeches that have hardly ever been equalled by the most renowned orators. And like Beecher's his bursts of eloquence did not smell of the lamp. They were instantaneous outflows. Some of his best flights of eloquence were repartees called forth in debate when no preparation was possible. In that commission he was more prepared to allow claims than I, and I am sure that after the war he would have been as generous to the defeated South as Beecher was and many others who carried on a life-long struggle against the unhallowed institution. He died prematurely in the full strength of his manhood, in 1864, deeply regretted by his friends and by those of his enemies who knew him personally and who could even in a political adversary admire earnest conviction and undaunted spirit.

I have been somewhat particular in recounting these, my military services, for they were, as it happened, the only ones

that I ever rendered. They were short and entirely unheroic. Still, it was quite an experience for one who had heretofore been engaged in quiet occupations for many years in family-circles.

AID SOLICITED FROM ILLINOIS

On the 5th or 6th of October General Frémont sent for me. He told me he had just received rather important news from South Missouri. At New Madrid a large rebel force had accumulated under Lowe and Jeff Thomson, and were moving up towards Cape Girardeau, with a view of attacking St. Louis. No forces had been left in St. Louis except the home-guards, and he wanted to know what troops were ready in Illinois for the protection of St. Louis. I answered that to my knowledge there were some four or five infantry regiments being organized at Camp Butler, near Springfield; also some cavalry regiments and some batteries; but how many of them were complete, I could not tell. He immediately sent a despatch to Governor Yates, requesting him to send all available forces to Benton Barracks, St. Louis. In reply, from Adjutant-General A. C. Fuller, we were informed that Yates was in Washington. A despatch was sent to him at Willard's Hotel, his usual stopping place. In reply we learnt that he had left for Philadelphia. We wired to the Girard House in that place, but he had left for no one knew where. Frémont grew impatient. Finally, on the 9th of October, he concluded to send me to Springfield, and gave me ample instructions to bring as many men as I could; and if any were skeleton regiments, they should be consolidated as fast as possible. I left on the next train, and reached Springfield on the 10th.

Adjutant Fuller had been authorized to act for the Governor, whose whereabouts had not been ascertained, in all military matters. Consequently I laid my instructions before him. But he seemed to be very unwilling at first to do anything. The air had been full of rumors for some time that Frémont would be removed from command. He was the setting sun. The atmosphere around Springfield, too, was un-

favorable to him; a good many contractors and would-be contractors had been disappointed by him. I then addressed him an official letter, referring to my instructions. I had gone out to Camp Butler, and had got the reports of the regiments as to their numbers. The Koerner (43rd) regiment was nearly full, lacking only two companies; and there was one German company in another regiment which was very anxious to be attached to the 43rd. The other regiments were mere skeletons. The officers of the regiments were made up of would-be colonels, and were really at the start mere paper officers. For instance, there was one supposed regiment, that of Colonel John Logan, of Macoupin County, called the 32nd, which was consequently, as shown by its number, offered quite early, and yet, within three months after it was offered, had only 421 men. There was another regiment called the 45th, which had but 112 men. None of the others had above 300 men.

Now this was really scandalous. But, of course, the would-be officers of the full regiment were all on hand, and the moment they learned my errand they rushed to Springfield to use all their influence against consolidation, which, meanwhile, had aready been adopted by New York and Pennsylvania. There were men enough in Camp Butler to form three full infantry regiments and one regiment of cavalry, all lying idle and anxious to take the field, merely to help a score or two of politicians to get high ranks. The 43rd was the crack regiment there. It was really well drilled, and I was very proud when I saw the people of Springfield coming out in crowds to attend its evening dress-parade.

I learned accidentally while at Springfield that there had been for some weeks encamped at Chicago a full regiment called Yates's Phalanx, Col. Light. When I requested the Adjutant-General to order this regiment at once to St. Louis, he declined. The reason which had been assigned for not ordering troops from Camp Butler because the regiments were not complete, did not apply here. I found out that the true reason in that case was that Colonel Lamen, of Bloom-

ington, at the time marshal of the District of Columbia, who had been much befriended by President Lincoln, had undertaken to raise an independent brigade of Loyal Virginians, but had made poor progress and had obtained from Governor Yates a promise that Yates's Phalanx should be sent East to make up the Loyal Virginia brigade.

At last, when I saw that the State officers at Springfield were not disposed to comply with my request, I told them, that while I deeply regretted to act against their wishes and the alleged policy of my own State, there was but one course remaining to adopt; that I would, pursuant to instructions, order the Chicago regiment (the 39th) and the 43rd regiment at Camp Butler to repair at once to St. Louis. Our force, I said, in South Missouri, under Colonel Carlin, was pressed back by a superior force of rebels; that all the troops arrived at St. Louis since the army left, had been sent to his support; and that St. Louis, containing a very large secession element, would be at the mercy of the rebels, if Carlin should meet with defeat. The Adjutant-General, seeing that I meant business, and that it would look much better to have the troops moved by orders issuing from the Governor of the State, accordingly issued the required instructions.

ARMY MOVEMENTS IN MISSOURI

The 43rd left the same evening and the Yates Phalanx the same night for Benton Barracks. I also left for St. Louis, the 13th of October. On my arrival in the evening the first thing I heard was that Secretary of War Cameron had just passed through St. Louis to have an interview with Frémont, who had left with his army from Jefferson City only a day after he had sent me to Springfield, and was on his way to Tipton on the Missouri Pacific Road (still in the direction towards Lexington); and that this was an indication of the removal of Frémont. The next morning I went to headquarters to ascertain the whereabouts of the General, as I was anxious to join him. I found there Captain C. McKeever

and Colonel Fiala, who informed me that Frémont was in camp at Tipton. Mrs. Frémont, who had returned from Jefferson City, sent for me to see her. She was greatly excited. She also was apprehensive that Cameron's mission boded no good. She had learned in Washington that I had written several strong letters to the President in favor of her husband's requisition, which had been shamefully neglected; for this she thanked me much. "O," said she, "if my husband had only been more positive. But he never did assert himself enough. That was his great fault." I could however, not conceal from her, that from what I had experienced in Springfield, the removal of her husband seemed almost certain. From headquarters I went to Benton Barracks to see our boys. They were in good spirits and pretty comfortable, expecting to be sent down to Iron Mountain to support Carlin.

I made my preparations the next morning to leave for Tipton, but in the evening I was quite unexpectedly taken by a most violent congestive chill, which lasted all night; and the high fever had hardly abated in the morning. I sent for Dr. Engelmann. He said I must not have a second attack, as there would be danger in it. He gave me large doses of quinine. The fever did not return the next day or the day following, but I felt more prostrated than I ever felt before, after similar attacks. Yet I was determined to depart, when the Doctor told me that it was folly; that I ought to go home to recuperate; and, that if in two weeks I had no new attack, I might be able to join the army. He gave me a certificate of sickness, and I sent it to the General, asking leave of absence for some weeks. My servant Ben, had gone on with the staff. I wrote to him to leave my horse and baggage at the depot at Tipton. But when my letter reached him, the army had already changed its direction and reached Warsaw, crossing the Osage there in the direction of Springfield. I went home. But, although I had no paroxysms, my sickness turned into a slow fever, which troubled me most at night, and which

my friend Dr. Berchelmann, called abdominal typhoid fever. On some days, however, I felt quite well, and, having learned that the staff had gone south towards Warsaw, I wrote to Colonel Shanks and also to Waldauer to send Ben, my horse, and my baggage back to Tipton. They attended to the matter. Waldauer's letter was quite interesting.

"Warsaw, October 20, 1861.

"Osterhaus and Sigel have already passed over the river, and are some twelve miles ahead. Here all is 'secesh.' The men are all away. Our troops have taken hold of everything left, without discrimination. The women and children are crying terribly. Our men have behaved abominably. The officers have occupied the houses and made themselves very comfortable. Captain Hildenbrandt [who had married our Lena Decker] and I have quartered ourselves in a modest little house, but we will keep sacred everything in it."

He then begged me to use my influence in Washington to get the staff paid, as they had received nothing as yet, although Frémont had urged payment repeatedly at Washington.

On the 19th, two companies of the 3rd were sent down to guard the Iron Mountain Railroad bridge over the Merrimac River. At the same time I urged procuring the regiment better arms, as there had been bitter complaints about the Austrian muskets which they had received in St. Louis. I tried my best with Yates and Fiala to get them better arms, but without success, as they had none.

On the 22nd I received from headquarters in St. Louis a dispatch which relieved me greatly:

"Field of Battle, Fredericktown, Mo., October 22nd, 1861.

"To Capt. C. McKeever:

"In conjunction with Colonel Plummer's command we have routed the rebels of Thomson and Lowe, estimated at 5,000. Their loss was heavy; ours small, and confined principally to the First Indiana Cavalry. We captured four heavy guns. Colonel Lowe, the rebel leader, was killed. Major Garrit and Captain Hyman, of the Indiana Cavalry, were killed in a charge on a battery.

"W. P. Carlin, Colonel Commanding."

Carlin was my friend Carlin of the 38th Illinois Infantry. A braver soldier never lived.

On the 25th I got a long letter from Governor Yates, which, as it is very characteristic of him, I will in part transcribe.

"My dear Governor: — I do not know whose letters annoy me as much as yours, for two reasons. First, they are written by a friend, one who, with whatever failings I may have (and I confess I have many), has to all others, except to himself and me, sustained me. The second, however, is more exceptionable, because your letters are based upon the presumption that I do not do all I could; for instance, you say: 'I do think, Governor, the time requires decisive action.' Well, Governor, who has acted upon this hypothesis so much as I? I enclose you one of many such dispatches as I have sent to the Department laying me liable to arrest for insubordination. Even you, who ought to, do not seem to appreciate the difficulties of my position. A family of nearly 60,000 troops of fifty-five regiments, each one saying my case is peculiar — my regiment is exposed — I have no arms — I have been in the service many months — and so forth.

"Indeed I must say I approve in every respect of my friend Fuller's answer to you. He was right and you were wrong. If Colonel Carlin needed help it was not my fault. I should not have abandoned my policy in regard to the few arms the State had, to have saved a legion. "Salus populi suprema lex" is the reason of my policy, as I will explain to you hereafter. I will see, Governor, that the company you want is assigned to you, if it can be done.

"The indications at Washington pointed to the removal of Frémont. I had several conversations with Lincoln, Cameron, the Blairs, and so forth. I remonstrated, saying that the army of the West would rebel; and I believe what I said suspended the blow, and caused Cameron's visit, because he left the day after the Cabinet consulted me, and they said that my voice in his behalf was the only one.

"Your friend,
"Richard Yates."

To explain one passage: While at Springfield there were then about a thousand Springfield muskets in the Arsenal, and I had asked Fuller to let the 43rd have them, which he

declined. Only a few companies had been previously provided with them.

FRÉMONT'S REMOVAL

Frémont had reached Springfield about the last of October. Price, as might have been expected, had left Lexington, and by rapid marches, had gone down to the neighborhood of Springfield, near the old battle-field at Wilson Creek, and had effected his junction with General McCullough, who had collected a considerable force of some of the best Confederate troops. Their joint forces were estimated at about 50,000; Frémont's at about 30,000. At Springfield, our advance-guard, including the body-guard, had a brilliant fight with the rear-guard of Price, and another successful fight had taken place in the direction of Wilson Creek, when, to the surprise of everybody, General Hunter, on the 2d of November, presented an order of removal from the War Department to General Frémont, — an order which had been made out weeks before, but was left to be communicated whenever Hunter was informed to do so.

The excitement was tremendous. It amounted almost to a mutiny. The Germans, and there were many thousands in the command, were particularly indignant. In vain did their officers try to pacify them. They swore that they had enlisted only under the expectation of being led by Frémont. But Frémont acted very handsomely. He made a speech and published an order in which, while he regretted having been recalled just on the eve of a battle, he appealed to their patriotism and loyalty, and spoke in high terms of his successor. Order was at once restored, though a deep feeling of regret and disgust remained for a good while in the breasts of the soldiers of the Western armies.

Hunter ordered at once a retreat in the direction of St. Louis. The Northern Republican press, particularly the Chicago papers, violently denounced the administration, and the loyal people of St. Louis, including the Germans, under the lead of some indiscreet radicals, on the return of Frémont to

the city, went to the extreme of giving Frémont a monster reception, at which most inflammatory speeches were made.

I had written a few lines to General Frémont expressing my sincere regret at the unkind treatment he had received. As he knew very well that Trumbull and Yates and myself had done our best to avert this catastrophe at this very untoward time, he wrote me back from St. Louis:

"My dear sir: — I regret to hear from our friends that your illness still continues. I had still hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you before leaving for the East; but, as we leave tomorrow, it will have to be deferred to some other time. I should be glad to have a line from you at New York to inform me when you have recovered. Meantime, I desire to thank you for your friendly assurances, which have, I assure you, given me great pleasure.

"Hoping I may hereafter have an opportunity to improve our acquaintance, which was so unexpectedly interrupted, I am, with regard,

"Very truly,
"J. C. Frémont."

On the 18th of November I saw an order published in the St. Louis papers by General McClellan, who had been lately appointed general of the Union armies, mustering out all the officers of General Frémont's staff, selected by him from civil life. As I was, however, appointed by the President, I did not exactly know whether I was embraced in that order or not. Feeling at the time somewhat better, I went over to St. Louis in order to consult with some of the officers of the regular army, Colonel Andrews, the paymaster, Colonel Callender, of the ordnance, and Captain McKeever. They were of the opinion that the order covered my case, and, considering my state of health, and being also somewhat disgusted with the present aspect of affairs, I submitted to their views, settled my accounts and considered myself released. I should, I believe, have resigned anyway, even if, in the opinion of the staff-officers in St. Louis, I had not been embraced in the order.

The conduct of the German troops at Springfield almost amounted to a mutiny when Frémont was removed, and the

most indiscreet indignation and ovation meeting at St. Louis, where the Germans figured most conspicuously, had provoked sincere strictures against that element; and, as nativism made great capital out of it, I thought it my duty to address Mr. Lincoln on the subject. On the 29th of November, amongst other things, I wrote to him:

"I take this opportunity of saying a few words in explanation of the conduct of the German population on the removal of Frémont. They had enthusiastically supported him for President in 1856; and for that reason, and also because he found them in Missouri, with some exceptions of course, the only live Union men, Frémont had treated them with marked consideration and very great liberality. By this course he had gained their strong attachment; and, as they are an impressionable and rather enthusiastic people, they have been carried away into demonstrations not to be approved of and which their own sober second thought will condemn. The present excitement will soon die out. They are true to the cause and will act with perfect loyalty. I thought I would enter this "caveat" in behalf of the Germans, to guard against misconstructions. While doing this, I wish, however, to be understood as reserving to myself the liberty of judging of the removal of Frémont according to the impression and thoughts I have, — which judgment I shall have an opportunity of laying before you at a proper time. My health has been very bad for the past four or five weeks, but I am recovering. With my best wishes for your health and success, I am

"Yours very truly," etc.

DEATH OF VICTOR KOERNER

About the middle of November, our Gustave who attended Washington University at St. Louis, came home sick. He had been out on a windy, cold night at a Frémont ovation. He had a very bad cold in the head and a sore throat. Dr. Berchelmann applied the usual remedies, but found some rather singular symptoms, which he at the time could not explain. Yet he had little fever, and, as I was confined pretty much to my bed-room, where also the library was, he was most of the time with me; the other members of the family were also often in the room. Little Victor, on whom Gustave doted, was playing

nearly all the time around him. Neither the Doctor nor we had at the time the slightest knowledge of the infectiousness of the dreadful disease with which Gustave was actually seized.

In about ten days Gustave got pretty well over his illness; but, about the 20th of November, Victor was taken down with the same complaint, but more acutely. It turned into a putrid sore throat, as the Doctor thought. We felt alarmed. Dr. Engelmann, from St. Louis, was sent for. In St. Louis several cases of this hitherto hardly known disease had developed. It was the terrible diptheria, now become epidemic. Yet the Doctor was not without hope. The disease seemed to take a favorable turn for a day or two, when suddenly it turned out fatal. Victor died on the 3rd of December. The loss of this sweet-tempered, genial, highly intellectual boy cast an everlasting shadow over our whole life.

GENERAL DESPONDENCY

Though my malarial fever had left me, I felt by no means well. I suffered from sleeplessness. My physical and nervous system was deranged. Public and private affairs looked gloomy. Washington was, as it were, a besieged city. The complaints from all parts of the Union of McClellan's inactivity were deep and loud. "All quiet on the Potomac" was the news that daily flashed over the wires from Washington. The time when a campaign into Virginia was practicable was rapidly passing away. On the 20th of October the sad and disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff, a miserable blunder, took place, where Colonel Baker from Illinois, but then Senator from California, fell, bravely fighting, at the head of his command. On the 7th of November the disgraceful fight and flight under Grant happened at Belmont. Hunter had given up Southwest Missouri to the tender mercies of the rebels. I was ill. From the day of the fall of Fort Sumter I had thrown my professional business to the winds. Almost constantly absent from home, engaged in what I con-

sidered public business, I traversed the State in all directions, without the least remuneration. There were, besides, many occasions in times like these for contributions to the common cause. To equip myself for the campaign involved heavy expenses not compensated by a few months' pay as an officer. The education of our children was still in our hands. I had to make a new start in life. But still I was not despondent, and the fortitude with which Sophie, to keep up my spirits, bore her terrible affliction, greatly lightened my burden.

Perhaps it was also some help to me that I could not avoid being kept busy. There came numerous letters from all parts of the State and even from other States, the writers of which offered to enter my regiment, as officers, of course. Applications came from friends in Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and even from New Mexico, to use my influence with the President to get them into office. My friend Hecker asked my assistance very strongly. As early as September, when his regiment (the 24th) was, I believe, stationed in Kentucky, he had fallen out with his lieutenant-colonel or major and some captains, whom he always designated as "Slovaken." He had come to St. Louis, and told me his trouble. He wanted Frémont to dismiss these officers. I at once advised him that Frémont would not do it, that they were commissioned by the Governor of Illinois, and no one, not even a private, could be dismissed without a trial by court-martial. But he insisted, saw Frémont, and got these officers discharged. They appealed to Washington, and Cameron, as might have been expected, reinstated them at once. Hecker then applied to Yates to dismiss also those who had no influence, and Hecker complained that he had not even been answered. In the meantime he had become seriously sick with a venal inflammation on one of his legs, and, while I was in Missouri, had gone home to his farm. Somehow or other, he thought I could get matters mended. He said I knew all about it, and would give him light. He was, he said, the victim of an intrigue, and I could tell him why it was so. Of course I could not. He

wrote me other, very despairing letters at the time. It is well known that he resigned, but later in the war he recruited another regiment, the 82nd Illinois, which was in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Mission Ridge, Kenesaw Mountain, and took part in Sherman's great "March to the Sea." Having been severely wounded at Chancellorsville, he resigned in the fall of 1864, as his wounds had very much impaired his health. He was as brave as a lion, but too high-tempered not to get himself involved in many difficulties.

MILITARY DISORGANIZATION

But the 43rd regiment occupied most of my attention. When Southwest Missouri had been abandoned, some regiments were sent out on the Missouri Pacific Railroad to guard it against the guerrilla bands that were now swarming through West Missouri. The 43rd had been sent to Otterville, between Tipton and Sedalia. They had been furnished with English Tower muskets, a pretty good weapon; but the pistons were too large for the caps they had received. So while the men were constantly liable to be attacked, they were really without arms, and I was made responsible for not getting them. Adolph, Colonel Raith, Major Dengler, all wrote me pressing letters. Besides, they had been attached to General Pope's division, while it had been promised they would be attached to Sigel's. I went to see General Halleck, who, in the middle of November, had been entrusted with the command of the Western Department, to have matters set right. Colonel Raith who also wrote me very sensibly, in one of his letters (14th of December), says:

"It seems to me your services are at present much needed. It seems to one that there is a regular plan pursued to have all German regiments rather so divided as to be stuck in with American brigades than to be formed of entirely German regiments. There may be some cause for such a movement in the unsoldierlike behavior of some of the Missouri regiments near Rolla and the foolish meetings of their friends in St. Louis; but you know more about it than I. Colonel White

of the 31st Illinois is at present our brigade commander. He is a gentleman, but will try everything to have us permanently attached to his brigade, as our regiment is, though I say it myself, an acquisition to any brigade. As General Halleck says, we are in the face of the enemy. I think he should furnish us better arms. It will not be amiss if you urge the same."

They also complained that the staff and some of the captains, whose companies were not quite complete, had never been paid anything yet, and were poorly off on that account.

As to the assignment of German companies to General Sigel's division, General Sigel also wrote me very urgent letters. General Frémont had intended and promised, — so General Sigel informed me, — to attach the 43rd and the 9th Wisconsin, Colonel Salomon, to his division, and now they had been attached to other divisions. Besides, the only cavalry regiment that he had in his division, and which had been organized with great labor and trouble, had been in part taken from him. "I do not know," Sigel wrote me, "what to think of it. I cannot come to Belleville, as I expect every moment an order to go to Rolla. I should be exceedingly thankful if I could see you; for at this moment there are a number of things which I would wish to speak to you about. I will remain here until next Sunday; can't you come?" "I am indeed extremely sorry," he contiued, "that I am disapponted in my warmest wishes, and am to be separated from my good friends. If things continue to go on in this wise, I will return to my former occupation and leave it to others to carry on the war."

I had no official station, though Lincoln seemed to be under the impression that I was on General Halleck's staff. But the latter treated me with great courtesy and listened to my appeals to him, and made fair promises. I did what I could, with but moderate success, however.

The end of this eventful year came. Christmas and New Year's were passed by us in mournful stillness and silence. No mention was made of those at former times so joyous days.

I was in hopes of passing some time at least quietly at home, trying to recover my health and to attend to my profession again. But hardly a day passed without my receiving letters from the 43rd regiment requesting me to enter into correspondence with General Halleck and Governor Yates in order to remedy their complaints. Other friends, too, gave me some trouble. My friend, Lewis B. Parsons, upon the recommendation of Governor Yates and myself, had been appointed an aide on General Halleck's staff with the rank of captain. Parsons had been an able lawyer at Alton while I was judge, and we had become friends. After the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad had gone into operation he became one of the solicitors of the company, and also, I believe, a director and assistant superintendent of transportation. He became very fond of railroad management, and soon acquired distinction in that line. Early in January he applied to me to use my supposed influence with General Halleck to be raised in rank. I complied with his request, and, I believe, he was raised to the rank of major and placed at the head of the transportation business as assistant quartermaster. Halleck found him so useful that when he was called to Washington to assume general command of all the armies, he took Major Parsons along, as a member of his staff. He soon obtained the rank of colonel, and later in the war, that of brigadier general. He was acting quartermaster general, and acquired great distinction for the ability with which he managed all the transportation of our armies over the railroads in the possession of the Union.

MEDIATES BETWEEN HALLECK AND SIGEL

About the 10th of January, it became known that General Halleck had appointed General G. Curtis, of Iowa, commander of the Army of Southwest Missouri, which was to enter upon a campaign against the Confederates, who, under General Price and Generals Van Dorn and McCullough, were concentrated near Springfield. This Southwest Missouri

Army had been under the command of Sigel ever since the retreat of General Hunter in November last, with headquarters at Rolla. Curtis not having had, at that time, an opportunity of showing any military ability, and his name being consequently quite unknown in the Department of the West, his appointment in the place of Sigel created an excitement amongst the troops and the Western people generally hardly less strong than was caused by the removal of Frémont. Almost the entire Republican press denounced the step taken by General Halleck, and the Germans in many places held indignation meetings in which they passed condemnatory resolutions, and called upon the President to have Sigel reinstated or to give him an entire separate command.

Sigel had instantly resigned, but Halleck had kept his resignation back, and did not send it to the War Department, the head of which was now Stanton, formerly a staunch Democrat, who had, however, held the office of Attorney General towards the end of Buchanan's administration and had shown himself a thoroughgoing Union man.

About the middle of January I received a letter from President Lincoln in which he asked me to put myself into relations with Generals Halleck and Sigel and try to arrange the difficulties between them, if possible, to their mutual satisfaction. He expressed himself in this letter as being fully aware of General Sigel's merits and as regretting deeply his resignation, which he said he would not accept unless he was forced to do so. He wrote me fully and very kindly of Sigel, without, however, expressing any judgment on Halleck's action, and authorized me, if I thought proper, to show his letter to General Halleck.

Now this was quite a delicate task which Mr. Lincoln had laid on me. I could not well insist on Halleck's removing Curtis from the command. Curtis, of course, would have instantly sent in his resignation; on the other hand, if Halleck refused, and if Lincoln made the change in the command, Halleck would have had to resign, for his prestige as com-

mander of the department would have been gone, if the change were made over his head. Besides, General Curtis was not exactly the "nobody" he was represented to be by the friends of Sigel. He was a graduate of West Point, but had not remained long in the service, having removed to Ohio, where, at the outbreak of the Mexican War, he was appointed colonel of the 2nd Ohio volunteer regiment; he had occupied himself with civil engineering after his return from Mexico, first in Ohio, then in Missouri and Iowa. In the latter State he had been elected a member of Congress, but had resigned at the beginning of the war, and was appointed a brigadier-general in May, 1861. Later in the war he was made a major-general and commander of the Department of the Northwest.

At the same time I considered General Sigel deeply wronged, and could not blame him for having resigned. But the loss of his services I considered a great misfortune, and was therefore disposed to do my best to keep him in the army.

I could not well decline the request of the President, and I at once sought an interview with General Halleck. I had not personally known Halleck before. We had only corresponded with one another regarding matters of the 43rd regiment. Not knowing whether Mr. Lincoln had advised him of my coming, and finding nothing in the letter which could have hurt the General's feelings, I at once handed it to him. He read it very attentively, and reflected some time before entering upon any explanation. He had, he said, been very much misunderstood in regard to his actions toward General Sigel. He would tell me at the outset that he had no personal prejudice against the latter; that he thought Sigel was an officer of merit. Nor had he any Native American feeling. His father himself, he said, was a German by birth, had been a Protestant minister at Newburg on the Hudson, had come, perhaps, from the same State of Baden that Sigel came from, that General Curtis was an able man, had had a military education, was a skilful engineer, had served with distinction

in the Mexican War, and had resigned his seat in Congress to enter the army, and was very popular and influential in his State; that his commission as brigadier-general bore the same date as that of Sigel, but that in the army register (a printed copy of which he afterwards showed me) Curtis's name appeared before that of several others and before Sigel's, and that he only followed in this instance the custom of the army, to consider Curtis's commission as older than the others. He would be very glad if I could persuade Sigel not to insist on his resignation, which he had held back and not sent to Washington. I did not fail to observe on my part that if there was such a custom it was more honored in the breach than in the observance. Besides, the President had in many instances not followed it himself. He had made Grant, for instance, a brigadier-general over twenty colonels who had held older commissions, and some of whom had held higher commissions in the Mexican War than Grant. He spoke, apparently, with much frankness, remarking, however, that it would be at present impossible for him to make a change, but that perhaps an opportunity might offer itself very soon to recognize Sigel's merits.

Sigel was then still in command at Rolla, as his resignation had not been accepted. I proposed to General Halleck to invite him to come to St. Louis, so that I might have an opportunity to learn what he had to say. He consented to this, and immediately wrote down a despatch. I also telegraphed Sigel that I had been requested by the President to investigate the differences between him and General Halleck, and that I should like to see him in St. Louis.

Sigel came the next day, and gave me a succinct account of the late events. After the strange and inexplicable retreat from Springfield under General Hunter one part of the army was thrown north on Sedalia, another northeast on Rolla. The division at Rolla was under Sigel, he being the highest in command. His health being bad, and no immediate prospect for action being discernible, he had resorted to St.

Louis, urging Halleck to forward a movement with all his usual energy. It was determined upon. A large cavalry force was ordered forward to reconnoiter. About Christmas Sigel reported himself ready for duty, and parted from General Halleck in the most satisfactory manner, expecting to lead the balance of the army against the enemy in a few days. No information was thrown out that anybody else would take the command from him. On his arrival at Rolla he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by the men and immediately set to work to form the brigades and divisions and to prepare for the march. A few days afterwards he was superseded.

I told Sigel all that General Halleck had said to me by way of explanation; but Sigel still insisted at that time on his resignation. I got Halleck to write to Sigel in the spirit he had spoken to me, which, he said, he did; but all that I could do with Sigel was to have him promise not to press his resignation for some time, as the President was very anxious that he should not do it. I promised to make a report to Mr. Lincoln that, in my opinion, he was right and Halleck wrong. Sigel left again for Rolla, a little more reconciled, I thought, than when I first met him. I had intimated to him that his friends would take care of him, and that perhaps some higher and better position was in store for him. In this I was not mistaken, though his promotion came not as fast as might have been expected.

I had hardly returned to Belleville when I received a letter from Frederick Kapp from Washington City, informing me that on the 16th day of January a great mass-meeting of Germans had been held in New York in which they had expressed their indignation regarding the treatment General Sigel had met with; that the meeting had appointed a delegation to call on the President at Washington to remonstrate against the action of General Halleck superseding Sigel in the command of the South Missouri Army by the appointment of Curtis, and to ask Mr. Lincoln to give Sigel a more inde-

pendent and higher position in the army; that the committee had had, on the 23rd of January, an interview with the President in connection with a deputation of the Germans of Brooklyn, who had come on a similar mission. "The President at once informed us," Mr. Kapp wrote, "that he had written you and had asked you to put yourself in communication with General Halleck and to arrange matters, if possible, to the satisfaction of both parties. Lincoln said that he would by all means like to keep such a valuable man as Sigel in the service, and that he would not accept his resignation unless he was absolutely forced to do so. You may well imagine," Kapp continued, "that we were very much rejoiced at the communication of the President, as we know of no one amongst the Germans who could with more dignity and more success arrange this matter in our interest. We hope that you have accepted the President's charge." Mr. Kapp further informed me that they proposed to the President to make Sigel a major-general and to place him at the head of the German division, at present under the command of General Blenker, in the Potomac Army; that the President seemed inclined to such a change, and that I should use my influence with the President to bring it about.

In an article which appeared in the "Deutsche Rundschau," a German monthly review published at Berlin, written by Frederick Kapp, in 1881, under the title of "German and American Mutual Relations," he recurs to this interview with Mr. Lincoln.

"In the year 1862," writes Kapp, in the "Rundschau," "I with some other political friends was sent to call upon President Lincoln to interest him for General Sigel, who at that time complained of his removal from command by General Halleck and had threatened to resign. Lincoln inquired very fully and with much interest into the wishes of the German population, and asked us to suggest to him what he could do for them and particularly for Sigel. When we asked him to appoint him general of a division and to entrust him with a command independent of Halleck, he thought he could not do that all at once, but that he had begged Governor Koerner

to inquire into the matter and report to him. 'I have known Koerner,' the President said, 'for more than twenty years, and I subscribe in advance to anything he proposes. As he is your countryman, you may feel convinced that he will judge matters justly.' Naturally we were well pleased with this action of the President. Koerner undertook the charge, made his report in our favor, and Sigel was made a major-general in a few weeks, and not long afterwards was made a commander of an army corps."

Mr. Kapp was somewhat mistaken. I had the promise of Mr. Lincoln that Sigel should be made a major-general before the battle of Pea Ridge, but he was appointed such after the battle, which was really won by Sigel. It was true, however, that Sigel very soon afterwards was transferred to the East and became commander of the First Army Corps, and as such, distinguished himself at the battle of Cedar Mountain and the second battle of Bull Run.

I have already stated that I succeeded in persuading Sigel not to press his resignation. In the meantime I made my report to President Lincoln. I expressed my opinion, that the argument of General Halleck, consisting in the fact that Curtis's name preceded that of Sigel on the army roll, was, considering all the circumstances, wholly inadmissible; that Halleck could not but have known that Sigel had the full confidence of his troops, his own and that of General Asboth's division; that thousands of Germans had enlisted only in the hope of serving under him; that he had induced Halleck to undertake this early campaign and had made his troops ready for an immediate march on Springfield; that Sigel had been over Southwest Missouri four times, had perfect knowledge of the ground, and that there was no military position which he had not heretofore explored and mapped. I recommended his appointment as major-general so as to rank Curtis. I took occasion to observe to Mr. Lincoln that even policy would require allaying in some way or another the feeling of dissatisfaction now existing in the Department of the West. I made no secret of my views in the several conversations I had with General Halleck on the subject.

Sigel had gone back to Rolla. But he became impatient, and wrote me on the 27th of January:

"In spite of everything I will march forward to Springfield with my torn and decimated division, and will do what I can to liberate the Southwest and with it Missouri. I hope you will do what is possible to bring the business of my resignation to a speedy decision; for it is a question of life with me. In this condition of suspense I have neither the necessary spirit nor the necessary power to do anything important. I long to be rid of this uncertain, painful situation."

I immediately communicated to him the contents of Kapp's letter, which I had received after he had left St. Louis for Rolla, which, of course, proved very satisfactory to him. I also informed him of my report, and that, besides, I had received assurances from Mr. Lincoln through friends in Washington, that he would nominate him major-general. So Sigel did not insist upon his resignation, and went into the campaign under Curtis.

I may remark here that, his assurance to the contrary notwithstanding, Halleck did have, or did very soon conceive a great prejudice against Sigel, and during the course of the war showed it more than once. General Grant also was hostile to him, and in his Memoirs threw a slur on him by publishing a very bitter despatch of Halleck's about Sigel's fight in the Shenandoah Valley. General Grant ought to have recollected how very cruelly Halleck had treated him after Donelson and Shiloh in his despatches to the War Department.

In my conversation with General Halleck, he vaguely expressed a wish to have me on his staff; but, by speaking of my still very poor health, I in a manner sought to avoid a positive refusal. To my surprise, I received on the 12th of February, a letter from L. B. Parsons, who was, as I have before remarked, on the staff, in which amongst other things he stated, that he could say with entire truth that, if I did not choose to accept the position of brigadier-general, I could be of great service to the country and the cause of the Union by taking a position General Halleck was so desirous I should

take, as a member of his military family. In such a position I could, he said, pay more regard to my health and family.

I replied to Mr. Parsons that for obvious reasons I should not like to be on the staff of the General; that, besides, I did not think it would be prudent for me to enter the army again; that my physician had advised me, considering the state of my nervous system, to avoid all excitement if possible, and to keep as quiet as I could. He had spoken very strongly, and had called it madness for me even to think of going into the army again, at least for some months. What was my astonishment when I received a line from General Halleck, begging me to come over and see him at headquarters. I went, and he at once placed in my hands a new commission as an aide-de-camp in the service of the United States with the rank of colonel, beginning from the 2nd of February, 1862. In the same envelope was a communication asking me to send my acceptance, if I should accept, to the Adjutant-General at Washington at once. There was no direction to report to General Halleck, or to any other general. I had not asked for such an appointment, nor had I received the slightest indication of receiving one. Halleck congratulated me, but I asked time for consideration, mentioning the state of my health, and what the doctors thought about it. He observed that he would not take the field for some months. Headquarters would remain here. I could perform my work here as conveniently as in my office; and that he would be exceedingly glad if I would come on his staff. Of course I thanked him for the interest he seemed to take in me, but made no certain promise. I never found out how the President came to make this new appointment, and I had only a dim surmise of what made Halleck so anxious for me to be on his staff, after he knew what position I had taken in the Sigel difficulty.

DEMOCRATS IN THE UNION ARMY

I also wrote to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Colonel Garesche, that I had taken the acceptance under advisement. The aspect of our public affairs continued to be very gloomy

during the first months of the year. McClellan had organized an army leaving the enemy unmolested in its fortifications at Manassas Junction, a few miles only from the Capital. Tennessee was in the hands of the Confederates, and also a large part of Kentucky, threatening Cincinnati and Louisville. The Mississippi River was closed up below the mouth of the Ohio by strong forts, and the extreme southeast and the southwest and western part of Missouri were occupied by the rebels. Cameron, whose removal had been so loudly demanded by the people for the last six months, had resigned in the middle of January. But now the radical Republicans denounced Lincoln; for in his report in December Cameron had strongly reported in favor of emancipation and of an army of slaves in the seceded States, but had to modify it by order of the President before it was distributed. It was charged that he had been forced to resign on that account. That the lifelong Democrat Stanton had been appointed in his place, created also great dissatisfaction. A general alarm was sounded in the radical press that the cause of the Union was placed in the hands of Democrats who had joined the Republican party. A Springfield paper complained that nearly all the brigadiers appointed from Illinois, Grant, Prentiss, Palmer, and Hurlbut were Democrats, that out of seventy regiments Illinois had in the field in January, 1862, forty-four had Democratic colonels, and that their staff-officers were also mostly Democrats. I cannot vouch for the entire correctness of this statement, save that it was true in the main, and natural enough, for Southern Illinois had turned out a great many more volunteers than the North. The three Belleville regiments, the 9th, 22nd, and the 43rd, were made up of and officered almost exclusively by men who had been Democrats before the Republican party was formed in 1856, and the regiments of John A. Logan, William R. Morrison, Colonel Lawler, Colonel Fouke, Colonel Haine, and Colonel Hicks, were principally made up of Union Democrats. Other Republican organs, speaking of the army, asserted that of the six major-generals

but one was Republican, that amongst one hundred and ten brigadier generals, eighty were Democrats. This may not have been accurate.

It is indeed a remarkable fact that during the whole war the most noted generals were of Democratic antecedents. McClellan, once commander of all the armies of the Union, was still a Democrat when he entered the army. Sheridan was of the same politics. Sherman being a man of rather erratic character, his politics at any one time were not easily ascertained. But as he was in 1860 appointed director of the newly established military academy in Louisiana, it is but reasonable to suppose that at that period he was a Democrat. General Halleck, as well as General Frémont, had been Democrats, and so were Major-Generals Burnside, Buell, Hancock, Rosecrans, Heinzelmann, Fitz-John Porter, Philip Kearney, John A. Dix, Hooker, Merritt, Corse and many others of the regular army. Among the major-generals of volunteers were counted James Shields, John M. Palmer, Frank P. Blair, John A. Logan, Francis Sigel, Philip Osterhaus, Carl Schurz, Benjamin F. Butler, and Daniel Sickles, and among the brigadier-generals Willich, Steinwehr and Salomon, all formerly Democrats.

I had occasion already to observe that the accession of Democrats to the Republican party gave to it impetus and aggressiveness, which carried the party to victory, first in nearly all the Northern States, and finally conquered the Presidency. It does seem also that they were quite well represented in the army.

Not long ago, in reading Henry Ward Beecher's life, I came across a passage in which long after the war he expressed his opinion of the Union Democratic party.

"There was," he said, "a great party (1863) made up differently from all foregoing parties. Old lines were effaced, old questions sank to the bottom, and the one question that united the strongest elements, discordant in every respect, was the wise determination to maintain intact the Union of the whole country. That formed the band and belt that gave

unity to the party of war, and carried the great Democratic party into their ranks. The largest part and the noblest joined themselves to the party of the Union, and better men never came from any party than those that formed under our banner, bearing briefly and for a time the name of Republicans, but very largely going back again, after the war was over, to the Democratic party."

GENERAL UNION ADVANCE

President Lincoln at last lost his patience at the inactivity of our armies which, nearly half a million strong, were scattered along a line of more than a thousand miles, reaching from Kansas to the Potomac. On the 28th of January (1862) he issued his memorable order that a general movement of all our armies against the insurgent forces should take place on the 27th of February, and that the general-in-chief with all other commands and subordinates of land and naval forces would be held to their strict and full responsibility for the prompt execution of this order.

This order was hailed with delight and even before the appointed day forward movements took place. On the 6th of February Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, protecting the access into Tennessee, was taken by the army and navy hitherto stationed at Cairo by order of General Halleck. Grant commanded the land-forces, about 35,000 men, and Commodore Foote the navy, consisting of several iron-cased gun-boats, which General Frémont had ordered to be constructed while he was in command of the Western Department. After an hour's cannonading by the fleet the fort surrendered with its garrison of artillerymen; but the infantry-forces of the enemy, 4000 strong, posted on high ground in the rear of the fort, made good their retreat, Grant's troops, consisting of two divisions of Illinois infantry, coming up too late to impede their flight. Grant blamed Foote for having been too hasty in his attack, Foote charging upon Grant that he had been too slow in coming up, he, Foote, having engaged the enemy at the time previously agreed upon. Our loss was principally owing to an accident, the boiler of the gun-boat

Essex having been struck by a ball from the fort, the explosion of which killed or seriously wounded some forty of the crew. Only a dozen or so of the crews of the other boats were killed or wounded. The 43rd and the 9th regiments were among the troops in the expedition against Fort Henry, which was now named Fort Foote.

FORT DONELSON

The next move was on Fort Donelson. Very much to the dissatisfaction of the 43rd regiment, it was left with some other regiments at Fort Henry to guard it against recapture by the Confederate forces at Columbus. The 9th regiment, Col. Mersy, however, belonging to General Smith's division, and part of the forces under General Grant, on the 12th, commenced the investment of Fort Donelson with about 15,000 men; after having marched by land from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson, a distance of about 12 miles, and waiting for an equal force to come up by the Tennessee River with the gun-boats. The division of McClernand formed the right wing of the army and consisted entirely of Illinois regiments. It was evidently not the intention of General Grant to assault the works until the gun-boats and the other half of his command had arrived. It is unaccountable therefore that on the 13th the right wing attacked the enemy's impregnable intrenchments, extending from the fort up the river and securing the communication with Nashville and their line of retreat. The enemy were in the woods, and before them they had made a perfect bulwark by felling trees and throwing up earthworks. Yet some one must have ordered the move on those abattis and rifle-pits. Three Illinois regiments were more than decimated in this foolish attempt,—Morrison's, Logan's and Haine's. Morrison was severely wounded in the hip and carried from the field. John A. Logan was also wounded. Why General Grant did not stop the fight which he had not ordered, has remained unexplained. Of course, the assault was repulsed; the enemy hardly suffering any loss.

On the 14th the gun-boats made an unsuccessful attempt

to reduce the fort. The rebel batteries were so skilfully constructed that they suffered hardly any loss, while within a few hours they disabled three ironclads, and the whole fleet retired. The right wing, which had suffered so severely, had been reinforced by a portion of the first division under General Smith, — by Arthur's and Lew Wallace's brigades. The 9th belonged to Arthur's. On the 15th, early in the morning, the enemy with a view of breaking through the investment made a furious attack on our men, but met with the most obstinate resistance. Then, drawing additional forces from the fort, they, after, a most sanguinary contest, finally drove our men from the field, though the latter retreated in good order. The 9th fought most desperately, and did not retire until they had spent their last cartridge. It had only eight companies in the fight. One had been left as provost-guard at Paducah; another had been detached to support a battery. It went into the fight with 600 men and came out of it with a loss of 195 killed and wounded and many made prisoners. A battery was also lost, and the enemy claimed to have gathered many thousand stands of arms on the battlefield in the morning. In the afternoon, however, large reinforcements arrived, and nearly the whole ground lost in the morning was recovered, while at the same time General Smith with his part of the division succeeded in taking a strong redoubt of the fort itself. About 3,000 rebels under General Floyd escaped from the fort by the river, and the next morning General Buckner with about 12,000 men, being, as he claimed, surrounded by 50,000 Union troops, surrendered unconditionally.

A great many of our St. Clair boys were killed or wounded; amongst the wounded officers were Hamilton Lieber, a son of the distinguished Francis Lieber. He had entered the regiment while he was residing at Lebanon. His arm had to be amputated. Our loss in killed and wounded amounted to at least 5,000 men, while not more than about 30,000 had taken part in the battle. This was really the first

great important victory of the Union Army. As it was principally won by Illinoisans, it raised the name of our State greatly in the estimation of the people. Meetings were held in the East, tendering highly complimentary resolutions to the State and its gallant sons. A friend of Mr. Lincoln, speaking of this success, said: "This magnificent success electrified the country, and Mr. Lincoln, whose face had been careworn and anxious, looked ten years younger the evening of the reception of the news."

OTHER SUCCESSES OF THE UNION ARMY

The success of our army at Donelson was soon followed by another at Pea Ridge, Arkansas; General Curtis commanding the Union forces. The battle was won principally by Sigel on the second day. The 12th Missouri under Col. Osterhaus gained here its first laurels, and sustained its reputation as one of the best regiments in the army through the war. Sigel was made major-general, and soon after, Osterhaus being made a brigadier-general, our friend Hugo Wangelin became colonel. General Halleck himself expressed to me his admiration of that regiment, and thought Osterhaus one of the most intelligent and dashing officers in the service. As many of our friends from Belleville and our nephews Frederick and Joseph Ledergerber and cousin Troilus Tyndale were in that regiment, we took of course a great interest in its career. In that battle there were six Illinois regiments and some Illinois batteries.

General Osterhaus, addressing me respecting his promotion to the brigadier-generalship, in which I was taking a lively interest with the President, speaks of his regiment in the following terms: "Of my regiment, the 12th Missouri, although it consists more than one-half of Illinoisans, one has a right to be proud. There was no better at Pea Ridge. Wangelin, Kaercher, Affleck, Joseph Ledergerber, (Fritz Ledergerber had been left behind to escort a convoy,) Andel, Engelmann, Kircher, Tyndale, Kessler, all young soldiers, stood and fought like veterans." Troilus Tyndale had been

badly wounded in the leg. Some of our Belleville friends went down and brought him and other severely wounded Belleville boys home. Tyndale suffered greatly, as he was not willing to have his leg amputated, and it took nearly a year before he was able to use his limb.

General Burnside had also about this time obtained possession of some very important points on the coast of North Carolina. General G. H. Thomas of the regular army, who turned out to be one of our very best generals, had defeated Zollikoffer in East Kentucky, at Mill Spring. The latter, a highly accomplished and very brave gentleman, was killed in a hand-to-hand fight in that battle, being shot down by Colonel Frye, of a loyal Kentucky regiment. New Madrid in the most southeasterly part of Missouri was taken by General Pope, on the 13th of March; and a Confederate stronghold, Island No. 10, which closed up the Mississippi to our fleet, was invested.

These various and uniform successes of our armies within a few weeks raised the strongest hopes of a speedy end of the war. When I visited Colonel Morrison at St. Louis on his sick-bed, he himself, who is the least sanguine man almost I ever knew, considered the war as over; and General Halleck was nearly of the same opinion. Perhaps at no stage of the war prior to Sherman's march through Georgia was our people so confident of a speedy restoration of the Union as on the Ides of March of this year.

APPOINTED MINISTER TO SPAIN

On the 25th of March I received the following letter from Senator Trumbull:

"Dear Governor: Schurz is to receive the appointment of brigadier-general, and you are to succeed him. I take great pleasure in being able to communicate this fact to you. I think there will be no slip or mistake in the matter. I expect Schurz's name to be sent to the Senate tomorrow, and yours to follow as soon as he is confirmed."

Carl Schurz had been appointed minister to Spain in March, 1861. He tarried, however, a long while before he left the country; and went first to Germany, where he left his family, arriving in Madrid late in June. He remained there only a few months, leaving in November, and in January made his appearance again in the United States. It was soon known that he solicited a military appointment, but for some reason or another the President did not make it until the 25th of March.

Considering the hopeful condition of our affairs, as also the state of my health, I must say that I was glad of the news received. I at once decided to accept the appointment, when it would be offered. I had never entered the army for the sake of winning military renown, and, even if I had done so, the prospect just at that time of an opportunity to attain some glory was very faint. Consequently, I at once declined to accept the new appointment of aide-de-camp, which had been made in February, and informed Mr. Trumbull that I would accept the mission to Spain.

I had kept the matter a secret, however, to every one except Sophie, and Mr. Trumbull, as he afterwards informed me, spoke to no one about it except to his colleague, Senator Browning. I presume, however, that Mr. Lincoln himself was more communicative. At any rate, it leaked out that I was to be sent to Spain in place of Schurz, and letters of congratulation became the order of the day. Now again something very unpleasant to me and my family happened. Schurz's nomination for brigadier-general, being subject to the Senate's approval, met with some opposition and hung fire for a time. After it was confirmed, Schurz became ill, and asked to be allowed time to consider whether he would accept it or not, not resigning his Spanish mission. Of course, Mr. Lincoln could not appoint me to a place not vacant. My friends in Washington bitterly complained that the President allowed Mr. Schurz such a long time to make up his mind. In fact, it was not before the 16th of June

that Schurz resigned. The same day I was nominated, and a short time afterward my nomination was confirmed by the Senate. This state of uncertainty from the end of March to the middle of June was very trying indeed, and if it had not been that I was again very ill with various diseases, (an inflammation of the eyes amongst them,) which made us very anxious for a change of climate and for escaping the constant state of excitement of the war, I should have signified to the President my non-acceptance, even if a vacancy should occur.

UNION CHECK AT SHILOH

After Donelson, Grant moved his army around to the Tennessee River near Savannah and Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., with a view of moving on Corinth, Miss., which had been strongly fortified and was a railroad center on the Mobile and Ohio Road, from which troops could be sent east and also south to Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Columbus, Kentucky. I received letters from officers of the 43rd from time to time. On the 28th of March, amongst other things relating to their movements backwards and forward since Donelson, Colonel Raith wrote me:

"I expect some political capital was made of our being left behind at Fort Henry; but we have all got reconciled to being left, as there was rather considerable militia generalship displayed there; and as none of us belong to the mutual admiration society we should have got but little credit, if we had done anything. I am afraid Papa Lincoln is making generals too fast. If the war lasts much longer, some of them he has made will last no longer than the next general engagement. Some of them have at least sense enough to keep military men as their aides. We are encamped about eight miles above Savannah, Tenn., on the west side of the river, in very fine timber. There must be at least 60,000 troops here. The camp talk is that we shall wait here until Buell comes up with his command. The health of the men is getting better. It was rather bad as long as we were on the boats. We are in very good spirits and as harmonious as ever, and keep the men in first rate discipline; and they all feel comfortable and

proud in comparison with some of the regiments around us. Give my respects to all inquiring friends.

"Yours respectfully,
"J. Raith."

This was probably the last letter the noble soldier wrote in his life.

On the 6th of April, 1862 (Sunday morning), the Confederates, with about 45,000 men, A. Sidney Johnston, commander-in-chief, and under the lead of Beauregard and Generals Bragg, Hardee, Polk and Breckenridge (a former Vice-President), surprised our army, then of about equal strength, (one division of 5,000 men by mistake of orders not coming up until late in the evening), and, in spite of very obstinate fighting by most of our men, drove us from our position some two and one-half miles west of the landing to very near the river, and would have routed us completely if two divisions of Buell's army had not arrived late in the evening and if our gunboats had not somewhat stopped their rush by throwing shells into their ranks.

Next morning, the Lew Wallace division having arrived and two more from Buell's army, the battle was renewed. The Confederates disputed every inch of ground most desperately; but of course, being utterly exhausted and overpowered by numbers, at last retired about noon. Our old position near Shiloh was recovered; but the severe fighting for thirty-six hours, and the passing of the night in a cold and heavy shower, had told terribly on our men, and no serious pursuit was attempted. The Koerner regiment suffered severely. It went into battle with about 525 men only, many being in the hospital or on detached service; and it appears from the revised reports in the official publication, "The War of the Rebellion," that its aggregate loss amounted to 197 men. Five officers were killed outright and seven wounded. The Ninth regiment also suffered severely. One officer was killed, and nineteen wounded, — amongst the latter Colonel Mersy, Captain Kaefner, and our nephew Fritz Scheel,

severely. The regiment went into battle with about 600 men. Its aggregate loss was 306.

As these two regiments contained many soldiers from Belleville and its neighborhood, the losses, which were even at first somewhat exaggerated, spread a gloom over our little city. Colonel Raith was struck with a minie ball early in the day while forming the brigade in line of battle, the command falling upon him on account of the absence of its brigadier-general. He was carried back by four men, but insisted on being left, as he suffered immensely in being moved; telling his men they had better go and fight than watch him. He was not found when our regiment fell back with the rest of the army, and was discovered only next morning when the camps were retaken. Everything was then done to save him. He had been well treated by the rebels, had been put in a tent, but had lost too much blood to get over the amputation of his leg; and he died a few days afterwards. His death was universally regretted. He was a natural soldier, stern in the service, but, out of it, of the most jovial and social disposition. Brave and cool, he enjoyed the utmost confidence of his men. The regiment was under fire for the first time. In describing the battle, a correspondent of one of the New York leading papers, speaking of the flight of our advance troops, stated, that the first serious and obstinate resistance to the rush of the rebels was offered by the 43rd of Illinois.

General McClernand, who commanded the first division, to which the 43rd belonged, who, however, was in the habit of writing pretty high-flown reports, spoke of it in the highest terms in many parts of his report. I will give only a few passages:

"Colonel Raith, having completed his line, ordered a charge upon the enemy, in which he fell mortally wounded while encouraging his men by his heroic and daring example. Besides Colonel Raith, several other officers were killed or wounded in this charge."

Speaking of another scene of the battle, McClernand writes:

"Here Colonel Hare, commanding the first brigade, Colonel March, the second, and Lieutenant-Colonel Engelmann, the third, heedless of danger, led their men to the charge, amid the storm of bullets and in the face of the battery. . . . Colonels Hare and Crocker, who successfully commanded the first brigade, and Colonel Raith and Lieutenant-Colonel Engelmann, who successfully commanded the third brigade, distinguished themselves by the coolness, courage and skill with which they managed their men. Colonel Raith, falling an honored martyr in a just cause, will be mourned by his friends and adopted country."

Col. M. Arthur, who commanded the brigade to which the 9th Illinois belonged, made no report; but from all accounts it appeared that this regiment distinguished itself greatly on the battle-field. Its losses alone would show it.

Our loss was immense, 15,000 killed and wounded, principally on the first day, when we had only about forty-five thousand men on the field. While of course there was rejoicing over the victory, it was in the language of the chaplain of the 9th regiment, Marion Morrison, "a dearly bought victory." "There was," he writes, in his history of the 9th regiment, "a very decided feeling that somebody was at fault; that the rebels had completely surprised our army; that pickets were out but a very short distance. General Grant, as chief in command, was found fault with, that he had disobeyed orders and landed his men on the wrong side of the river."

Indeed, when the accounts of those who were present at Shiloh were heard, a deep feeling of indignation pervaded the nation. Had it not been for the most strenuous efforts of Washburne, who stood very high at Washington, and the fact that General C. J. Smith, the real hero of Donelson, was then about dying, there is no doubt but Grant would have been deprived of his command. Superseded he was, in a manner; for very soon General Halleck took chief command of the

Army of Western Tennessee; and as Grant himself says, in his Memoirs, he did not know what position he was in for several months. He never made a full report of the battle, but only a preliminary one, in which he promised to make one more fully when the reports of the division commanders were handed in. He took occasion, however, to pass a very high encomium on General Sherman, who, of course, duly reciprocated. During the whole war there was a high degree of mutual admiration displayed between these two generals, which, while it was a good policy, at the same time was not without great benefit to the country. Sherman undertook to prove in his report, newspaper articles, and in his Memoirs, that everything was right and proper; that there was no surprise whatever; that his division at least held on pretty close to its position at Shiloh meeting-house in the center; that, in placing the army on the west side of the river, Grant acted according to military science. Grant in his Memoirs hardly thinks that he was beaten on the first day, averring that after Lew Wallace's division had arrived in the evening he could have attacked the enemy next morning and would surely have beaten them. All idea of surprise was denied by both. When they wrote their memoirs they seemed to have forgotten their own reports.

On the 5th of April, one day before the battle, General Grant informed General Halleck that the outposts had been attacked by the enemy apparently in considerable force. "I immediately went up, but found all quiet. I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (a general one) being made upon us, but will be prepared, should such a thing take place."

His headquarters were then, strange to say, some ten miles below, at Savannah, to which place he returned; the letter being dated Savannah.

Now it was well known, and published in all the papers, that the Confederates had united at Corinth a large force, estimated at from 60,000 to 70,000 men, under some most

distinguished commanders. The distance from Corinth to Pittsburg Landing is less than twenty miles. Grant was waiting for General Buell with the army of the Ohio to join him, in order to attack the enemy at Corinth, for which purpose he did not think his own army sufficient. But could he have reasonably supposed that the Confederates, finding him posted with a comparatively small army on the wrong side of the river, would wait until Buell should come up? It is true, the original purpose of the Confederates was to await an attack on their stronghold. They had expected that the junction with Buell would take place sooner. Bad roads delayed him. No sooner was this found out, than they concluded very wisely to strike a blow before his arrival. The plan was to assault us on the morning of the 5th. Fortunately for us, there was some mistake of orders. Two divisions took the same road and obstructed one another, so that they arrived only late in the evening within a few miles of the Shiloh Plain, where the left wing and center of our army were stationed. Had they made the same attack on Saturday, Grant would have been routed, and not only one division but nearly all would have been captured.

The idea advanced by Sherman that the army was in the right position west of the river, having the big river at its back, and that this was according to military science, is almost grotesque. As Grant did not intend to attack before having Buell's corps with him, what use was it for him to cross the river which was commanded by our gun-boats and full of steamers for transportation? Behind that river he could have let his troops rest day and night, without the slightest fear of an attack.

The idea of General Grant that he could have got along without Buell is contradicted by General Sherman's report, who gives due credit to the army of the Ohio for their action late in the evening of the first day and the day following. As to the surprise, Sherman says: "On Saturday the enemy was again very bold, coming well down to our front; yet I did

not believe that he designed anything but a strong demonstration." It is only necessary to read the reports of the brigade and regimental commanders to become satisfied that the commander-in-chief and General Sherman were certainly guilty of gross carelessness. A few regiments from Ohio, just arrived, entirely undrilled, who had got their arms only a few days before, had been placed before the center and left wing. When the enemy's force rushed upon them, they naturally ran, and were seen no more that day; so their own brigadier reported. They ran through the lines of the 43rd and 49th Illinois and could not be rallied.

The reports of the Confederate commander-in-chief, Beauregard, who took the place of that most distinguished officer, Albert Sidney Johnston, who was killed while leading in person a wavering brigade to an assault, and of the other generals and colonels, are far fuller and more explicit than ours. All agree that they surprised the enemy. Col. Wm. Preston, predecessor of Schurz in Spain, adjutant-general of Gen. Johnston, writes: "On the afternoon of the 5th our advance was within three miles of the enemy, who evidently did not suspect that we were in force in the neighborhood." Another officer reports that they took the enemy by surprise, eating their breakfast in their tents.

The report of Colonel Engelmann, of which General Buell, in his review of the battle and in his refutation of Grant's and Sherman's accounts, published in the "Century Magazine," speaks as one of the clearest of all the reports made, states, concerning the commencement of the battle, that when he rode to the 49th regiment on the left to order out this regiment instantly, (brisk firing being heard within a short distance from its color line, but the place from where the firing came being concealed by the forest,) his orders to turn out were met by the inquiry, "For what purpose?" The feeling that the enemy was abroad was so general that he was also much affected by it, and rode forward in the direction from which the firing proceeded in order to make cer-

tain of it. Returning, he found his regiment already hotly engaged with the enemy. "At this time," the report states, "large numbers of our troops, belonging to Prentiss's and Sherman's divisions, heretofore in front of us, retired through our lines, and it was impossible to induce them to rally upon us." I have heard myself from a dozen of our soldiers who were in the fight that nearly one half of our army were promiscuously huddled together in the afternoon down on the river bank at the foot of the bluffs, anxious to be taken across to save their lives. Of course, most of them, when the morning dawned, and our army had been reinforced by 20,000 fresh troops, came up again, and did good fighting on the next day.

The following report to the War Department at Washington by Gen. Halleck, dated as late as the 24th of April at Pittsburg Landing, when he must of course have received abundant information from all classes of officers and men, is not complimentary, and clearly shows that the accounts by the responsible commanding officers were doctored so as to shift the responsibility. "The sad casualties of Sunday, the 6th, were due in part to the bad conduct of officers who were utterly unfit for their places, and in part to the number and bravery of the enemy. I prefer to express no opinion in regard to the misconduct of individuals until I receive the reports of commanders of divisions."

Next to Julius Raith the loss of no one was more regretted in the regiment and by his friends and by the people of Belleville generally than that of Francis Grimm, who was shot through the head and killed instantly. He was a young man of liberal culture, and an able writer, who, as the editor of the "Belleviller Zeitung," had done excellent service in the Republican cause, and was enthusiastically devoted to liberty and the Union. It was a death, however, such as he would have wished to die.

A week or so after the battle, the corpse of Colonel Raith arrived at Belleville. It was laid in state for twenty-four

hours in the large court house hall. A guard of honor from the Home Guards' Battalion watched the coffin, covered with flags and flowers. He was buried at the paternal farm on Turkey Hill. I expressed my own deep feelings, and those of the great concourse of people who stood around, over his grave. A nephew of his, a son of August Hassel, fell in the same battle.

My friend Shields, who had come from California, offering his services to the Union, and who had been appointed brigadier-general in August, 1861, and given command of a division at Winchester, successfully repulsed in March Stonewall Jackson at Kearnstown, but had his usual bad luck in being again pretty badly wounded in the arm. In June, he took part in the campaign against Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley; Banks, Frémont and Shields commanding different corps. But Jackson escaped, and came up in time to help defeat McClellan before Richmond.

After Frémont's recall from the Department of the West, a Congressional committee investigated the charges of mal-administration in his department which had been made against him. He was fully vindicated, and the committee recommended his immediate appointment to another command. He was entrusted with a corps to guard the Shenandoah Valley. I had written to him on behalf of a young friend of mine, Charles W. Thomas of Belleville, who had been in his body-guard, and who desired to be placed in a cavalry regiment under Frémont. He replied to me on the 8th of April from Wheeling, Virginia:

"I was pleased to hear from you by your note of the 26th, and am sorry to learn that your health is not yet fully reëstablished. Concerning Mr. Thomas, the most that it is in my power to do, is to get him a commission in a cavalry regiment, if I succeed in getting one formed for Col. Zagenyi out of some fractional corps. If not, I think he had better accept a non-commissioned officer's place in a battery for the present, — which would have him in the way for the better. Pray, inform him. I thank you sincerely for your intention

to have gone to Washington to aid me in my recent struggle there. It gives me pleasure to know that I can count on your friendship. I trust that somewhere we shall be able to work together in some friendly relation. Meantime, etc."

Some charges made against Frémont concerning contracts, I was able to refute. They were made by disappointed contractors, and were utterly groundless. I had proposed to the General to appear before the committee; but in the meantime the committee had already acquitted him of the charges.

FURTHER MOVEMENTS OF THE UNION ARMIES

General Halleck took the field a few days after Shiloh battle, and at a snail's pace moved on to Corinth, cautiously entrenching himself while advancing. A few severe skirmishes took place on the picket-lines and on the Confederate's right flank. At last, coming near the fortifications, he set to work for a regular siege. After having completed his arrangements for a general assault on the place, having been reinforced by General Pope's army from Missouri, the 30th of May was fixed upon to attack the works of Corinth. To the surprise of everybody, when day dawned, it was found that the place had been completely evacuated, all the stores, train-supplies, and in fact every piece of valuable military property, had been leisurely and quietly removed days before, and the last men of the Confederate army had left in the night; the stuff they did not want to bring off having been set fire to and consumed when our troops entered. In fact, it took a day or two before our commanders found out where the rebels had gone to. To make this taking of Corinth still more comical, a violent dispute arose in the reports of the officers and in the newspapers as to which of the divisions belonged the glory of having first discovered that the works were empty and of having first entered them. Take it all around, this siege of Corinth, lasting about twenty days, was in the nature of an opera bouffe performance.

Memphis had been occupied by our Mississippi fleet, and New Orleans about the same time by our troops under the

command of General B. F. Butler, after Commodore Foote had forced the channels of the Mississippi. We had made progress in Arkansas. But the attention of the public was soon most particularly directed towards the operations of our great Army of the Potomac under McClellan on the Virginian Peninsula and before Richmond. Some of the Illinois regiments were in the Potomac army, but none in the fate of which our family and friends took special interest; though of course the operations of our armies, wherever they took place, were watched with intense anxiety. Hardly a day passed without some new excitement. Our ladies' aid society was constantly kept busy in collecting clothing and extra provisions, such as preserves of all kinds, for our armies. They held bazaars for the raising of money to buy necessary articles and also to take care of the widows and children of those who had fallen in battle and who stood in need of support.

CHAPTER XXXVI

From Belleville to Madrid

I had always looked upon Spain as a highly interesting country politically, and, besides, as a land of romance and song. But notwithstanding this I should have preferred some other mission. Not that I wanted more leisure than Spain would give me; but I supposed, and it turned out very correctly, that the expense of living at Madrid was far higher than that at Berlin or Vienna, where the salary of the ministers was the same as in Spain. I disliked the idea of having to live in a style so inferior to that of other ambassadors and ministers as to cause remarks and to cast a reflection on the great country I was to represent. Nor could I afford to spend the little capital I had accumulated by hard work in my profession. Knowing that my colleagues in Berlin and Vienna, particularly the former, were men of large means, I thought I would propose to them an exchange of missions. Of course, I first broached the subject to Mr. Lincoln, who informed me that he had no objections, if I could get the consent of either of the gentlemen in question. So I wrote to Mr. N. B. Judd in Berlin and to John L. Motley in Vienna, proposing an exchange. Both declined; Mr. Judd on account of the heavy expense of breaking up his establishment and also his ignorance of either French or Spanish, while he, and particularly his family, had made much progress in learning German; Berlin was also an excellent place for the education of his children, which had been one of his inducements to accept the Berlin mission.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MOTLEY

In my letter to Mr. Motley I had suggested, that, as he was still engaged in writing another work on the history of the United Netherlands, he would find most valuable material in the archives of Madrid and Simancas. On the first of July he answered my letter very characteristically:

"Hon. G. Koerner, Dear Sir: Your favor from Belleville, Illinois, of June 8th, has just reached me, and I lose not a moment in sending a reply. I hope my letter may reach you within the time suggested, but I fear the limit, as you will see by my date, is a close one.

"I regret very sincerely, my dear sir, that I am unable to comply with your proposition that I shall exchange my post for the mission in Spain. I fully appreciate the manner in which the suggestion is made, and wish that it were in my power to oblige you. Nothing can be more correct than what you say as to the importance of the American minister's understanding German affairs and speaking the German language if he wishes to make himself useful in Vienna. But it so happens that I have myself been very much in Germany. In my youth I spent some years at a German university, and more recently I have passed several years in the country, so that the language is nearly as familiar to me as my own.

"My children were also educated in Germany. You will, I am sure, pardon me these details, because in answer to your letter I am desirous of showing that circumstances have made me familiar with everything relating to the country where I am placed. As I now have been established here long enough to become well acquainted with all my colleagues, as well as with the government, and as I have done my best to gain their confidence, I feel that I can make myself more useful to our country here than I shall be likely to do at Madrid.

"I thank you very cordially for your kind and very flattering allusion to my historical labors, as well as also for the suggestion you make as to the convenience I might derive from residing near the archives of Simancas. But it may be well to state that I have already accumulated a large quantity of material from these archives, covering most of the ground which I shall ever occupy in future, so far as Spanish history is concerned.

"On the other hand the principal work upon which I in-

tend to devote what leisure I may find is the history of the Thirty Years' War, already announced by me as the natural conclusion of my other writings.

"When I have said this you will see at once the tremendous importance to me of the archives of Vienna.

"Certainly these considerations are but secondary ones; for the country has a right to all my time and all my thoughts, and in such a period as this it is almost impossible for anyone to withdraw his attention for a moment from the great events now occurring in our own country.

"It is therefore not for my personal convenience, but because I honestly believe that I can serve the government with more effect here than in Madrid, that I feel obliged to decline your proposition. You see by the length of my letter that your suggestions have been treated with seriousness and attention, and I hope that therefore you will appreciate my views, even though they are not, unfortunately, in accordance with your wishes. I am, dear sir, with great respect, very faithfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. Lothrop Motley."

Had Motley's life and correspondence then been published, as has now been done (1888), I should not have alluded in my letter to the fact that my being a German would be of use to me and our country at the Vienna court. I had then no knowledge of his being an excellent German scholar. I was still somewhat surprised that he did not make the exchange. I knew he was ambitions, anxious to occupy a prominent position to which his high talents, his high social standing in the United States and in England, and his European reputation as a fascinating historical writer entitled him. Now the mission to Austria at this period gave him no scope for exhibiting his high intellectual powers. Having a large fortune, he could have built a house in Madrid, and the removal was a matter of indifference to him from a pecuniary point of view. In the end, with all the drawbacks caused by an insufficient salary, I had reason to be glad that things turned out as they did; since the services I had to render in

Spain were highly important in comparison with those which Mr. Motley could by any possibility render in Vienna.

Bismarck, in one of his incomparable letters to Motley while he was in Vienna, asked him to write him often, or better, to come up and visit him at Varzin, *as he had nothing to do at Vienna.* Had Motley been at Madrid at this time, Bismarck could not have addressed him in this way.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE

General Osterhaus had written me from camp at White River, Ark., that he desired to have Edward Tittmann, of St. Louis, appointed on his staff as commissary of subsistence with the rank of captain. He desired me to use my influence with General Halleck and the President. Mr. Tittmann very soon addressed me on the same subject. Nothing could have afforded me more pleasure than to have been useful to my early and devoted friend. I got my friends in Washington to recommend him to the authorities there, and on my part, I addressed General Halleck and the President. After some delay he was successful in getting the position. He appointed his son Edward as clerk. Edward was a most amiable and bright youth. After the war he studied law, was admitted to practice, and soon attained a high position at the bar. When quite young, he was elected to the Legislature of Missouri, and became at once a prominent member. He married Minnie D'Oench, but unfortunately his health soon began to fail him. In vain did he seek restoration in California. Inexorable death cut short a life which had given promise of a most brilliant career. Young Edward and his beautiful and lovely sister Emma had grown up under our eyes, the playmates and companions of our children, and Sophie and I loved them nearly as dearly as we loved our own.

Mr. Seward had given me to understand that I need not be in a hurry to depart, since just at that time our relations with Spain were highly satisfactory. I now went to work to wind up my professional business, which, as it extended to

several counties in the circuit and to cases in the federal and supreme courts, was somewhat troublesome. I had to place my business with proper instructions in the hands of different lawyers and to settle up my own private affairs. What leisure was left me, I employed in reading books on Spain, so as to make myself more familiar with its social and political condition. Numerous letters had to be answered. Among others I received one from Judge Breese, not long before my departure, which is so characteristic that I copy at least part of it. After congratulating me on my appointment to a "court rather friendly to the North," he continued, "How it would please me to see you in Madrid and to visit with you those parts of Spain which abound in historic interest. You would be better placed at Berlin or Vienna, and maybe you can get Judd to exchange with you in a year or two." He then, unduly flattering me as having obtained President Lincoln's best foreign appointment, said, "That is not saying much; for we have never in our whole history been so poorly represented as now. Write me frequently from Madrid such letters as you would like to have published. Views of Spain by an Illinoisan will eagerly be read. Success to you. You go to represent a disunited country, never, I fear, to be again reunited."

The Judge had still remained a bitter, old-fashioned Democrat, an anti-war Democrat. His judgment of our diplomatists abroad was very much colored by prejudice, considering that Charles F. Adams was our minister to England, George P. Marsh to Italy, Dayton to France, Motley to Vienna, and the clear-headed, keen-eyed Judd to Berlin.

At last we made our preparations to depart. We had sold much of our personal property, and had bid adieu to our friends. The evening before we left for the East, the citizens of Belleville serenaded us, and I made my farewell speech. To part with our Mary, the only one of our children we left behind, was hard indeed. Having left St. Louis on the 10th of August, we arrived, late at night on the 11th, at Buffalo.

As Augusta, Gustave and Paula had never seen Niagara Falls, we took, the next morning, the first train for the Falls, and stopped at the International. In the morning we did the American side, and after dinner the Canadian. On our return, towards evening, I was taken suddenly ill, and, instead of taking the night train, as we expected, for Albany, I had to go to bed. It was an attack of bilious colic. By strict dieting and by having recourse to our well-provided medicine chest, I felt well enough to proceed on our journey the third evening after our arrival. Having reached Albany early in the morning, we got on board the day-steamer for New York. At West Point Sophie and the children got out to visit Theodore's grave. As I had to arrange some financial matters in New York and to procure berths, etc., I hastened on in advance; besides, I had to go on ahead to Washington to get my passport and instructions; and the steamer for Hamburg was to leave in ten days. I took rooms at the Astor, where I was joined by my family two days after reaching New York. Gustave and I started at once for Washington.

IN WASHINGTON

I called on the President, whom I found quite at ease, although the condition of affairs in front of Washington appeared to be rather gloomy. While McClellan, after the great battle before Richmond, had withdrawn his army safely to the James River, the rebels were left free to take the offensive and to move forward. Some time previously, while McClellan was still before Richmond, the corps of McDowell, with that of Banks and that of Frémont, had been concentrated to protect Washington, and formed the Army of Virginia, as it was called. General Pope, whose mythical reports had made quite a hero of him, was called from the West to command it. Frémont, being set aside by a junior officer, resigned, and General Sigel took his place as commander of the First Army Corps. By the time I reached Washington, Pope, in the face of a much superior force, was compelled, after some severe

fighting, to fall back and to give up the line on the Rappahannock. McClellan had been ordered to join Pope at Acquia Creek, but was tardy. Mr. Lincoln was satisfied that McClellan's army, still some 80,000 strong, would arrive in time, and, in connection with Pope, drive the Confederates back without much trouble.

When I called upon Seward, he also seemed to take matters lightly. He was in the habit of always looking on the bright side of things. It was the first time that I had an opportunity to see and converse with Seward. I had seen him at a distance on inauguration day. He was tall and spare. His face was long and thin, his nose very aquiline, his eyes sparkling, his profile very sharp. He spoke in deep tones, and rather slowly. He looked more dignified than he really was. He at once talked and acted very familiarly. "With Spain," he said, "we are all well pleased. She has acted very friendly, more so than any other neutral power. I hardly find it necessary to give you special instructions. You will be furnished with the general printed instructions to all our ministers. Your passport is already made out, and I will send the papers to your hotel this afternoon." Mr. Tassara, the Spanish minister, he said, was not in town, otherwise it would have been necessary to give him a call.

THE VOYAGE

We went back to New York, where I was taken again quite ill. But my friend, Dr. Tellkampf, by a rather powerful medicine, got me well enough to take the steamer on Saturday, the 23rd of August. The Bavaria, on which we embarked, was one of the older boats of the Hamburg Line and reputed rather slow. She was, of course, not as elegantly and richly furnished as the present steam-palaces of this and other lines. But everything was comfortable and clean, with an excellent table and prompt service. The captain, named Meier, and all the officers were cordially polite, and, after all, she went nearly as fast as most of the steamers of that time.

Our fellow-passengers, with the exception of Mr. Theodore S. Fay, of New York, were not very interesting. Originally a lawyer, he turned to literature and became co-editor of the "New York Mirror." I had read some of his lighter productions soon after settling in the States. He had been many years secretary of legation in Berlin, and, until a few years before I met him on the Bavaria, our minister resident of Switzerland. He was on his way back to Germany, where, I believe, he had left his family. We, of course, kept very good company.

Although the weather was fine and the sea tolerably smooth, Sophie and the girls, particularly Pauline, became very sea-sick. Sophie suffered a good deal, and we had to call in the doctor, whose prescriptions gave her some relief. In a few days, however, the worst was over. Gustave was only slightly affected. Having been more or less ill for the last ten months and very weak from my last attack at New York, I was expecting to be badly taken by this diabolical disease. But to my great astonishment I kept entirely well, feeling no inconvenience whatever; and I may here remark that in all my sea-voyages on the Atlantic, the North Sea, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and even in the most stormy weather on our own American inland lakes, I was never sea-sick except one day on my first coming over from Havre on the Logan. I used to boast that on board ship I never lost a meal.

Two days out, we stopped a mile or two from Cape Race, Newfoundland; the captain getting into a boat and making a landing to take despatches for England. The marine cable was then, and had been, broken for some years, and was not re-established until 1868. But the telegraphic despatches were sent to Newfoundland and taken up by the passing steamers, so that Europe got some two or three days' later news than the papers the steamers brought would contain.

On his return the captain called me aside and said: "I have some bad news for our side. The despatches are sealed up, but the operator told me that our armies had been pushed

back towards Manassas Junction or Bull Run and that a great battle was expected, and that there was great alarm at Washington." I was still under the impression, however, that McClellan would come in time, and that, if there would be a great battle, we would come out victorious. Still, the news was rather depressing.

Nothing of importance then happened, and in about eleven days from our departure from New York we found ourselves very early one fine morning at Cowes on the beautiful Isle of Wight. The scenery was delightful. The splendid forests, noble palaces and public buildings and villas of that enchanted isle, presented a beautiful view. A small steamer soon made her appearance; the passengers for England were transferred to her; and we soon entered the quiet waters of the Bay of Southampton, at which place we arrived at about seven o'clock in the morning.

SOUTHAMPTON

As we intended to stay only one day at Southampton, we left our trunks at the custom-house to avoid the trouble of search, and sent only our hand-baggage to Radley's Hotel, near the landing of the steamboat which was to leave at midnight for Havre. Radley's was rather a diminutive specimen of a hotel, compared with those of our large cities; but it was cosy and comfortable, and the meals excellent as to fish and meats, but quite indifferent as to vegetables, soup, etc. After breakfast we strolled through the town. It is a queer old place. The houses are mostly built of stone and look quite massive, but they are low and heavy. Some old arched gates are still left standing in the middle of the streets, showing the ancient limits of the place. The new part of the city has some fine residences and public buildings and there is a very fine park, disfigured, however, by some ugly statues. The market was one of the most interesting features we saw. The great variety of fish and vegetables attracted our attention. But what we most admired was the fruit-market.

Bananas, oranges, lemons, cocoanuts, and many other strange looking nuts were piled in heaps. The choicest and most luscious early grapes from France and Spain, apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, plums, apricots, and grapes from Germany and France were displayed, and on inquiry we found the prices very low.

I called upon our consul, Captain Britton, who, I believe, had been in our navy a sensible man. The news I had received at Cape Race had reached England a day or two before we had arrived. It had been hailed with delight, the captain told, by the Southampton people. His position here, he stated, was a most painful one. The sympathy not only of the trading and commercial classes, but even of the masses of laborers, was altogether with the secessionists. He hardly ever went out into society, where he was constantly annoyed by the way in which American affairs were discussed. Of course, he said, trade is very much depressed here, and there is a good deal of suffering on account of the war. It is quite natural that they should wish for peace by a speedy recognition of the independence of the rebel States by the Lincoln government. But even those of the educated classes, who had no personal interest at stake, were all for the rebels, or nearly so.

At about eight o'clock in the evening we went on board of a very large and handsome channel-boat, the "Alliance," took our state-rooms and went to bed; the boat waiting for the London train for passengers and mail. We did not notice the starting, and when I left my room in the morning about six o'clock, Cape La Hogue was in sight, and about eight o'clock we landed in the harbor of Havre. It was a beautiful morning, the scenery enchanting, the sea as smooth as a mirror.

When I left Havre on board of the Logan a young exile, casting a last lingering look on Europe, I never dreamed of seeing it again, surrounded by a beloved wife and happy children and as the representative of the great transatlantic

Republic. Sailing out of the harbor on the first of May, 1833, the cannon were booming and thousands of flags flying in honor of King Louis Philippe, whose fête day it was. On my return Louis Philippe had been dethroned, France had been made a Republic, and a Bonaparte was now sitting on the imperial throne. We gave our luggage in charge of a commissaire, who had it carried to the Paris railroad depot. As the next train for that city was to leave in an hour, we took a hasty breakfast at a restaurant, embarked for Paris about ten o'clock in the morning, and arrived there at about four o'clock in the afternoon. We saw very little of the country through the window of our *coupé*, which I very much regretted. How much did I enjoy this trip when I came from Paris to Havre in the old-fashioned stage-coach! To be sure, it took us full twenty-four hours, instead of six, as now. But we had a full view of the glorious valley of the lower Seine. Going up hill, we jumped out of the coach and walked. We then stopped an hour at that most interesting city of Rouen, and visited its magnificent cathedral. This time, our stay was three minutes, and I believe we passed a greater part of the city through a tunnel.

IN PARIS

Arriving at Paris, we drove to the Hôtel Meurice, Rue Rivoli, which had been recommended to us by Captain Britton. It was not as elegant and showy a hotel as the one of the Louvre or the Hôtel de la Paix, but was at the same time very much frequented by English and Americans. Its situation was most eligible. On the finest street in Paris, it was just opposite the Gardens of the Tuileries and the Louvre. It being the *saison morte*, we engaged at a very reasonable price a suite of rooms on the first story, which corresponds on the continent to our parlor-floor. The salon and four other apartments were only accessible through an ante-room, which, when locked up, secured the whole suite from intrusion. The furniture was of the choicest, and we laughed at the

many mirrors and the "pendules," all differing, however, as to time, so that one always had the benefit of choice. After resting a little, we took our dinner in our apartments, and then began at once to "do the city." It had improved immensely since I saw it last, thirty years before; some parts of it I could hardly recognize. We went to the Champs D'Élysée, which were crowded with promenaders and spectators surrounded the café chantants. We finally entered a very new and elegant circus called Cirque de l'Impératrice, and witnessed a very fine and artistic performance.

Pretty early next morning, I called upon our minister, Mr. Dayton. I found him a very quiet, pleasant gentleman, without any striking characteristics; he had no later news than what we had from Southampton. He was very anxious about the condition of our affairs. So was I. I had known General Pope pretty well, almost from his boyhood. Whatever his military ability might have been, he was very much disliked by his comrades of the regular army, and while commanding a division in North Missouri in the fall and winter of 1861, he managed to make himself very unpopular with the officers and men under him. I thought at the time his appointment to the newly formed Army of Virginia very injudicious, and his very first address to his army on taking command was so pompous and so insulting to the army that had been fighting in the East, that many people doubted his common sense. It is not to be wondered that such generals as McClellan, Meade, Hancock, Burnside, Franklin, Sigel, Porter and Kearney took offense at such presumption and arrogance, and served under him grudgingly.

As the Emperor was away, the question of my being introduced to him did not arise. Mr. Dayton seemed to be less impressed with the duplicity of the Emperor concerning our affairs than I was. Perhaps, however, he was cautious even when speaking to me. Mr. Seward had made it a point of instructing his ministers to assume the utmost confidence in the good faith of Louis Napoleon.

Mr. Dayton's family, except one son, was summering somewhere in Germany. I thought he did not much relish his position. Speaking with him about my diplomatic uniform, (at that time prescribed by law,) which was to have been made at Paris, (all ministers generally had them made there,) Mr. Dayton asked me whether I had not my uniform as colonel of the staff along, and, if so, that I need not go to the expense of getting a diplomatic uniform, inasmuch as all ministers here, who were or had been in the military service, always appeared in their uniforms. This was quite new to me, and very acceptable, as it saved me about one hundred dollars.

Next day Mr. Dayton's son called, with excuses for his father, who had been taken quite sick and was confined to his bed; I saw thus very little of our minister to France.

Our first visit was to the museum of the Louvre. We had studied Baedeker's Paris, which, under the article "Louvre," directs one's attention to the masterpieces of the different collections; and, armed also with the official catalogues, we entered the salons and were at once in the midst of all its glories. Some of the choicest paintings,—by Raphael, Murillo, Rubens, Titian, Paul Veronese, Leonardo de Vinci, Van Dyke, etc., etc., were hung in the Salon Carré. There we spent most of our time. The museum of sculpture with its treasures we had not much time to behold, as we lingered in the splendid palace up to the time when the custodians cried *la cloture.* The next day, however, when the ladies had gone shopping, I again passed some hours in this fairy place. I had quite often visited at Munich the Royal and the Leuchtenburg Gallery, the galleries at Frankfort, and had been in the galleries of Cassel and Berlin, but the Louvre was a new revelation to me. Had time allowed, I should have spent days there most delightfully.

We took in, also, many other sights, the Jardin des Plantes, the Panthéon, the Madeleine, the Vendôme Column, the Hôtel de Ville, Notre Dame, the Palais de Justice, Place

de la Bastile, Hôtel des Invalides, Napoleon's Mausoleum, Palais Royal, etc. The great Hippodrome Circus disappointed us, as did the Grand Opera. The performance there of the "Favorite" was not much superior to what we had heard in New York. We were told, however, that during the summer season the great stars were away on leave of absence, and that what are called "doublures" had taken their places. Our stay was only a little over three days. Had I known then what shortly afterwards I learned, we should have remained longer in this enchanting city.

GERMANY AND THE RHINE

On the evening of the 10th of September we left Paris, went by Compiègne, St. Quentin, Namur, Lüttich (Liège) and Aix la Chapelle to Cologne. It was mostly a night journey. At Aix la Chapelle we stopped about a quarter of an hour, and had a look at the cathedral. From there the country was very flat, though well cultivated, and the soil appeared fertile. At the custom-house in Cologne we had the first trouble with our baggage. The officers insisted upon opening our trunks. I showed them my minister's passport, telling them who I was. They said they could not help it. I called for their chief. In the meantime Gustave had unlocked one trunk. The chief, however, had come out, read the passport and made a sign, whereupon the trunks were all marked and passed through without visitation. We stopped at the Hotel Victoria, near the Rhine.

The first thing I did was to look at the day's newspapers. Nothing later from the United States as yet. But there was a notice that the Queen of Spain with the court and diplomatic corps had left Madrid to visit the southern provinces of Spain, and was not to be back until some time in October. We all were rejoiced at this, as my absence would thus be of no consequence, for I could not be accredited until her return. So we could spend considerable time in Germany and Switzerland with our relatives and friends.

After resting awhile, we went out to look at the Rhine. We were all of us disappointed. It was quite wide and at a high stage of water; but very heavy rains on the Upper Rhine had colored its generally translucent, light green waters to brown. It reminded me of the Upper Mississippi before its junction with the yellow Missouri, or of the Ohio near its mouth. Besides, the banks of the river are here flat and uninteresting. Indeed, the beautiful Rhine scenery ends at Bonn, some twenty-five miles above Cologne. We passed over a splendid iron bridge to Deutz, a suburb, containing some very fine hotels and private residences.

At the instance of Mr. Henry Drucker, of St. Louis, brother-in-law of Theodore Engelmann, I called upon his brother, a banker, who at once offered to be our cicerone; and in his company we visited the cathedral, which I had seen some thirty years ago in an incomplete state. It was now finished, except the steeples. It is the noblest piece of Gothic architecture in Germany, perhaps in the world. Several of the other churches were also visited, and I admired again one of Rubens's great masterpieces, the Crucifixion of St. Peter, in the church of the same name. The collection Richarz in the Museum contains some most excellent paintings of the ancient German and Flemish schools by Lucas Cranach, Holbein, Memling, and Rubens.

We passed a very pleasant afternoon with Mr. Drucker and part of his family at the beautifully situated zoological garden on a high plateau overlooking the Rhine. What struck us as most admirable was the large room allotted to the different wild animals. The lions and tigers could make leaps on the artificial rocks in their cages of twenty feet or more. All the specimens were first class. A fine garden and restaurant was crowded with a select company. None but members of the stock company which owns the garden, and their guests, are permitted to enter on week days. On Sundays and other feast days it is opened to the people at large for a slight entrance fee.

On the day we left Cologne the papers had some rather imperfect telegraphic news of the second battle of Bull Run or Manassas Junction. The Unionists had met with a terrible defeat. Washington was in danger. As all news from the United States by the Reuter telegraph office was always much colored to the injury of the Union cause, we did not give it credit to the full extent. Yet it was sad enough and I did not enjoy our trip up the Rhine as much as I otherwise should have done.

On board a steamer we passed by the fine city of Bonn with its charming surroundings, the Seven Mountains, the Drachenfels, Rolandseck, and Nonnenwerth. The banks here are quite romantic and are lined with innumerable villas, splendid hotels, ancient villages, towns, castles, towers, and chapels. Beautiful Coblenz, where the Moselle enters, and Ehrenbreitstein opposite, charmed our eyes. The most interesting part, from Coblenz to Bingen, where the river flows mostly through dark gorges and where the hills are crowned with mighty castles, some of them restored to their pristine grandeur, we passed through in the afternoon. The ancient town of Bacharach we looked at with deep emotion. Here had lived and died the venerable minister, the grandfather of our Sophie. Her father had been born and educated there, and his many brothers and sisters. It was the cradle of that large Engelmann and Hilgard family, whose members are distributed over many lands. Some of them live in the Rheinpfalz, others at Heidelberg, Frankfort on the Main, Dresden, Berlin, Munich, Kreuznach, and Carlsruhe, at St. Louis, Belleville, LaSalle, Cleveland, Washington, New York, Boston, San Francisco, Denver, and Chicago. The old roomy parsonage was pointed out to us by Sophie, who had passed many days in her early youth at her grand-paternal mansion. The garden that had belonged to it, however, was cut through by the railroad from Mayence to Cologne.

It was quite dark when we reachen Bingen, where we disembarked to visit our numerous relatives at Kreuznach.

We were just in time for the train. All the compartments were full, and the only one where there were seats enough for our party of five was the smoking car. There were three gentlemen in it, all smoking; of course, we could not object to this, though, perhaps, in the States the gentlemen would have quit smoking. But such was the closeness of the air that Augusta at once opened one of the windows. A pretty cool draught came in. Now one thing most striking to all Americans is the fear of people on the Continent, particularly the Germans and still more the French, for draughts of air. They looked with astonishment on our boldness at first. After a while they became uneasy, and turned up their coat-collars. As we did not notice their signals of distress, but felt very comfortable, talking amongst ourselves in English, one of them spoke up in broken English, asking us whether we would not be good enough to let the window down as we should certainly take cold. I said we would (though it was very pleasant to us to have fresh air), provided they would quit smoking. Then one impertinently remarked that this was the smoking car. The cigars they were smoking were rather poor, though they were well-dressed gentlemen, by all appearances commercial travelers. "Well," said I, "We know that, but gentlemen should at least smoke decent cigars and not 'stinkadoras.'" "Oh, well," one replied, "we cannot all afford to smoke regalias like English lords and Americans." If these gentlemen had been officers or students, this would have been a fine occasion for a challenge. But we only laughed, and in the meantime they threw their cigars away, having got to the stumps anyway, whereupon we closed the window. By this time, however, we had nearly reached Kreuznach, the distance from Bingen being only about ten miles.

KREUZNACH AGAIN

The bathing season was at an end. The Kurhaus on the island was nearly empty. In fact, it was about closing, and had become quite a dreary place. But as we had so many

friends there, we spent but little time in the hotel. The three days we remained in Kreuznach were red-letter days. Our relatives received us with the utmost cordiality. Sophie's aunt, Mrs. Julia Engelmann, though over seventy years of age, seemed to take a great interest in us. Julia was the eldest daughter, and, after her father's death, had taken charge of the Ladies' Seminary, which had first been established at Frankfort and then transferred to Kreuznach. Her father, a distinguished educator, had instructed Julia in his own profession, and, being a lady of excellent mind, superior education, and uniting great kindness with firmness, she had succeeded in sustaining the institution at its former greatness. The youngest sister, Sophie, a very handsome and spirited young lady, was a teacher. It being vacation, they were all at leisure, and devoted their time to making our stay pleasant. Another sister, Clara, widow of Dr. Roesch, and another cousin, Dr. Charles Engelmann, resident physician, with a very interesting family, (his oldest daughter being just on the point of marrying,) also showed us great attention. Two more cousins, Peter and August Engelmann, also took great pains to entertain us. I found some of the members of the Kaufmann family still living there, two sons and two daughters. They were young people at the time I made my last visit in company with Henry Hoffmann at Kreuznach, in 1827, and I was really very glad to meet them again. Between dinners and suppers, and excursions, into the the most charming environs of the place, the time flew rapidly.

When I had last known the town it was an ancient, small, ill-built place, remarkable only for its excellent society and its most wonderful surroundings. There were salt-springs about two miles southwest of it, at Muenster-on-the-Stein, and large salt-works had been erected there in the beautiful valley of the Nahe. That they were of high medicinal value, was then unknown. But some twenty years before strong salty springs were also discovered upon an island between the two parts of the town, situated on the right and left banks

of the river. Some bathing establishments sprung up, and now the island and adjoining banks were covered with beautiful residences, fine hotels, and public gardens. What recollections rushed on my mind as I again stood at the foot of the bold cliff of the Rheingrafenstein to my left, Franz von Sickingen's noble old Ebernburg in front, and to the right the fantastically shaped porphyritic hills of the Rothenfels a thousand feet high. At my early visit, life with all its brightest hopes was before me, — father, mother, brothers, and sisters still alive, warm friends attached to me, my aspirations high, strong in health, I felt as though the whole world were mine.

No place I revisited in the old country, my native city not excepted, called more forcibly to my mind the golden springtime of life than Muenster-on-the-Stein. Sophie was also much delighted by her visit to Kreuznach. It was a sort of second home of the Englemann family. In early youth she had passed many happy days there. We both promised ourselves to come back again before we should leave Europe forever.

FRANKFORT AFTER THIRTY YEARS

On the 15th of September we left for Frankfort. At the West End depot Sophie's sister, Mrs. Margaret Hilgard, her daughter Lina and her husband, Rudolph Schirmer, welcomed us, presenting us with beautiful bouquets. The meeting of the two sisters after an absence of nearly thirty years was quite affecting.

Frankfort was still in a state of ferment. The great festival of the German Rifle Societies was just over. From the Tyrol and the Carpathian Mountains, from Switzerland down to the Rhenish provinces, from the cities on the North Sea and the Baltic, some twenty thousand riflemen had assembled for three days, and had competed for rich prizes. The long forbidden banners of the old empire, black, red and gold, were carried in the procession, and Duke Ernest of Coburg, a sort of princely Liberal, led the procession, carrying

the old national flag. Even at the palace of the German Diet this symbol of unity, which we tried to raise on that seat of the Diet in 1833, floated during those days, proving that the people were rapidly striving towards that unity for which we had struggled and suffered.

We took up our quarters at the old hotel of the White Swan, and got very good front rooms. While the table sustained its former high reputation, the furniture was poor and the service bad. Some years afterwards it was renovated and obtained new fame by its being the place where Bismarck and the French ministers stopped, and the final peace of Frankfort was signed.

In my book "Aus Spanien," (Frankfort, Sauerländer, 1867,) in a letter to Rosa Tittmann, I have given my impressions of Frankfort. As they are short, they may find a place here:

"Frankfort! Every paving-stone has not only a historical importance, but an individual one to me. What feelings rushed over me when I set foot on the Steinweg to stop at the old-fashioned Swan! The Chief Guard-House, one of my last recollections of Frankfort, the Horse-Market, where, wounded, I passed my last night in Frankfort! From the windows of the hotel I saw the old city park (Stadt-Allee), where as a child and a boy I had played so often, now ornamented with Goethe's (much too colossal) statue. Oh, how beautiful Frankfort has grown, embossed in a wreath of splendid garden villas! 'This is the first city that looks like America,' my children said. Here is life, trade, free movement. Everybody seems free and easy, speaks his mind freely, no passports, no custom-house vexations. No one asked me who I was or what my business was. A longer sojourn, however, might show some shades to the picture."

I was visited by old friends,—Henry Hoffmann for one, my dear college friend. We saw the most remarkable sights: the old Roemer, with its imperial hall; the old cathedral; the fine picture gallery of Staedel, rich particularly in modern pictures by Lessing, Veit, Achenbach, Calame, Gallait, and Overbeck; Dannecker's Ariadne at the Bethman Museum in

the midst of the most excellent plaster casts of all the chef d' oeuvres of ancient art, struck us as most admirable. Excursions were made to Offenbach and Bockenheim. The tombs of my father and mother in the new cemetery, those of Charles and Pauline at Bockenheim, where they died, were visited and covered with fresh wreaths of flowers. The largest musical society, the Liederkranz, on the occasion of Richard Wagner's presence in the city, gave a great banquet, to which the violinist Vieux-temps, the composer Lachner, of Munich, and some other musical celebrities had been invited. I also received an invitation. I found there a host of old school friends and college mates as members of the societies or as guests. Most of them had succeeded in life as bankers, professors, judges, or lawyers. I was seated between Wagner and Vieux-temps. The singing, partly directed by Lachner, was splendid. There is nothing above a vocal male chorus, to my mind. The viands and wine corresponded in quality to the music. The president first toasted Wagner. Wagner, with whom I conversed mostly during the two hours' banquet, I described in a letter to Rosa as a highly intellectual, refined, pale, slightly built, very interesting gentleman. He replied in a graceful speech, well delivered. I had to respond to the next toast. I confess I felt somewhat moved. As a young fugitive, probably cursed by a good many conservative people here present, I was now almost enthusiastically complimented by the president. I resorted to the usual rhetorical device of accepting all the praise merely as tendered to the representative of a great country. Still I told them that what I had seen of their free city and its people proved to me that our youthful struggle for unity and liberty had not been in vain and had borne fruit, and I referred, as evidence, to the late great national festival. I dimly indicated that Germany's institutions would be, in due course of time, modeled after those of the great Republic. I really had warmed up much, and apparently had struck the right chord. Wagner seemed much interested, and shook me most

cordially by the hand. It was an evening not easily to be forgotten.

One day we went to Darmstadt, the opera of which had a high reputation. The stars were to appear in Gounod's "Faust." We met with disappointment. The orchestra was all that could be desired, but the stars made a fiasco. Darmstadt had also wonderfully improved.

At my time in Frankfort the garrison was only one battalion and one rifle company, the contingent of the federal army. Now the city was full of troops. One battalion of Prussians stayed in the city; another one in the village only a mile from Frankfort. A whole regiment of Austrians occupied the city and suburbs, and also a battalion of Bavarian riflemen. A troop of Austrian dragoons and some artillery completed the garrison. It was in consequence of the *émeute* of the third of April that the seat of the Diet had been so occupied. The citizens of Frankfort at this time were nearly all anti-Prussian. While the Austrian and Bavarian officers were petted by the aristocracy of the city, and invited to all dinners and balls, the Prussian officers were as a rule all boycotted. When I, in conversation with my friends, expressed my belief that Frankfort would be better off financially and even politically if it were to become a part of Prussia, I was met with the most violent opposition. That a "Frankfort child" should express such a horribly treasonable opinion was almost incredible. To quiet them, I turned it into a joke.

Mr. Murphy, from Michigan, the American consul-general at Frankfort, who called the day after our arrival, was not a very polished gentleman, but shrewd, active, pushing, and energetic. Owing to the bad news from home, our bonds were rapidly declining on the Frankfort exchange. He suggested that I should see some of the Frankfort bankers and stiffen them up, as he said. I went with him to J. Schmidt & Co., who dealt largely in our bonds. It so happened that one of the firm recognized me as one of his schoolmates at the old Model School. He was very happy to meet me.

They were of course anxious to hear what I had to say concerning our affairs. I gave them my views in full: — that the resources of the North were inexhaustible; that the Northern people were determined to sustain the government to the last dollar and the very last man in its efforts to subdue the Rebellion; that the vastness of the theatre of the war and the nature of the country down South were prolonging the military operations; that Washington according to the last news was safe; that upon the President's call another 300,000 men were coming into the field. I think I made some impression. At least Murphy afterwards told me so. Having a letter of credit to another banking house, Goll & Sons, whose agents at St. Louis I was well acquainted with, I called there. That house for many years had dealt in bonds of the City and County of St. Louis, and had also bought many of our war-bonds. They were also very anxious to know what I thought of the conditions of our country. I gave them my opinion the same as I did the other house. The general feeling of all classes in Frankfort and in Germany generally was in favor of the Union, which made my visit there still more pleasant.

FREDERICK KAPP

From Paris I had written to Judd in Berlin to the effect that I would be in Frankfort on the 22d of September and probably stay there a week. The second or third day after I reached Frankfort, Judd came down from Berlin. Of course, we had much to say to one another. I had left some eighteen months after him, and could give him an inside view of our affairs. He had no later news than that of the battle of Southampton, a Union victory, which had just been received. Of the battle of Antietam, we knew nothing as yet. His visit to us was really very enjoyable. We also met Frederick Kapp at Frankfort. I had known him by reputation only. His personality was striking. He was the ideal German, such as Tacitus has painted our ancestors. He would have made a splendid model for the statue of Arminius erected some years ago in the forest of Teutoberg, where Varus and

his legions were destroyed. An able lawyer, versed in economical and political science, he had turned his attention to history. He had intended to write a history of the German element in the United States, but had only completed one of the German immigration into New York up to the commencement of this century. His biographies of Generals Steuben and De Kalb and of Dr. Bollmann are exceedingly well written, as is his account of the trade in soldiers by the German princes during the Revolutionary War. A history of the German book-trade to which he devoted the latter part of his life remains unfortunately incompleted. He was a contributor to many American and German journals and reviews. As president of the Board of Immigrant Commissioners of the State of New York, he published several most valuable reports. During the Civil War he supported our cause most ably by his pen and his speeches. Had he remained in this country, and had he wished, he could have easily entered Congress, and would have made his mark. But after the war and the experience of a few years of the Grant administration he conceived a dislike to our political affairs. Perhaps the reconstruction of Germany drew him back to his native country. He became a member of the National Liberal party. Bismarck, who was then leaning on that party, found such a character as that of Kapp quite to his liking. He was elected several times to the German Parliament. When Bismarck abandoned his Liberal policy, Kapp of course left him. The majority of the National Liberal party surrendering some of its most cherished principles, amongst others free trade or a tariff for revenue only, Kapp and many other prominent men, such as Lasker, Richter, and Rückert, seceded, and formed the Progressive (Fressinnige) party in opposition to Bismarck's internal policy. When, in 1884, he rather unexpectedly died, having given up his seat in Parliament, as it interfered with his favorite task, the completion of his history of the book-trade, his death was regretted by all parties. His purity of character, his great abilities, his open

and most genial disposition had made him loved even by his political opponents.

FROM HEIDELBERG TO SWITZERLAND

After a most interesting stay at Frankfort of about eight days, we went to Heidelberg. Mr. Theodore Hilgard, who had been married again to Miss Mary Thevenue, had made this charming place his residence. There also resided Theresa Hilgard, widow of Theodore Tittmann, now married to Professor Holtzmann, the celebrated philologist and orientalist. Clara Hilgard, widow of Charles Tittmann, also lived there. Of course, we found ourselves quite at home, and spent some most agreeable days in the town and its picturesque environs. For my family, who had never been there before, Heidelberg was a source of delight.

Leaving Heidelberg on the 24th of September, and going up the beautiful road along the Black Forest through Carlsruhe, Baden-Baden, and Freiburg, with a distant view of the Rhine and the Strassburg Minster, we reached Basel and the Rhine where it flows in all its emerald glory. Within a few hours we went through the most interesting parts of that most antique place, and took the evening express to Zürich, where we arrived pretty late in the evening.

Here again we met with friends. Fred Hilgard, who in 1849 had participated in the revolution in Rhenish Bavaria, had taken refuge in Switzerland, and had married a young Swiss lady, residing in Zürich. He had been acting for many years as secretary in the United States consulate and frequently as vice-consul. The next day after our arrival, my brother-in-law, Joseph Ledergerber, who, after the death of his wife Charlotte, had returned to his native country Switzerland, and had remarried, and now lived in his country place in Aargau at the gates of Constance, came to Zürich with his wife. In the company of these true friends, we made excursions, amongst others to Rapperswyl, at the upper end of the beautiful lake of Zürich. Leaving Zürich we left the lake at

Horgen, crossed the lake at Zug, passed at the foot of the Rigi through the defile of the Kuessnacht, where Tell is said to have shot Gessler, and embarked again on the Lake of the Four Cantons for Lucerne, where we arrived at one of the finest hotels in Switzerland, the Schweitzerhof, on the evening of the 27th of September, 1863. From the balcony of our hotel we had a full view of the gem of all the lakes I have ever seen. It is the ideal lake, canonized by Schiller for all time. It is useless to describe Lucerne. It is the most romantic town I have visited, not excepting even Salzburg, which so deeply impressed me in my youth.

From Lucerne, by Olten, we went to Berne. How beautifully that city is situated on the blue, fast-rushing Aar, which embraces it on three sides and gives it an almost insular position! From our windows in the Bernerhof we could see the long, beautiful and sublime range of the Bernese Alps right before us.

We were met at Berne by our consul, G. W. Fogg, of Vermont, a very amiable and well-informed gentleman. He acted as our cicerone. His office was in town, but he resided on one of the hills surrounding the city, in a little cottage, keeping bachelor's hall. The view from the veranda was enchanting. We spent a very pleasant evening at his Tivoli. Although somewhat late in the season (Sept. 30), he persuaded us to make a flying visit to Interlaken. In his company we went by rail to Thun, took the steamer to Untersee, and reached Interlaken in the evening. Here we had at once the pride of the Alps before us, the Jungfrau with her Silverhorn in full view, and the other giants, the Mönch, Eiger, and Schreckhorn.

The season at Interlaken was over. Only one hotel on the promenade was open. Next morning we went up to the Lütschine Valley to Grindelwald, and visited the upper glacier. In the cave we thought we were in fairyland. We had a delightful time, the weather still being extraordinarily fine. Thus far we had not really a bad day since we left Belleville.

We parted with regret from Berne and our friend Fogg. He told us that with few exceptions the people of Switzerland sympathized with the North in a quiet unostentatious way, according to their nature. Fogg, I believe, after his return became a member of Congress.

From Berne we went to Lausanne, where we took the steamer for Geneva. The sky-blue lake was on the rampage. A stiff breeze called here the "bise," in the Julian Alps the "bera," in the Western Pyrenees the "mistral," had set in. Our steamer pitched considerably. Many passengers got seasick. Several landings we could not make in spite of all efforts. Yet the sun shone brightly. We remained some days in that noble and stately city. From our hotel, De Bergues, we had a fine view of the lake and Mount Blanc.

LYONS AND FRANCE

The first day the "bise" still continuing, we could hardly keep on our feet when crossing the Rousseau Bridge. We visited some of the fine châteaux on the lake, Ferney, Coppet. Leaving Geneva on the third of October, we soon entered France again, at a strong fort, Bellegarde, I believe, by name, and reached Lyons the same evening. Lyons was the most beautiful inland city we had ever seen. We passed a few days there in the greatest enjoyment of the scenery, the splendid churches and other public buildings, of the fine squares and parks, and of the rich museums of statuary and paintings. The latter contains some of the best paintings of Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, and the French school.

Lyons still shows many traces of having been an imperial city, ruled by German emperors, where many diets of the empire had been held. There are a great many Germans at Lyons, and I once entered a café where nothing but German was spoken. The confluence here of the Saône and the Rhône presents a most beautiful and interesting sight. Our consul, Mr. James Leslie, was a very polite and very accommodating gentleman. He and his wife sought to make our

stay there quite pleasant. From Lyons, we went down the charming Rhône valley by Vienne, Orange, Avignon, and Tarascon, to Marseilles, stopping at the Hôtel des Empereurs. We saw all the sights of this half oriental city,—museums, and harbor,— and took a drive about the city and its environs. There was a splendid opera, the performance better than at Paris; most gorgeous scenery, and a ballet beyond praise.

Mr. W. Van Horn, our consul, we found an awkward official. He could not speak French, could give us no information about the steamer lines to Spain (was astonished when we told him that there were Spanish lines besides the Messageries Imperiales of France), and could not tell at what ports the steamers made a landing. He may have had some good qualities fitting him for the place, but we failed to find them. As we wanted to see, not only Barcelona, but also Valencia, where the French lines did not stop, we finally concluded to take a Spanish line. We went on board in the evening, but according to Spanish fashion, instead of leaving at the appointed time, which was six o'clock in the evening, we did not weigh anchor until six o'clock in the morning amid a very severe thunder storm. The boat, the "Cid," was a small one and far from being neat and comfortable. But as there were but one or two other cabin-passengers, we had plenty of elbow-room. The captain was a curiosity. He went by the high sounding name of Valdespinosa, was quite a small fellow with a full beard, and, what astonished us most in a sailor, had high water-proof boots on, reaching to his thighs. He, however, as well as his officers, who all spoke a little broken French, were kind and very attentive to us. On deck, around the boilers, were camped several Spanish families of the lower class, who slept there, and dressed and undressed quite unconcernedly. I suppose they found the lower deck too uncomfortable to live in. The captain was very watchful. He seemed to be afraid of that "terrible gulf of Lyons",— the dread of all sailors. When we passed

through there, late in the evening, he said he could now breathe freely. It was quite an interesting trip in spite of the hard beds and the peppery meals. Everything was so queer and so different from sailing in American, English, German, or even French steamers.

BARCELONA

Barcelona surpassed all my expectations. The main avenue from the port at the west end of the city, La Rambla, is planted with a double row of trees, leaving on each side wide places for carriages and for business. It is similar to Unter den Linden in Berlin, but smiles under a lovelier sky. Our hotel, the Cuarta Naciones, fronted it. I cannot describe all the churches (the cathedral being the most noble and interesting), the public buildings, the castle, and the royal palace that we visited. The city was a lively place, commerce and industry flourishing here more than anywhere else in the Peninsula. Our stay at Barcelona was made highly agreeable to us by our consul, Mr. J. A. Little, of Boston. A cultured gentleman, speaking French and Spanish, of very prepossessing personal appearance, he acted as our mentor, being very familiar with all that was worth seeing and knowing. So we learned more of Barcelona and of Spanish character in a day than we otherwise would have in a month. We promised ourselves to revisit this highly interesting city at a future time.

We got again on our "Cid." A party of ladies and gentlemen had come aboard. We started in a light thundershower. But the sea was as smooth as a mirror, and the sun shone hot and bright soon after we lost sight of the land. It was a pleasure to breathe the balmy air of the Mediterranean. In spite of the quiet sailing, the Spaniards, who at first had been in high spirits, laughing and rollicking, became seasick. And such a sight! The ladies, who evidently had never been at sea, did not know what to do, and seemed to become perfectly unconscious, crying and groaning. They would

not go down, but lay all around the deck. There was no stewardess to help them. The men were equally awkward. Fortunately the weather and sea were so fine that they soon got over their illness; but the ladies kept to their rooms below, being unwilling to be seen after the strange capers they had cut on deck. We had a great deal of amusement. Part of the time we had the coast in view. The mouth of the Ebro, the ancient site of the city of Sagunt, were pointed out to us. It was what our girls called a "lovely" trip. Next day, about noon, we reached the harbor of Valencia.

VALENCIA

We were soon surrounded by about twenty wild Moorish-looking fellows offering to take charge of us and our baggage. The captain of the "Cid" rescued us from the noisy gang, and engaged a tartana for us to take us to the city, a considerable distance. The tartanas are an oriental conveyance. A cart on two wheels in the shape of a gondola, drawn by two mules, tandem fashion. Some of them are very handsomely gotten up, and we noticed that they were the ordinary vehicles used by the higher classes, as well as by the lowest, the difference being in the springs, cushions, curtains and the painting of the body.

We found a comfortable hotel, Fonda del Cid, a sort of mixture of a Spanish and French establishment. One of the guests was Mrs. Sherman of New York, who had been traveling all over Europe for a year or so, a very well informed and pleasant lady whom we met later several times in France and Germany. We received the visit of Mr. George Kent of Maine, our consul, with his daughter. He was an elderly, most kindly disposed gentleman, who appeared to be rather lost in this strange place. Miss Kent, however, had become quite familiar with the city and its society, and she proved a very intelligent guide.

Valencia is the most Moorish town that we saw in all

our wanderings in Spain, Granada and Cordova hardly excepted; not so much as regards narrow and tortuous streets as regards the looks and dress of the populace. In the very spacious market-place, one of the greatest curiosities of the city, if not of all Spain, the most picturesque costumes are to be seen. The men from the country wore short white linen trousers, so wide and baggy that at a distance one would think they were skirts. Their feet and part of the legs were naked. These trousers were held up by a broad scarf of various colors. A linen blouse, generally white, covered the upper part of their bodies. They wore sandals in place of shoes. Some wore slouched hats; most of them, however, had wound kerchiefs round their heads, turban-like. The women were dressed more like other Spanish country women, with either red or yellow petticoats and short jackets, — their heads covered with silk or cotton handkerchiefs; but most of them were bare-headed, their rich black hair rolled up and held together by silver-plated pins or high combs.

The cathedral is an immense building. Originally built in the Gothic style, but enlarged, its interior restored, and rebuilt during different centuries, it now presents a singular mixture of Gothic, Romance, Renaissance, and even rococo styles. Amongst many inferior pictures it contains some rich treasures of Spanish paintings from Ribalta, Ribera, Alonzo Cano, to some very excellent ones by Juan de Juanes, whom the Spaniards call "el divino" and rank next to Raphael. Like most of the Spanish cathedrals it is a real museum; for, besides the pictures, there are statues in marble, in bronze and in wood, splendidly worked doors and numerous chapels filled with costly clerical furniture, and many tombs surmounted by monuments. Upon the whole, however, this Valencia temple is not to be compared in beauty and interest with many others in Spain and elsewhere. Miss Kent led us into some very fine streets and parks. The botanical garden pleased us most.

FROM VALENCIA TO MADRID

In the evening of the second day we left Valencia on the railroad which connects with that running from Alicante to Madrid at Almansa. For several hours we passed through the Vega of Valencia, perhaps one of the most fertile spots in the world. It is called the "huerta" (garden). It is thoroughly irrigated according to the rules and laws still subsisting from the Moorish dominion. The track was lined with olive trees, higher and more luxuriant than we ever elsewhere saw them, and bearing the delicate fruit in almost incredible abundance.

Later in the evening we traversed a rather barren country. We saw large vineyards, if that term is permissible, — for the grape-vines in every part of Spain we saw are cut very low and appear more like bushes about two feet in height, planted in rows without any support. The stems are often very thick, on each of which grow some five or six large bunches of mostly dark blue grapes. At this season of the year the vintage was over. Night soon shut out the country from our view. At Almansa, the celebrated battle-field of the War of the Succession, where Archduke Charles lost his hold on Spain, we took supper at a most elegant and well served railroad restaurant. Here we came to the railroad leading from Alicante to Madrid, the first, I believe, built in Spain. Early in the morning we found ourselves on the barren plain of New Castile, where the fields, where they can be irrigated, are well-tilled and produce most excellent wheat. But this quasi-desert soon changed as we drew near to Aranjuez, through which the Tago flows, which furnishes in numerous rivulets plenty of irrigation to its surroundings. Broad avenues of gigantic elms, sycamores as large as those in the bottom land of the Mississippi, evergreen oaks, pines and other varieties of trees were seen on all sides, and we caught a glimpse of the summer-palace and of the gardens of the cascade formed by the river near the palace. We stopped, however, only a few minutes; and, leaving the river, the

dead plain again met our eyes. An hour more and Madrid loomed up before us. The Manzanares, a small river except in spring, flows at Madrid through hills of considerable height; and a great part of the city is built on its banks. This and the many high palaces and church-towers give it a majestic appearance, heightened by the background of the Guadarrama Mountains north of the city, which, on account of the clear and transparent air, appear to be almost near the city limits, although twenty miles distant. Madrid itself is some two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea, and some of the Guadarrama Mountain peaks rise to six thousand feet.

About ten o'clock on the 12th day of October, 1862, we reached the southern depot, where Mr. Daniel Payne, one of the attachés of the legation, was waiting for us in a carriage. It was a lovely, sunshiny Sunday morning. We passed the Atocha Avenue, a part of the celebrated Prado, and turned into the Calle Alcala, the principal street, which issues into the Puerta del Sol, on the north side of which stood the then new and most fashionable Hôtel de los Principes.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Madrid

The Hôtel de los Principes was kept on the American plan. We contracted for a very fine suite of rooms on the principal (parlor) floor, looking out on the Puerta del Sol, at five dollars a day for each person. If there was a landlord, we never saw him. All business was done by a lady, a very handsome, highly painted Parisian, dressed in most elegant and coquettish style. Mr. Payne attended to our baggage, passing it through the "Duana," and we soon found ourselves very comfortable. The same afternoon we witnessed a most novel and exciting scene.

There was a bull-fight in the Plaza de Toros just outside the gate of Alcala. The wide place of the Puerta del Sol was covered with omnibuses, hacks, and cabs, of all sizes, colors and ages, in which the people were to ride to the popular spectacle. They were filling up rapidly, and were driven off at a furious rate; the return-vehicles were also at once taken by storm. Besides, hundreds of stately landaus carried the higher classes, who resided principally west of the Puerta del Sol. Thousands on foot hastened by. The noise made by the rushing crowd, by the innumerable vendors of oranges, agua ardiente, and cigarettes was deafening. The costumes of the lower classes were quite picturesque, and some of the young men wore dresses very similar to the toreros of the bull-ring.

We saw ourselves at once transplanted to a new world, descriptions of which we had of course read, but which after all had given but a pale impression of what we now saw with our own eyes.

THE SECRETARIES OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION

Horatio J. Perry was at that time secretary of legation. A few days before my arrival, he had left Madrid to join some of the diplomatic corps, who, at the invitation of the Queen, were accompanying her on a visit to the southern part of Spain. Before, however, he reached Carthagena, he received a telegram notifying him of my arrival. He immediately offered to come back; but as I could not do any official business before the Queen's return and before being accredited, I asked him to join the cortège. The Queen's party had been accompanied by an English and by a French war-steamer, and also by our Kearsage. For nearly a day the Queen had made the voyage on the latter vessel and had expressed her great satisfaction with the treatment she had received on board of that steamer. While our men-of-war were not admitted to the English and the French ports, except to coal or when in distress, they visited the Spanish ports and stayed there at will; while, in the Spanish peninsula at least, the Confederate cruisers were not permitted to enter except for necessary repairs. Mr. Perry did not return until the 27th of October, a day or two before the Queen.

Mr. Perry, a native of one of the Eastern States, had come to Spain as secretary of legation, I believe, with Mr. Barringer, of North Carolina, who had been appointed our minister to Spain by President Taylor in 1849. When Soulé superseded Barringer, Mr. Perry lost his place, but remained in Spain, having married a Spanish lady. When, in 1861, the government passed into Republican hands, and Colonel William Preston, minister under Buchanan, was re-called, Mr. Seward at once appointed Mr. Perry secretary of legation, and as Mr. Schurz did not reach Madrid before some time in June, he had acted as *chargé d' affaires* in the meantime, and so he did again after Schurz had left and until my arrival. Perry, perhaps not quite forty years old at that time, was a tall, handsome man, intellectual, and of elegant, somewhat Spanish, manners. He spoke and wrote Spanish very fluently,

and, as far as I was able to judge, very well. He had also some command of the French language. He had been, I believe, before he came here, connected with one of the large New York papers, probably the "Tribune," and when not in office, had been a contributor to the same paper. He was an able and impressive writer, but, like most "literati," who have formed their language from writing for newspapers, his style often bordered on the sensational and his imagination outran actualities. As a newspaper-correspondent certainly he must have been highly acceptable.

As it was, he no doubt was very well qualified for his office, knowing perfectly well the country, the parties and the court intrigues; but he could, under the circumstances, hardly have failed to have fallen into some peculiarly Spanish habitudes, especially dilatoriness and want of punctuality. When a Spaniard tells you on Monday that he has to do a certain thing "mañana" (tomorrow), you may be pretty sure that he will not do it before the end of the week; but when he promises you to do it "mañana pasada" (day after tomorrow), you may as well take it for granted that he will not do it at all. Mr. Perry, besides, seemed to have been engaged in a good many private affairs of a speculative character, which took up a great deal of his time. My knowledge of Latin and French enabled me, however, soon to read all the communications from the minister of foreign affairs and others with ease, and as Mr. Payne and my son attended to nearly all the necessary copying, I got along very well.

I made it a point to read some of the daily papers of Madrid, and found this of very great benefit. It is the very best way of learning the character of a people. If one could read the advertising columns only, one would gain a good insight into the manners, mode of thinking and the peculiarities of a people. Besides, the reading of the journals enabled me to follow the debates in the Cortes and the comments thereon by the different party-organs. How some of my predecessors who had not this advantage got along, I can hardly un-

derstand. They must have learned the "cosas de Espagna" from the "London Times," or from "Galignani's Messenger," published at Paris. I found that both these papers were taken by the legation. I discontinued them, and, instead, ordered the "Journal des Débats," the most impartial and reliable journal then published in France under the Empire, and almost the only one favoring the Union. The expensive "Times" and the German "Allgemeine Zeitung" I read at the Casino, the principal club of the city.

Mrs. Perry, usually called Carolina Coronada, had called upon us. She must have been, when younger, of rare beauty. Like all Southern women, she had, however, prematurely faded, still being a quite interesting, vivacious, graceful woman, with deep, black, winning eyes and beautiful blue-black hair. Her two little daughters, about eight and ten years of age, were of angelic beauty. She was a poetess, had written several novels, and enjoyed as such quite a reputation. She spoke French with a decided Spanish accent, was posted in all court and also political intrigues, and seemed to have an unbounded influence over her husband. She prided herself on being an Andalusian, though really she was a native of Estramadura. She was all nerves, and at times exceedingly high-tempered.

Mr. Payne was a very quiet, pleasant, and amiable young gentleman; but he also, although he had only been a year or so in Spain, had adopted many Spanish habits. He usually went to bed early in the morning and rose late in the day. The other attaché, Irving Van Wart, a grandnephew of Washington Irving, had gone on a visit to his family in England, and was not expected back before spring. As these young gentlemen served as volunteers at their own expense, they could, of course, dispose of their time at their pleasure.

By this time we had learned of McClellan's victory at Antietam, and also of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. The latter gave me in my particular position much to reflect upon. The present ministry ought to have been, and

the ruling classes were generally, anti-emancipation. The effect that a general emancipation in the United States might have on Cuban and other slave-possessions of Spain was feared. Thus far we might say we had had the sympathies of Spain generally with us. The danger of losing them was increased by the enthusiasm with which the action of Lincoln was received by the Democratic press in Spain, which was in bitter opposition to the government. Yet, I must say, that the prime-minister O'Donnell, as well as the minister of foreign affairs, Señor Calderon Collantes, acted very discreetly. The government-papers almost ignored the matter. Perhaps the reason was, that the clerical and reactionary papers spoke rather favorably of it. As a general thing, that party had, at least theoretically, opposed slavery. The Progresista journals, which, under the influence of General Prim, had become fast friends of the Union, also rather approved of the measure. At any rate, in all my conversation with the ministers, there never was an allusion to the subject.

SPANISH PARTIES, POLITICIANS, AND DIPLOMATS

According to custom, although not yet accredited, I had made visits to my colleagues of the diplomatic corps and had received their counter visits. Mr. Calderon Collantes also having returned before the Queen, I called upon him, showing him my letters of credence, and submitting to him the address I intended to make to the Queen. He expressed himself as greatly gratified with it, and said the Queen's answer would be presented to me in due time for information.

It is not my purpose to say much of Spanish politics. They have always been complicated, and each phase of them would have to be explained by a long retrospective historical review. Only so far as it concerned me personally during my mission, will I touch on the political condition of Spain. The O'Donnell ministry had been in power since 1858, more than four years, — a most unusually long time for a Spanish ministry. For various reasons, the Liberal party, placed in power

by O'Donnell and Espartero, had become divided. O'Donnell, being more conservative, attached to himself a portion of the Conservatives (Moderados), but lost a considerable fraction of the Liberals. From what remained of the Liberals, and from an accession of a fraction of the Moderados, a third party was formed, calling itself the "Union Liberal." It was a sort of *juste milieu,* as it had existed under Louis Philippe in France. This was the ruling party now. Opposed to it were the highly conservative Moderados, the Liberals or Progresistas, under the lead of Olozaga and General Prim, and under the influence of Espartero, Duke of Victoria, (though now retired from public life,) and the Democratic or Republican party, small in number, but active, enthusiastic, and led by very able men, such as Figueras, Castelar, Salmeron, and Piej-Margel. The clerical and reactionary parties voted generally with the Moderados.

Leopoldo O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, as before stated, was the prime minister; of Irish descent, but of a family naturalized in Spain since the downfall of the Stuart family in England. His features, however, were more English than Irish. Tall, more than six feet high, of a most robust and masculine stature, he was a very imposing personage. His hair was light, rather reddish, but thin; his complexion perfectly English, his eyes gray. He wore no beard, and, what was most singular, this man, who had been in numerous battles, had raised and subdued rebellions, had ordered hundreds of people to be shot or hanged, looked as kind and benignant as a professed philanthropist, and around his lips played almost constantly a genial smile. He seemed to be very domestic, for when met in the promenades he was always accompanied by his wife. His age was about fifty years.

Minister of foreign affairs was Senator Saturnine Calderon Collantes. If O'Donnell looked martial and impressive, Mr. Calderon would have been taken for an old professor of philosophy or archaeology. There was nothing Spanish about him but his French, which he spoke with the strongest Span-

ish accent. He was quite a mild-tempered, talkative man. When he had asked me what the late news from the United States was, and I had told him that it was very favorable to the Union cause, (it was after Antietam,) he politely expressed his great satisfaction at learning it, as no one wished more for a speedy settlement than he did. After a while he turned the conversation on the Queen, spoke with enthusiasm of the reception his gracious Sovereign was meeting with in the southern provinces, and of her kind and generous character generally. I left him under the impression that he was an easy-going man who would not give me much trouble.

Amongst the diplomats I visited I may mention the ambassador of France. He was the only "ambassador," and yielded precedence only to the Papal nuncio. M. Adolph Barrot took no pains to conceal his exalted position. He was a brother to the celebrated Odillon Barrot, who was the leader of the opposition under Louis Philippe, and minister of justice under Louis Napoleon, when president, but who had resigned and gone over to the opposition to the Napoleon dynasty. But Adolph Barrot had remained faithful. He occupied a large hotel and was quite hospitable. In an anteroom two life-sized portraits of the Emperor and Empress were hanging. He received me very cordially, addressing me at once in English, which he spoke remarkably well, and I may say at once here that, although working with all his might against our interests, he personally behaved very friendly towards me and showed particular attention to Sophie. He had a box at the Royal Theatre by the year, which he gave up to us several times. He was, I believe, a kind-hearted man, and pretended to be a sportsman. He was of middle age, handsome and portly. Seeing in his library a portrait of a very beautiful woman, in an Egyptian costume, I admired it much, thinking it to be an ideal head and bust. "Ah," he said, "that is my wife, Mrs. Barrot, *the daughter of an English admiral.*" I at once by this remark took the measure of M. Barrot.

He had for many years been consul-general of France in Egypt; then had been advanced from step to step, until he had reached the Spanish mission as ambassador. Of my other colleagues I will speak as occasion offers.

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

The Queen had returned. The fourth of November was appointed for presenting my credentials. Mr. Calderon informed me that she was much pleased with the address which I was to deliver, and that she would reply very graciously. My speech was as follows:

"Madam: I have the honor to present to your Majesty the letter of the President of the United States of America accrediting me as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to your Majesty's government. I act but in accordance with the implicit instructions from my government in renewing to your Majesty the expressions of the most friendly feelings which the President, as well as the people of the United States, entertain towards your Majesty and the Spanish nation, and which my predecessor at no very remote period has had the honor to communicate to your Majesty.

"Since the time alluded to nothing has happened [with the knowledge or consent of the United States] to weaken the amicable relations so happily existing between the two governments. The President on the contrary has noticed with great satisfaction the loyal and honorable bearing of your Majesty's government towards the United States at a time and under circumstances which necessarily present many embarrassing complications.

"Feeling myself a lively interest in all that concerns the government and the nation of Spain, and sincerely rejoicing at its manifestly great and onward progress and its rapidly increasing prosperity, it may be proper for me to say that the duty that has devolved upon me to maintain the mutual friendship between the two governments affords me personally great pleasure.

"Permit me to offer the most cordial wishes for the health of your Majesty and her royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the Spanish nation."

The words in brackets, "with the knowledge and consent of the United States," were not in the original speech sent to Mr. Calderon.

The program of the evening of my reception, as published in the "Gazeta Oficial," was an unusually long one. At twenty minutes before eight, the Russian minister, Count Stakelberg, who was to introduce to her Majesty, Prince —— (I have forgotten his name), a Russian general and adjutant of the Czar, was to present his letters of recall, having been appointed minister elsewhere. At eight o'clock, Señor Gustave Koerner, minister of the United States, was to present his credential letters, whereupon the whole diplomatic corps, led by Monsignor Barili, Papal nuncio, was to wait upon the Queen to congratulate her upon her safe return from her visit to the southern provinces.

On the evening of the gala day, I had just come from dinner at about six o'clock, when the evening edition of the most popular paper, the "Correspondencia," was as usual brought to my room, where I was just preparing to dress myself for the occasion. Running my eye over the telegraphic despatches, I discerned one in large letters, substantially as follows:

"The honor of Spain has been outraged. The United States war-steamer, Montgomery, has chased the English bark Blanche into Spanish waters and has boarded her in a Cuban port, (the name of the port was not given,) in spite of the protest of the port-captain, who, with his son, was insulted and beaten, and the bark, supposed to have been a blockade runner, with all the cotton on board, was burnt up by a crew from the Montgomery."

This did not seem to promise me a very cordial reception on the part of the Queen. "A nice kettle of fish," I remarked to my family, which was not a little alarmed. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Perry rushed in quite excited. "A half hour ago," he said, "I was sent for by Mr. Calderon to call upon him at once at the palace. I hastened there, and he told me that a despatch—" "Hold on," I said, "I have just read it. What did Calderon say?" Mr. Perry continued: "Mr. Calderon

and Marshal O'Donnell and some other ministers were in council at the office of Mr. Calderon at the palace. O'Donnell remarked that unfortunately the despatch, directed to him, and received by him late in the afternoon, had, against his directions, gotten into the evening papers. Otherwise the ministry would have ignored it until after my reception. He suggested that it would be better to postpone my reception until they had received a proper explanation." Perry thought that would not do; but he would have to see me and hear what I had to say about it; and so he had come.

I instructed Mr. Perry to hurry back and to tell the ministers that, if the facts were as represented in the despatch, I would at once disavow the act and assure them that my government would not fail to give ample redress for this violation of international law, and that I would not listen to a postponement. If that was resorted to, I would not present my credentials at all and would leave Madrid at once.

About seven o'clock Mr. Perry returned, stating that the Queen must necessarily speak of the event, and would change her address in some respect. We concluded to drive at once to the palace, inform ourselves of what the Queen would be made to say; and if there was nothing derogatory to the dignity of our government in it, I would proceed to present my letters.

When we entered the spacious ante-room of the palace, we found Count Stakelberg and all the members of his legation already there in their brilliant diplomatic costumes, glittering with gold embroidery, and the adjutant of the Czar in his equally splendid uniform of the emperor's body-guard. On the opposite side, in a corner, was a small table, at which were seated Mr. Calderon and one or two more of the ministers with pen and papers before them. I went over at once with Mr. Perry. No suggestion of postponement was made. Mr. Calderon, however, remarked that the Queen must certainly advert to the misdeed, "méfait," as he called it, committed in Cuba.

The speech was to remain the same as that which had been committed to me in the morning, only the conclusion was to be different. He handed me a paper in Spanish containing what the Queen proposed to say in addition. It was objectionable in some respects. I suggested several modifications. Calderon tried his hand at it again; Mr. Perry drew up one that I wanted. Finally we agreed upon the text. When Mr. Calderon said there were a few words in my original speech to the Queen which would not suit its conclusion, namely, "Nothing has occurred to disturb our friendly relations," I could not object to that; but, to make it easier for the Queen to adopt our proposed text, I said I would change one sentence in my speech. I had said, "Since the time alluded to, nothing has happened to weaken the amicable relations, etc., etc." I now inserted after "happened," "with the knowledge or consent of the United States."

All this was done on the spur of the moment. Count Stakelberg and his suite had already entered the audience-room, and in a few minutes I would have to present myself. Calderon went down to where the ministers were in council and altered the Queen's speech according to our agreement. After Stakelberg came out, Calderon went in, and in a few minutes Senator Baze, the introducer of ambassadors, a small and in every way insignificant and inconclusive man, took hold of our party, myself, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Payne, and introduced us to the Queen, who stood in the middle of the audience-chamber in full regal dress blazing with diamonds. Her husband stood on her left in the uniform of a captain-general of Spain, covered with all sorts of orders. She was a handsomer woman than I had expected. She had a rather small, round head, light blue eyes and reddish brown hair, and a somewhat upturned nose, a rather sensuous mouth, but a pleasant and almost genial smile playing about her lips. What was most remarkable about her was her enormous *embonpoint*, though she was only a little over thirty years. The King looked very insignificant at her side. Hardly of medium size, he was

slender, but not ungracefully formed. His features were quite interesting. His complexion, eyes and hair were dark. While the Queen did not look in the least Spanish, he was the picture of an ordinary Madrilenian. He was the son of Don Francisco de Paula, youngest brother of Ferdinand VII, who had not, however, pretended to the crown in preference to Isabella, as his other brother, Don Carlos, had done.

This old Francisco de Paula at present was not received at court, having married a woman of the ballet, after leaving his first wife, Carlotta, an Italian princess of great distinction. After the prescribed bows at the entrance, I approached the Queen, who bowed on her part, and delivered my speech very audibly, whereupon she read her speech in a low voice, but still very distinctly. I also delivered two congratulatory letters on the birth of her last child, and if that of the Duke of Montpensier, her brother-in-law, — which missives had slumbered a good while in the pigeon-holes of the legation. Mr. Payne, who, for some reason or other, had never been presented, was also introduced to the Queen and King. After a few stereotyped questions on the part of the Queen as to my family, our health, and how we were pleased with Spain, which I answered in the routine style, we bowed ourselves out, I to come back again in a few minutes with the whole diplomatic corps. The nuncio made a pompous congratulatory speech, to which the Queen answered in a few words of thanks. We then all stood in a row, and the King and Queen made the circle, addressing every minister, inquiring after the health of their respective sovereigns and their august families. I was the only one to whom such questions could not be addressed, and instead of that I had on all such occasions to give an account of how my señora and the rest of the family were.

This was the first time that I had come into contact with a court and its ceremonies. But I did not feel the least embarrassment, and looked upon all these and similar ceremonies as mere trifles, though perhaps in a certain sense necessary.

My consultation with the ministers in the corner of the ante-room, our lively conversation, and the writing of papers, had of course, attracted the attention of the members of the diplomatic corps, who had nearly all come by the time we were still "palavering" about the Queen's speech. When we were through with the Queen, some of them with whom I was already acquainted, were very anxious to learn what this all meant. I just told them briefly the truth, and that I had helped fixing up the Queen's speech.

Sophie was very glad when on my return she heard that everything had passed off well. The Queen's speech as delivered was as follows:

"Señor Ministro: I have heard, with the liveliest pleasure, the expression of the sentiments of friendship which animate the President and the people of the United States toward me and the Spanish nation. It is especially pleasing to me that your government has appreciated the noble and loyal conduct of mine, whose acts have been directed always to maintaining the most perfect good understanding between both; and that, without fixing our attention on the grave circumstances which are occurring except only to lament those evils whose termination we desire.

"I do not doubt that you will contribute to the preservation of the good relations which exist between the two governments, and you may be sure that you will encounter in mine the best and kindest disposition towards anything which may conduce to such an important result. I highly esteem your felicitations for the prosperity which Spain enjoys, and thank you for the good wishes you express for her welfare and for my happiness and that of my family.

"It is a cause for regret for me that the news of important events on the coast of the island of Cuba should have arrived to disturb the satisfaction of your felicitation. But the terms in which you have expressed the sentiments of the President of the United States fill me with confidence that he will do whatever the honor and rights of Spain demand, so that the relations which unite the two governments may not be altered because of these events."

OUTCOME OF THE "MONTGOMERY" INCIDENT

The official gazette published, the day after the reception, the speeches and all the ceremonies in the usual high-flown court style without comment. The Democratic papers gave the telegram, and said nothing. The opposition papers made some rather moderate comments, condemned the proceedings of Captain Hunter, of the "Montgomery," but expressed no doubt that the United States government would disavow them, as the new minister had already so assured the ministry. The government papers, of course, contained highly patriotic articles of a rather inflammatory character, extolling the act of the ministry for having at once asked for redress and for having given orders to increase the naval force on the island of Cuba, and blaming the opposition-papers bitterly for the indifference they showed on this occasion. The "Correspondencia" went so far as to say that I should not have been received, if I had not changed my address. On a hint by the legation to Mr. Calderon, that paper next day contained a full retraction, stating that I had voluntarily added the words "by the consent and with the knowledge of" to avoid a conflict, that I had asserted that nothing had happened to disturb the amicable relations between the two countries, and that the Queen expressed a regret "that news had arrived calculated to disturb the felicitations of the minister."

By some means or other, as I learned afterwards, this first statement of the "Correspondencia" crossed the ocean, and some papers in the United States unfavorably commented upon my action. They did not know that the Queen's answer to the matter in question was actually formulated by me, and that the one she proposed was of quite a different color, a thing which probably has had few precedents in diplomatic intercourse. Some of my colleagues of the diplomatic corps voluntarily told me that I had acted very correctly on this embarrassing occasion.

As to the adverse comments of the government papers I cared nothing, for I knew quite well that it was all done for

effect merely, to bolster up the ministry, which was somewhat anxious to appear in the best light before the Cortes, which were to meet in a few weeks. A few days afterwards the Madrid papers published a despatch dated New York, October 25th, stating that the President had disapproved of the destruction of the English bark "Blanche" in the waters of Cuba. Besides, I was satisfied that the Spanish government had already received from Mr. Tassara at Washington the disavowal of the acts of Commander Hunter and the promise of redress. As the government papers still continued to harp on the questions and abuse our country generally, I felt it my duty to interpose and to ask Mr. Calderon in rather decided language to have this blustering stopped. He said he regretted it; but in a long rhetorical harangue on the sacred liberty of the press he tried to convince me that he could exercise no influence in the matter. Of course this was all sham, and he saw that I looked upon it in that light. The result of my remonstrance was that the Montgomery affair died out at once, as far as the public was concerned, and no more was heard of it outside of the council chamber.

At the risk of being charged with vanity, I will here insert some passages from a letter from Senator Trumbull, Nov. 30th, 1862, in answer to one in which I had given him the details of this reception-matter.

"I can fully appreciate," Mr. Trumbull writes, "the annoyance the false publication in regard to your reception must have occasioned you, and am obliged for the full understanding you have given me of it. I think you need have no fears of being misunderstood here at home, but should I see any attempt to put you into a false position, it will afford me pleasure to set the matter right. It seems to me you were singularly happy in the change of your speech to meet the alteration made by the Queen.

"In the course of a conversation with the President I spoke of you as one of the very ablest of our representatives abroad, to which the President replied that Mr. Seward was enthusiastic over your despatches so far as they had been received."

Mr. Seward himself had warmly approved my action in his despatch answering mine on that subject.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN SPAIN

It was now about time for us to look about for permanent quarters. We had been nearly four weeks at the Hôtel de los Principes. To find a suitable residence was very difficult. Madrid was on the rise; within three or four years its population had increased from 400,000 to 500,000. Many new streets had been opened with many fine large buildings like those in the new avenues and boulevards in Paris or Lyons; but they were generally occupied by business people. For a foreign minister the locality to live in was by prevailing prejudices much circumscribed. He might live in a narrow, even dingy street; but if the houses were private residences, principally occupied by high government officials or by some of the people admitted at court, it was a proper place. Some old Spanish houses might have been obtained, but they were nearly all hall and staircase, flanked by long, but narrow rooms, without fireplaces and other, now considered necessary, improvements of modern times. Finally Mr. Perry, who occupied a flat in the Calle Alcala, where he had also kept the legation since he was appointed secretary by Mr. Seward in the spring of 1861, proposed to lease for me a residence just outside of the city limits, for which it seems he had a contract of purchase and which he had himself occupied in the summer, and where also Mr. Carl Schurz, while minister here, had resided. The place was known as the Quinta de Christina, for it had belonged to the Queen's mother and had been occupied by her in the summer-season until she was banished. It was in the midst of a large park and garden, which were somewhat neglected, and surrounded by high walls. The house was roomy enough, but only partly furnished. The weather then was very fine, the trees and bushes were still green, and many flowers blooming. Not knowing much about the climate of Madrid we thought it would answer, although there were but two

rooms in it with open fireplaces. We moved in. It was a very foolish thing to have leased these premises, as we soon found out. While the days were still warm and very pleasant, the nights were cool, and when the wind came from the Guadarrama Mountains, they were bitterly cold. The large, high rooms could not be kept warm by the small chimneys, and the asphyxiating braziers we could not bear. Although close to the city walls, (Madrid at that time was still a walled town,) our friends warned us never to go out at night except in a carriage. The very excellent "guardia civil," mostly on horseback, did not patrol outside the gates, and the surroundings of Madrid and the suburbs were very poorly protected by the ordinary policemen, whose principal business it was to prevent smuggling into the city of country-produce, which had to pay an octroi, as in Paris and some other cities on the continent. Indeed, Mr. Payne, as we learned afterwards, was once attacked by some robbers, but, having time to draw his revolver, he frightened them off. Besides, I found it very inconvenient to have the legation so far from our residence.

Mr. Perry himself saw that we were very uncomfortable, and we cancelled the contract after occupying the place about four or five weeks. We then succeeded in getting into a brand new, rather elegant house in a new street, the Calle de Tetuan, which had been opened after the war with Morocco, and which ran one square north of the Puerta del Sol and parallel with it. It had not quite as many rooms as we should have liked to have, and was not on the principal, but on the second floor. But its nearness to the Puerta del Sol and other main streets, and to the palace, where the office of the minister of foreign affairs was, made it a rather pleasant residence.

In my book on Spain I have said hardly anything of our family life, yet for those for whom these leaves are mainly written our domestic life may be as interesting as our public career, if not more so.

The contrast was great. At home, though we had servants, Sophie carefully superintended our household affairs, and

very often lent a helping hand. The girls were initiated into the art of cooking and the general duties of housekeeping. Here, there was nothing of the kind to do. Our cook, — and after a while we procured an excellent French cook, — made out the bills of fare for the noon-breakfast and the six o'clock dinner. She went every morning to the market accompanied by the little kitchen-boy, who had to carry the baskets. If Sophie or any of the girls had even looked into the kitchen, she would have thought it an unpardonable offense. The valet-de-chambre, or head-servant, — we used to call him for fun major-domo, — Francisco Perez from Santillana, attended to my wardrobe, shaved and dressed me on extra occasions, exercised a general superintendence over the rest of the servants (servidumbre), laid in the wines and groceries, attended to the mail and ran errands generally. He spoke French rather fluently, having traveled with some grandee through France and Italy as a courier. He was ambitious to improve himself, took lessons in French so as also to learn to read and write it. He was a very active and smart fellow, and perhaps honest, though the Spaniards take it for granted that every servant is naturally dishonest. He never went out without a shining high hat, and his hands well gloved. If he had to bring home a package, he always hired a "mozo de cordel" (a man who stands at the corners to do all kinds of porter work) to carry the package, however small. The second servant was Thomas, a very handsome, stout young man, a Swiss from the canton of Grisson, who spoke some Romance-Swiss, German and Spanish, and who had been for several years a waiter in one of the first cafés in Madrid (the Café Suisse). He had been brought up as a confectioner, and he could set a table most elegantly and wait on it in good style. He cleaned up the rooms, attended to the gas and the lamps, made the fires in the rooms, etc., etc.

The chamber-maid attended to the ladies' rooms, and assisted in dressing them, though when they had to attend evening parties a *friseuse* had to be called in. All the

washing and ironing was done outside of the house. It will be seen at once that there was really no sort of work for the ladies to do. Sophie at once took to embroidering and to other fine needle work when she did not read. For the girls and Gustave, I engaged at once a teacher of Spanish, a Mr. Rabbadan, who had been some time in the United States and spoke a little English and a little French. He had been previously employed by some of our ministers as a Spanish teacher. He was a worthy old man, who had seen better days, but was very punctual and attentive. These lessons and the preparations for them took up several hours of the children's time every day. For Paula we had got a piano.

THE PROMENADES AND DRIVES OF MADRID

We most cheerfully adopted the Spanish fashion of spending a good part of the day in the "paseo," promenading both afternoon and evening. We drove out almost every day. In winter we went out before dinner, say from three to six o'clock in the evening, and, in summer, dining a little earlier, we drove out after dinner until eight or nine o'clock. The nearest and principal place was the Retiro, an old royal residence joined by a beautiful park. No carriages were allowed in the park except the royal ones, and other vehicles had to remain in the yard of the palace, now a museum of artillery. Everybody was admitted; and, on Saturdays particularly, all the many avenues were crowded. The park is in part on a high hill, from where there is an extensive view south into the vast plain half way to Aranjuez, and a very beautiful one north to the Guadarrama Mountains.

On week days in the evening the people of the higher classes usually took a stroll through the principal avenues. There was also a lake in the park and a sort of a zoölogical department, containing, however, but few rare animals, some lions, tigers, bears, etc. There was constant improving going on, and the earth taken off or put in for filling was carried by camels. Large hot-houses contained exotic plants. The south-

ern part was in an almost natural state and covered with thousands of almond and olive trees. Some splendid fir and pine trees, with sycamores, acacias, elms and lindens, and a row of horse-chestnuts, taller than any I have ever seen, delighted the eye. In the spring particularly, this park. through which thousands of rills of the clearest water constantly rush to keep the vegetation alive, is of surpassing beauty.

The popular promenade, however, was the celebrated Prado, which divides the Buen Retiro from the city. In connection with the Avenue Atocha, which borders on the Retiro on the south and joins the Prado at its southern extremity, and its continuation at the Paseo Recoleto towards the north, which extension is called the Fuente Castellana, this promenade is near three miles in length, three hundred feet wide on an average, and with a large roadway for carriages, and a double avenue of trees on both sides of the roadway. The "corso" on the roadway begins in winter between three and four o'clock, and in summer at about seven; and the new part of it, the Fuente Castellana, is the most fashionable. On very fine evenings the people leave their carriages and promenade on foot, but not often. The Prado, however, where there are innumerable seats, and some very splendid marble and granite fountains, is the resort of all people of Madrid, and in the hot season is crowded with thousands, old and young, until midnight and early in the morning. They sit in groups, holding social assemblies (tertulias), and innumerable children play about. On the east side of the Prado are the botanical gardens, not very large, but exceedingly well kept, and the extensive buildings which contain the Museum of Statuary and the Picture Gallery, the finest in the world. On the same side is the monument of the "Dos de Mayo," which latter I have fully described in my work "Aus Spanien" (Frankfort, Sauerlände, 1867).

Now fashion is the most unaccountable thing in the world. The Retiro seldom, the Prado somewhat oftener, is visited by the aristocracy. But the Fuente Castellana was at our time

the almost exclusive resort for the Spanish grandeza and the diplomatic corps or other distinguished foreigners. While we liked the Prado and Retiro very well, yet to drive there day after day at the same precise hour was to us quite wearisome. We had, like the court people, the privilege of entering other royal gardens, far more extensive, and, as far as scenery was concerned, more interesting than those places. There was the Florida on the banks of the Manzanares, with its double avenues of elms, its flower gardens, its long streets of forests and hills and dales. There we went most frequently. We often dismounted and walked for hours, — a thing we found indispensable for our health. Now and then we found the Infanta Isabella, a sister of the King, with her pretty daughters, there, and once or twice we met the Infante Henrice, brother to the King, and his wife in their carriage; but both Isabella and Henrice were discarded by the court, the former on account of her marriage with the Polish Count Gurowski, and the other on account of his democracy. The latter was killed in a duel by the Duke of Montpensier after Queen Isabella had been dethroned.

Another small but very handsome garden was right below the palace, the Campo del Moro. But the most extensive royal park, some four or five miles square, was the Casa de Campo on the west bank of the Manzanares. In it was a small summer-palace; it had also quite a large chapel, a small lake with all sorts of water-fowl, and a very large one for boating. Near the northern end of this was the race-course. Part of it was a kind of a model-farm, where I saw for the first time a stationary steam-plow, and a nursery of fir and pine trees, in which it was said the King took a great interest. In one enclosure was kept a dozen or so of ostriches. The part nearest the river for a mile or two was laid out in avenues — one of poplars, one of sycamores, one of elms, one of maples, and one of locusts. The most western part of this domain was in a wild state and was used for a hunting-ground. Partly barren, partly covered with the

beautiful live oak, it was cut by deep gullies (barrancas). It was a delightful place for driving. Now both this Casa de Campo and the Florida we had nearly all the time to ourselves. No one was admitted except royal personages, court people and the diplomatic corps. Sir John Crampton would occasionally take a ride on a little pony in the Casa de Campo, and I once met Count Crivelli, the Austrian minister, on horseback, but he had gone there on my recommendation, never having been there before. When we told our friends of the beauties of these places and of our frequent visits, they seemed to be quite surprised. They had heard of them and seen them from a distance, but had never entered them.

The Queen, when in Madrid, never went to any place but the Retiro, where there was a garden reserved for her and a pavilion. At the precise hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, she left the palace, and drove every day through the same streets up to the Retiro, accompanied by the King and escorted by a squadron of cavalry and some masters of the horse. And like the Queen, so the people. They kept the same hours for promenading, and took the same streets going and returning. I dislike to generalize, but it struck me that the Spaniards do not know what we call *ennui*; they hate variety except in governments.

DIPLOMATIC ACQUAINTANCES

Naturally, some of our time was taken up in visiting. With most people this was a merely formal affair, and was done by driving up to the houses and sending the lackey up with the cards. With some families of the diplomatic corps we became, however, well acquainted. The Portuguese minister, Baron Pino de Several, and his family were quite pleasant people. He spoke English well, and his wife was an English lady. Their daughter also spoke English. The ladies called often, and we were frequently invited to dinners and receptions by all our colleagues. The Brazilian min-

ister, Don Argo de Gendin, and his young and very pretty wife were to us the most agreeable society. Both spoke German very well, as Mr. Gendin had been for several years consul-general at Hamburg and then secretary of legation at Berlin. They were highly refined and talented people, and Augusta in the second year of our residence took lessons with Madame Gendin in drawing and painting from a French lady artist, and they drove out together frequently to draw landscapes from nature. Their receptions, too, were quite interesting, as she was a favorite and a fine musician. Particularly the young members of the diplomatic corps were constant visitors.

Sophie and I sometimes went also to the receptions of the Prussian minister, when specially pressed to be present. Count Galen, an old-time Westphalian, of a most ancient family, an ultra-royalist and ultra-Catholic, had been long in Spain, and was a "persona grata" at the Queen's court. He was however, a good old soul, and quite cordial, though he knew my antecedents. He lived in a very modest style, not keeping even a carriage. He laid in regularly a barrel of sauerkraut, and Prince Wolkonski, the Russian ambassador, was a regular guest at his table on sauerkraut day. The Countess Galen, of the equally noble Westphalian house of Asseburg, told Sophie that she made her husband's shirts herself. She was very proud of her nobility. and gave me a small book of ballads and songs, all in praise and in memory of the noble house of Asseburg. Count Galen at the time of the "Culturkampf" in Prussia was minister to Belgium. The Countess, a strong Catholic, issued an address or a remonstrance against certain Prussian laws enacted to punish disobedient and obstreperous clergymen, which address was rather vehement. She and some fifty noble ladies were indicted for libeling the government, and she was tried, fined and imprisoned for a short time.

While speaking of Count Galen, I may mention a rather amusing circumstance in connection with him. I had called

upon him one morning, and had found Prince Wolkonski there. We spoke of the news generally, and I mentioned the appearance of Varnhagen von Ense's diaries, of which two volumes had just been published, and which had created the greatest sensation on account of its disclosures of Prussian court life and Prussian politics under Frederick William IV. The vacillating course of the King in matters pertaining to government, his strange and unaccountable freaks, his subserviency to Russia and Austria, were exposed and severely commented upon, and his ministers' favorites were not spared. While Galen and Wolkonski condemned these diaries very bitterly, I myself, who had read only some extracts from them in the Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung," expressed the opinion that it was perhaps wrong to publish these indiscretions after Varnhagen's death, unless he had expressly authorized the publication. On this occasion Count Galen launched forth into a eulogy of the dead King. "Oh," said he, "he was the best and most kind-hearted of men, full of talents, well-informed, humorous and witty, *un homme d'esprit*. He had the best intentions, thought he was making the people happy, and was often imposed upon because he was too confiding. To know him was to love him." Tears almost came into the Count's eyes. "But," continued he, "it is a great misfortune for any people to have a man of genius for a King." The conversation took another turn and the Russian minister left. In speaking of the diary, I had expressed a wish to read it. "You would like to read it," he said, when we were by ourselves, "I can let you have it." He took a key from his vest-pocket, unlocked a desk, and took out two large octavo volumes finely bound. "If you will promise me to let no one know from whom you got them, they are at your service, and I will send them to you this afternoon." I was of course much delighted and thanked him cordially. "I will tell you," said the Count, "how I came into possession of them. A few weeks ago I met Count Bismarck at Paris. All at once he asked me whether

I had read Varnhagen's diaries. I had not even heard of them at that time, and told him so. 'Why,' said Bismarck, 'is it possible you have not heard of them? It is an infernal book; but one must read it; one must read it. Go and get it at once! You will find it at Wuertz's book-store.' So I went and bought it.''

The Count was true to his promise, and I to mine. Nobody but my family saw it at my house. The regular receptions at Count Galen's were usually but little attended and were quite tedious. Once, however, Sophie and myself were especially invited to a reception-night. The chiefs of some of the legations and their wives were also present, owing no doubt to similar pressing invitations. We were presented to Baron Harry von Arnim and his wife, who were in Madrid on their passage from Lisbon to Munich. Von Arnim, having been attached to several legations, had just been appointed Prussian minister to Munich, after having served in that capacity for several years in Portugal. He was, according to my recollection, then not quite forty years of age, slender and gracefully built, with a finely cut and very intellectual face. The Galens treated him with the utmost respect, and the Count took me aside and told me that Von Arnim was one of the ablest statesmen of Prussia and had a great future before him, and that Bismarck thought much of him. Of course my conversation with him was but commonplace, yet I could not fail to notice his elegant manners, and his highly intelligent features. Soon afterwards he was sent as minister to the Vatican, where it was said that he greatly distinguished himself at the critical time of the war of Prussia and Italy against Austria in 1866. After the formation of the North German Bund he represented it at Rome, and was finally sent to represent the Bund at Paris. By many he was considered a rival of Bismarck. At any rate, Bismarck was of that opinion. He was recalled and finally put on the pension list. This created a very great sensation, and very soon he was charged with having retained public documents and des-

patches which Arnim contended were not public papers, but private correspondence. Refusing to deliver them he was arrested, but discharged on heavy bail and went to Italy. He then sharply attacked Bismarck in a pamphlet for which he was indicted for libeling and for betraying state secrets. On these charges in his absence he was tried and condemned to five years' penitentiary. He again bitterly assailed the chancellor in various publications. Finally he got leave to return in order to have the judgment set aside by a new trial, but his health having been broken down by the rude prosecutions of Prince Bismarck, he died in Italy before he could return.

Sir John Crampton, the English minister, who had been minister to Washington, but had been removed at the instance of the Pierce administration during the Crimean War, was afterwards appointed minister to Petersburg, where, although of a very mature age, he fell in love with a Miss Balfe, the young and very handsome daughter of the composer Balfe, and married her. She had been performing at concerts in the Russian capital, and had been distinguished even by the imperial family, and moved in the best society. Yet this union was considered by his diplomatic colleagues and the Russian aristocracy so much of a mésalliance that he himself asked for a removal and had been now for some years minister in Madrid. Yet even here the ladies of the court and of the upper classes treated him coolly. They would go to the very fine balls of the English embassy, but would not reciprocate. I do not recollect that I ever saw the lovely Lady Crampton at any of the court festivities. We went, of course, to the embassy whenever invited, and found the place very pleasant. She was a most amiable woman, but a little too free in her manners. After the first year she left Madrid, and it was learned that there had been trouble between her and Sir John. Soon after we left Madrid, she commenced proceedings for a divorce in London. It was a sensational case, but divorce or separation was at last granted her.

Sir John himself was a man of singular and peculiar manners. Yet personally I had no better friend in the diplomatic corps. He was one of the few Englishmen who really were warmly for our Union. He visited me often and always received me very cordially. On some subjects we had, according to our instructions from our governments, to act jointly and in regard to the movement of the Confederate cruisers he gave me sometimes information which I could not otherwise have obtained.

A day or two after our arrival in Madrid a very handsome and very courteous gentleman called upon us. It was Mr. Daniel Weisweiler, consul-general of Bavaria, a banker, a relative and agent of the Rothschilds, of whom and his wife Mr. Washington Irving in his delightful letters from Madrid has spoken very highly. The Weisweilers and their two daughters moved in the highest society, were favorites of the Queen, gave splendid balls and receptions, and we maintained with them a very friendly intercourse. Mr. Weisweiler in every way sought to make himself useful to me. I may state here that at one of his dinners I was made acquainted with Mr. Stephan, the present postmaster-general of Germany, who had come on a special mission to form a postal treaty with Spain. He was of course at that time not the great postal celebrity he has since become. Clear-headed and self-possessed, there was something very genial about him, and all who had an opportunity to converse with him received a most favorable impression. I may here say that our attaché, Mr. Payne, and some of the other secretaries and attachés, particularly of the English and Russian legations, occasionally called on our young ladies in the evening, and also that in course of time we made pleasant acquaintances with some Spanish families who moved in English society. Madame Bertrand de Lis, of English descent, was one of that class, and she was a very charming and distinguished woman, at whose house we passed some very pleasant evenings.

CARL GAERTNER

But what proved most gratifying and in a certain way most useful to us, was my meeting my old friend Carl Gaertner, from Jena, of whom I have spoken before. As an exile he had fought in the English foreign legion for Maria de Gloria of Portugal against Dom Miguel; then in Spain for Isabella against the pretender Don Carlos. In this seven years' war he had as an officer of cavalry greatly distinguished himself, had become a favorite of Narvaez, Duke of Valencia, and had reached the grade of brigadier-general; but Narvaez and his party being out of power, he was put on half pay, that is, deprived of active service, *en cuartel*, as it is called in Spain. At one time appointed with Narvaez a commissioner to study and report upon the military organization of France, he spent a year or so in Paris, receiving the order of Knight of the Legion of Honor, after having previously obtained the Spanish order of Carlos III. He had devoted much time to military science, had become a regular contributor to military reviews in France and Spain, and was considered one of the best informed officers in the army.

I may as well briefly follow up his career until his death, which happened in 1868 or 1869. Shortly after we left Madrid, and Narvaez again came into power, Gaertner was made a major-general, being appointed, on the outbreak of an insurrection in Barcelona, commandant of that place and of the strong fortress of Zuich, and, when order was restored, being made vice-governor of the province of Granada. When Narvaez again lost power in 1865, he was of course retired a second time and came back to Madrid. Returning from a dinner at the Countess Montijo's, mother of the Empress of France, and in the act of stepping into his carriage at the portal, he was struck with paralysis and died within a few hours. His health, since we first had met him, was not very good. He had been repeatedly and very severely wounded, and, owing to great exposures in the Carlist war, he was suffering very badly from rheumatism. But he

was a man of strong will, a whole-souled fellow, and became very much attached to my family. While at Paris he had married a very handsome, amiable and well-educated lady, Olympia Vaillant de la Haye, who was much younger than he was. Both moved in the best society of Madrid and seemed to know everybody and everybody's business. Olympia and Augusta became great friends. That such a lady was well fitted to acquaint Sophie and the girls in all matters useful to know in Madrid, may well be imagined. And Gaertner was to me of equal benefit. Perfectly familiar with the characters of the leading men of all parties, cognizant of all intrigues going on, as he was still a confidential friend of Narvaez, I obtained in a few minutes more information from him on Spanish affairs (cosas de Espagna) than I could have received in as many years from others. Our intercourse was very close, and General Gaertner and his charming wife made our life in Madrid far more agreeable than it otherwise would have been.

Before I went to Spain I had lost sight of my old friend. I had vaguely learned that he had been in the Spanish army, and had obtained some rank there, but where he lived, or whether he lived at all, I did not know. When he learned of my appointment and of my arrival in Paris through the papers, he had called every day at the legation inquiring for me. The day after the papers mentioned my presence in Madrid and while I was sitting at the desk in the legation, Gaertner burst in and with tears in his eyes embraced me. He had remained a true German in every respect and his heart was still in Germany.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Spanish Politics and Spanish Art

The first labor I undertook was to make myself familiar with the records of the office and with the correspondence of my predecessors with the home government and with the Spanish ministers of foreign affairs. I commenced this work because I deemed it useful, but I soon found it so interesting that I should have pursued it solely for the pleasure it gave me. Unfortunately, the earliest records, of the time when our country was represented by Messrs. Carmichael, Wm. Short, Thomas and Charles Pinckney, James Monroe and James Bowdoin, were missing, as were also all records from 1808 to 1814. During this latter period, direct and official relations with Spain were broken off; the United States not recognizing Joseph Bonaparte, who had been installed by Napoleon I. There was for some time an American secretary of legation then in Madrid, who probably, if there was occasion, transacted business with the Josephine government as one *de facto*; but no traces are found in the archives of the legation of any negotiations during the Peninsular War. There could have been but little, if any, intercourse then with Spain; the ports of Spain being either in the hands of the Spanish Junta or blockaded by the English. From 1814 on, after the restoration of the Spanish kingdom, the records were nearly complete; and that they were quite useful, as well as attractive, may be inferred from the names of some of the gentlemen who represented our country at the court of Madrid, such as John Forsyth of Georgia, later secretary of state, Alexander H. Everett of Massachusetts, Cornelius Van

Ness of Vermont, Washington Irving, Pierre Soulé, General Wm. Preston of Kentucky, and Carl Schurz.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

From these records two things appeared very prominent, — the unceasing efforts made by the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan to induce Spain to cede to us the island of Cuba, by tempting offers of buying at almost any price, or by the use of intimidating and threatening language, as well as the utter failure of these efforts, owing to the indignant refusals of Spain. My attention was directed to the repeated protests on the part of Mr. Seward against the proclamation of neutrality, which recognized the Confederates as belligerents. At the same time, however, Mr. Seward had acknowledged very freely that Spain had given this act a most friendly interpretation in our favor, far different from the one adopted by England and France; and had repeatedly charged Mr. Schurz and Mr. Perry to express the satisfaction of the President with the conduct of the Spanish government.

There was also a mild protest against the annexation of Santo Domingo by Spain in 1861. General Sañana of that island had made himself by a *coup d'état* president and dictator of the island, and immediately afterwards offered it as a province to Spain, which took possession of it by troops sent from Cuba, and finally incorporated it by a decree of the Cortes.

On my arrival, I soon found that the government had already become tired of this new acquisition. Constant insurrections had broken out; the troops were decimated by the climate; and the expenses were heavy; and no adequate returns were received. I heard this annexation openly denounced by some of the highest officers of the army, and even the ministry was divided on it; it was very clear that the thing would be soon given up. The ministers were only prevented by pride from doing so, but the moment the energetic Narvaez was put at the head of affairs in 1865, the dominion

of Spain over Santo Domingo was abandoned. Under these circumstances, I thought it best to let this Santo Domingo affair rest in abeyance, and not trouble the government with it; the more so, as we were by no means in a position at that time to make our protest good *vi et armis*.

WAR NEWS

For the latest news from the United States was very discouraging. The victory of Antietam had not been followed up by McClellan, and his delay was made the cause of removing him from the army and appointing General Burnside in his place. Owing to this, and also to the President's preliminary proclamation of partial emancipation in September, the election had turned in some of the Northern States against the Republican party, — which success was really more hurtful to us than a defeat in the field, as it would seem to indicate a strong feeling in the North against the continuation of the war. Letters from my friends assured me that the defeat was owing to other causes; but the disastrous defeat of Burnside at Fredericksburg in December did not tend to remove the gloom with which the election news had filled me.

While at Frankfort, Sophie, who had been very active at home in the ladies' aid society, suggested to her sister Margaret Hilgard the idea of forming similar societies in Germany for the aid of Union soldiers. Mrs. Hilgard at once warmly offered her services. But she thought it would be better for Sophie to issue an address to the ladies of Germany favorable to our cause, as it would perhaps have more effect, coming from her as the wife of the representative of the United States. I did not care so much about the value of the actual aid offered by such a step as for the expressions of sympathy with the Union that would come from Germans in this manner. But I thought it best to delay the matter until I was accredited in Madrid.

So, not long after I had been received, Sophie made an

appeal to the ladies of Germany for donations of lint, warm underclothing and other useful articles for our soldiers, which appeal was published in the Frankfort papers. Mrs. Hilgard became president of the Frankfort society, and a large quantity of the needful articles was soon collected. The Hamburg-American Steamboat Company advertised that no charge for freight would be made. The consuls at Frankfort and Mannheim published acknowledgments of thanks to Sophie and to the presidents of the local committees, stating that no less than five tons of hospital goods had been already shipped, and that more were to come. The New York Ladies' Aid Society also returned very sincere thanks; and, as I expected, this action of the ladies from all parts of Germany was at the time much appreciated in the United States.

A BESAMANOS AT THE COURT OF SPAIN

Owing to the fact that the material for Sophie's court-dress had to come from Paris, there was some delay in her attending the Besamanos or great court-festivities. To the Queen and King and to the Infantes Francisco de Paula and Sebastian Gabriel, she had been presented in private audience, where court dress was not required. Something rather amusing happened when she was present at the first Besamanos. This hand-kissing for gentlemen takes place in the magnificent throne-hall, where the King and Queen sit on an estrado, and where, on a little lower one, sit the Princess of Asturia, the oldest daughter, and little Alfonso, the oldest son; the King in the uniform of a field-marshal (captain-general), and the Queen effulgent with the most costly diamonds and pearls; little Alfonso in the uniform of a corporal of the rifles; on the side of the Queen, the ministers of state, archbishops, bishops, and the highest court-officials; and on the side of the King the ladies in waiting. The diplomatic corps stand opposite the throne, — mere spectators to the bowing and kissing, until the last persons have passed out of the room, when the King and Queen and the children come down and go

around the circle. I may remark here, that the King always insisted that the Infanta Maria Isabella, then about fourteen years of age, should talk to me in English. But she was very bashful and it was hard for her to make even the usual inquiries after the health of my wife and daughters. She pronounced her words well, and appeared to be quite sweet, but was a very delicate-looking girl, blue-eyed and light-haired.

After this Besamanos is over in the throne-room, in which all the military officers then in Madrid, the cadets, the judges of the higher courts, the chiefs of all the departments, the professors of the University and the members of the various academies, senators and members of the Cortes, the mayor and municipality of Madrid, and hundreds of other officials partipate, the King, Queen, and children then pass into another large audience-room, where the ladies of the diplomatic corps are assembled and form a circle.

As the Besamanos sometimes lasts for hours, the ladies have to wait quite long, even when they arrive later than their husbands. Now, when Sophie went there the first time, she found all the ladies standing, with their immense trains thrown over their arms; and, as the attendance at the Besamanos happened to be very large, they were getting very tired. There were, however, all around the walls soft and commodious arm-chairs. "Why," said she, "are we tiring ourselves out by standing up here?" and with this she took a chair. The other ladies stared at her, and said they had never before used the chairs. It was the custom, they said, to await the royal party standing, though they were always announced by a chamberlain before they entered. But, finally, one after another followed the example set by Sophie, and wondered why they had not done so before.

DIPLOMATIC TROUBLES. CUBA AND MEXICO

I found myself in my diplomatic business by no means in a bed of roses. Spain was at this time, with the exception of

the English and French missions, more important than any other. In quiet times it might have been an easy place; but not so now. The "Montgomery" affair was made the occasion, I will not say the pretext, (for in fact it was an ugly piece of business), for some very serious violations of international law on the part of the Cuban authorities against us. Many leading secessionists and many leading merchants of New Orleans, engaged in the Cuban trade, had resorted to Cuba, and taking possession of the press, had exercised a baneful influence on the Cuban people. The President's emancipation proclamation had alarmed the slave-holding population, and had added fuel to the fire. I was instructed to lay a whole batch of very grave complaints before the minister of foreign affairs, demanding redress. The old question of maritime jurisdiction, (Spain claiming six sea-miles from the shore as Spanish territory, while by international law but three were allowed,) loomed up again. This Cuban question gave rise to many verbal and to more written communications with the ministry. Again, great difficulties had arisen between General Butler at New Orleans and the Spanish merchants residing there, and also between him and the commander of the Spanish man-of-war "Blascode," relating to the rights of asylum,—the Spaniard refusing to deliver up fugitive secessionists whom Butler had ordered to be arrested.

A most voluminous correspondence between Señor Tassara, the Spanish minister at Washington, and Mr. Seward, as also between General Butler and the Spanish commander of the "Gasco de Garay," between Butler and a number of Spanish merchants, together with General Butler's reports and the reports of the other side, had been transmitted to me, with the request to make myself familiar with the records and to present and express the views of our government to the Madrid authorities. I was also asked to find out the real difficulty which threatened war between Spain and Peru and to offer our mediation.

At the same time the Mexican question had come up.

Spain, which had become a party, with England and France, October, 1861, to a convention to which our government had been invited, but had declined, and by which they undertook to enforce their respective claims against Mexico by a joint military and naval expedition, had withdrawn from the compact early in 1862, when General Prim, who commanded the Spanish forces and was acting at the same time as plenipotentiary, discovered that France was pursuing a plan to upset the Liberal government of Juarez and to reinstate the clerical party with a view to turning Mexico into a monarchy. This act of Prim was approved by the Liberal party and also by a majority of the ministry, but had given great umbrage to the clerical and French party, and, above all, had excited the anger of Louis Napoleon. His ambassador had raised a great storm, and had frightened the O'Donnell ministry, though it always denied it. Of course, the United States could not be but highly gratified with Prim's conduct, and it was our policy to embrace every opportunity to sustain him and to express to the ministry the great satisfaction we felt at the noble conduct of Spain. Still when the Cortes opened, on the first of December, the Queen was induced to propose a renewal of the convention, so as to try to assuage the wrath of Louis Napoleon, but upon conditions which, it was well known, the Emperor would not accept, namely, that the powers, (England had quietly withdrawn the small naval force which she had furnished), would not interfere with the internal government of Mexico, but would leave the people perfectly free to settle their form of government in their own way. This course, however, appeared to Prim and to the Progresista and democratic parties vacillating and contrary to the former policy of the government, which had explicitly and thoroughly approved of General Prim's conduct. I had many conversations with Prim. He made a speech in the Senate, in which he vindicated his course, denounced the attempts to conciliate Napoleon, spoke most hopefully of the success of the North in subduing the Rebellion, and went so

far as to say that the United States would very soon be in a condition to stand on the Monroe Doctrine and drive the French out. He sent me a number of copies of his speech.

While using my best endeavors to keep the Spanish government straight on the Mexican question, I had also to watch constantly the efforts made by the French to induce Spain to join her in recognizing the Confederacy as an independent nation.

Add to this a lively correspondence with the various consuls we had in Spanish ports, and the claims made by our people on the one hand and by the Spanish authorities on the other, some of which involved very nice questions of civil and international law, and I can really say I had my hands full. One incident is quite interesting. At the end of November I received through Mr. Sprague, our consul at Algeciras, a communication from Captain Winslow of the "Kearsage," which steamer had chased the Confederate cruiser "Sumter" into the port of Gibraltar, from where he supposed she would come out again flying the English flag under the pretense of having been sold to an English subject. He asked me what he should do about it, and to telegraph him immediately my instructions. It was short: "Captain Winslow: Take her outside of the three miles, if you can." He telegraphed back: "All right." Mr. Sprague soon advised me that the "Sumter" was advertised for sale in Gibraltar. I instructed him to give notice in the public papers at Gibraltar that such a sale would not change the character of the vessel, which had entered the port under a rebel flag, and that it would not be recognized by the United States. Though Captain Winslow watched the "Sumter" closely, on a foggy night the vessel escaped, to the great chagrin of the brave captain, who was afterwards more fortunate with the "Alabama" at Havre.

In a despatch to Mr. Seward, December 10, 1862, after informing the government that France would not receive any offers of Spain to renew the joint convention, and had declared that she would not listen to any foreign powers until

the French arms (defeated at their first assault at Pueblo) would be vindicated and the city of Mexico occupied by the French army, I continued in the rather prophetic words: "My impression is that Spain will remain detached from France in this Mexican imbroglio, which will save her much expense, and will make her popular in Mexico, and, let me add, in the United States. I think we should improve every opportunity to persuade Spain to stand aloof in this matter and to let the man of the 2d of December, as Louis Napoleon is usually called in the Spanish press, pursue his plans, *which will ultimately prepare for him the fate of his uncle, if not a worse one.*"

From October the 20th, 1862, to July the 14th, 1864, I sent one hundred and fourteen despatches, and received as many from Mr. Seward. Besides, there were sent from the legation a vast number of extracts from the leading Spanish papers, from the debates in the Cortes, from messages and other documents bearing on the United States, such as the Mexican question, the annexation of Santo Domingo, the Cuban and New Orleans difficulties, the recognition of the rebel government, the Spanish-Peruvian question, all translated at the legation, between the receipt of the papers and the departing of the mails. In return, Mr. Seward sent me most voluminous documents referring to Spanish matters treated by him with the Spanish minister at Washington, with instructions to study and make use of them in my communications with the Spanish government.

Amongst other documents Mr. Seward sent me were those in the celebrated Arguelles extradition case. Arguelles, governor of the province of Colón, Cuba, was charged with having favored the importation of one hundred slaves stolen from Africa and of having sold them for his benefit. He fled to the United States, and Spain had asked to have him delivered up. There was no treaty of extradition between the United States and Spain, but Seward delivered him over to the Cuban authorities on general principles. The papers relat-

ing to this matter filled fifty printed pages in the diplomatic correspondence.

My correspondence with the Spanish authorities was also very lively. What caused a good deal of trouble and labor was the frequent change of ministers and particularly those of foreign affairs. Within less than two years I had to deal with Calderon Collantes, Marshal Serrano, the Marquis de Miraflores, Señor Arrazola and Señor Francisco Pacheco. Hence immense delay, as the new ministers had always to inform themselves on the condition of affairs, and hence new discussions on points almost settled with former ministers.

GENERAL PRIM

With General Prim, I had of course much intercourse, though mostly when we met at parties or on public occasions. As he was then rather in opposition to the ministry, it would not have been prudent to have shown a close intimacy; but his faithful friend and adjutant, General Milan de Dosch, acted as a sort of intermediary. In my book "Aus Spanien" I have essayed to give a rather full description of General Prim's character. In my despatches I called him "the coming man." I will give here only a short extract from what I wrote in 1869:

"Don Juan Prim y Prats, Conde de Reus, Marquis de Castillejos, is the son of poor parents and owes all he is, as the most distinguished man in Spain, to his bravery and his talents. He won his first spurs in the war against the Carlists and his special renown in the campaign against Morocco (1859) and in the Mexican expedition or rather in his abandonment of it.

"He is an adventurer in the noblest and extreme sense of that word. Nearly fifty years of age (1866), he is of medium size, broad across the shoulders and breast, and yet slender, as nearly all Spaniards are; his face is very pale, or rather of a light olive color; his hair and beard are blue-black; his eyes large and black. His nose is broad and his mouth large. The expression of his face would indicate kindness and even joviality. He is full of courage and afraid of nothing when he wishes to gratify his ambition. He is,

as are most Spaniards, an orator; and his speech in the Senate, lasting several days, in which he justified his conduct in Mexico, threw boldly the gauntlet into the Emperor Napoleon's face (whose friend he formerly was and who from a certain sympathy with adventurers helped him to his command of the Spanish forces in Mexico), and in which he pronounced the United States a very great and most powerful nation, which would in spite of her present troubles vindicate the Monroe Doctrine and drive the French out of the country, — was in many respects a masterpiece of eloquence."

Prim spoke with perfect calmness and self-possession, using at times humor and irony. He courted interruptions and answered them often in a jocular manner, touching substantial objections but lightly. His gestures were easy and graceful. He appeared in elegant morning dress, which is the custom here in assemblies, his small hands in spotless kid gloves, which are never permitted to be drawn off. In Spanish legislatures for that reason alone boxing matches could hardly take place, as have occasionally been witnessed elsewhere.

It is well known how, having been unjustly banished by Narvaez in 1865, he raised the banner of revolt unsuccessfully, fled to Portugal, and then to England, but joined the revolt at Cadiz in 1868 with Serrano, Cordova, Dulce, Zavalla and Topete (his former opponents), in consequence of which rising Serrano became regent, and Prim was made a marshal and minister of war in the provincial government. He then tried his hand as king-maker, unsuccessfully first with the Prince of Hohenzollern (furnishing thereby not the cause, but the occasion for the Franco-German war and Napoleon's downfall), then successfully with Amadeo, son of Victor Emanuel of Italy, whom he made king, but was assassinated in the streets of Madrid the very night of the day that Amadeo landed on the Spanish coast.

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS OF MADRID

Public amusements there were many, but we did not frequent them much. Boxes, being subscribed for by the year,

were as a rule unobtainable; so the Royal Opera was closed to us except when some of the regular subscribers offered their seats to us or on the few days when the subscriptions were suspended. Gustave and myself, however, went occasionally, as it were, incognito, into the orchestra stalls, where evening dress was not required. La Grange the first season, and Adelina Patti the second, were the prime donne. The company were entirely Italians. One beautiful woman, Señorita Calderon, a soubrette, was the only Spanish woman. The chorus was poor, the ballet insignificant, and made its appearance only in one or two operas; but the orchestra was superb. The Spaniards do not like ballets. In the minor theatres, at the conclusion of the performance, there were dances or "ballets" of a national character by a small corps, and they were the most decorous that can be imagined, while very graceful. The travelers' talk of the voluptuous boleros or cachucha—the word "fandago" I never heard in Spain—is mostly moonshine. I have seen on the banks of the Manzanares young nurses or washerwomen take from their apron pockets castanets and indulge in a little dance with soldiers happening to pass by, but these dances were as simple as they were modest. On Sundays in the open pleasure-gardens the dancing of the ordinary people was the waltz, gallop or quadrille, just as in other countries.

The repertoire of the opera was very limited. Such operas as "Masaniello" and "William Tell," were considered revolutionary, and "Robert le Diable," the "Huguenots" and the "Prophets," as offensive to the Catholic religion. Mozart and Beethoven were above the singing powers of the Italians. "Don Juan" was the only opera sometimes given, but it was always a fiasco, at least to German ears. Donizetti, Verdi, and Bellini ruled the day.

The Opera House is a splendid spacious building, seating about two thousand persons. The boxes are large, separated from one another by a thin wall, and having a cosy ante-room. It is doubtful whether the ladies in their richly

decorated boxes, in the fullest evening dress, glittering with diamonds and pearls of fabulous value, do not often present a much more attractive sight than the stage itself. As in other countries very great beauty is found only among the highest classes, where the ladies make a study of the preservation of their health, complexion, and form, and where they have the leisure to do it. And dress helps a good deal. That beauty "unadorned is the highest beauty" sounds well in poetry, but does not prove true in reality.

People here as in Italy go to the theatre more to see other people and to be seen than to look at the play. They converse together, and the ladies receive visits from their friends, and often retire to the ante-room to have a quiet talk. They have heard these operas a hundred times, and only listen when a favorite singer or a new prima donna appears on the boards.

For legitimate tragedy and comedy the Theatre del Principe is the foremost place. The great tragedienne was Matilde Diaz, then about fifty years old, but appearing still in rôles of young women. She must have been once very beautiful, and having then become a great favorite, the Spaniards still adored her and applauded her as warmly as ever, — not for what she was, but for what she had been. It is, however, a national trait in Spain, as with the Orientals, to treat age with the utmost respect. I have been told by credible persons that young gentlemen and ladies never marry unless their parents approve of the match, and I have heard of a case where the marriage was delayed because the grandmother was opposed to it.

BULL-FIGHTS

There were also some very excellent circuses. One called the American Circus, we sometimes patronized. As to the bull-fights, I with Gustave attended but one, pronounced by the connoisseurs as "muy magnifico." Some half a dozen horses were killed. Nearly as many "picadores" were un-

horsed and badly bruised by their fall. Four fierce bulls were killed. These "Corridas de Toros" have been so often described that the subject is worn threadbare. In my "Aus Spanien" I did not for that reason allude to them, nor do I wish to say more now than that if these fights were not so cruel they would certainly be called magnificent. Here were some twelve thousand people of all classes, in all sorts of costumes, seated in an amphitheatre around an arena of enormous size, always demonstrative and often wildly excited, applauding or hissing. The grace and agility displayed by the chulos, and the banderilleros, who when hard pressed vault over the barriers separating the lower tiers from the arena, are really admirable. They are in their beautiful costumes really a personification of youth, grace and dash. The killer of the bulls, or matador, though he is usually called here the "espada," is of course looked upon as the chief of the performers. About the mere killing of the bull the Spaniards do not care at all. It must be artistically done. The bull must be hit at the right place so that instantaneous death ensues; the thrust must be made gracefully. If there is any failure, the espada is hissed. If he succeeds, hundreds of cigars are thrown down to him by the spectators. Many in the excitement throw down in the arena their handkerchiefs, their hats, their manolas, their fans. How in the end they recover their property I cannot imagine. What struck me as singular is the immense admiration the espada receives from the Spanish public. It must be only for their superior agility and gracefulness. For courage I think they have less need of than the poor picadores or the chulos and banderilleros. The espada gives only the finishing stroke. The bulls have already been pierced by the lances of the picadores. The sharp tip of the lance is short, but still long enough to go through the skin, and after the bull gets through with the picadores the blood oozes out in numerous rills from the breast and the back of the animal. Then the banderilleros attack him on all sides, planting their arrows pretty deep

in his flesh. I discovered that some of the bulls when the matador finally met them were perfectly exhausted. The matador shakes his red silk flag at the bull, who rushes at him in a straight line. Of course the slightest motion of the man makes the bull pass by him. The bull is then turned back by the chulos and he again attacks the man, who by a mere turn foils the stroke of the bull. This is repeated over and over again until the people get tired and signify their displeasure. Then the man, stepping a few inches aside, plants his sharp, long blade between the shoulders of the bull, or tries to do so. If the bull had a little more sense, and would not rush on his adversary too fast, but would watch his motions, and instead of running in a straight line, would deviate the same as the man does, there would soon be an end of all bull-fights. That there is not a great deal of danger to the matador in these fights, would appear from the fact that on an average only one gets killed in about five or six years, while there are a hundred bull-fights going on every year. Neither Gustave or I felt any desire to see a real bull-fight again, and all strangers except the English are usually more than satisfied with one such inhuman sight. When I except the English I do not speak from my own knowledge, but I was told that most of them take as keen an interest in these amusements as the Spaniards.

When I met General Grant in the summer of 1880, not long after his return from his journey around the world, at Manitou, Colorado, we, in the course of the conversation, spoke of our experiences in Spain. Bull-fights were mentioned. The General said, "I saw but one bull-fight, and I concluded I would never see one again; and, although at several cities I was specially invited to attend, I did not do so." This was rather surprising to me; for Grant, on his numerous battle-fields, must have witnessed scenes far more harassing than the most bloody bull-fights. Still, I thought the General deserved credit for his fine feeling.

THE COUNTESS OF MONTIJO

In speaking of our social intercourse, I must not fail to mention the very pleasant receptions of the mother of the Empress Eugenie, the Countess of Montijo. Her regular reception nights were on Sunday. She occupied a very handsome palace, the vast vestibule and the noble broad staircase of which were quite remarkable. The principal reception-room was not very large, but was joined by a spacious conservatory, filled with the finest and rarest flowers and plants and affording a delightful place for promenading. There was a music-room and other smaller rooms, in which hung a few paintings, but all masterpieces. I saw here some Teniers as fine as any in the Royal Museum. Near the door of the reception-room the Countess always sat at the card-table. Your name having been announced, you entered and went up to her. She would half rise, bow and address you very kindly and politely and express a wish that you would find yourself pleased. She was then (1863) near sixty years of age, very tall, with full, soft, perfectly white hair, and had classical features, showing traces of great beauty. She was still in mourning for her daughter, the Duchess of Alba, who had died a few years before. It was indeed not hard to be pleased in her home. She had always, at her receptions, some ladies and gentlemen of fine musical talents. While the Countess was playing cards she watched the company closely, and when she thought the conversation was lagging, she was sure to send up some of the musical talent to enliven the company. The Spaniards one found there were all gentlemen who had been abroad, and spoke French, and some even German. You could play a game of whist, or amuse yourself looking over beautiful albums, or art-books and magazines, or all sorts of bric-a-brac on the mantel-pieces and consoles, or select a partner and promenade. Sophie frequently said that she had nowhere in Madrid enjoyed herself better than at the Montijo receptions. The Countess had taken some interest in our son, and on his leaving she regretted very much his departure,

and would always ask what news we had from Señorito Gustavo, and how much she would like to see him again. This may all have been but conventional talk, yet she at least meant to please us with it.

In one of the rooms were the life-sized pictures of her two daughters, the Empress and the Duchess of Alba, taken when they were in the bloom of youth; the Duchess of Alba was depicted in her riding habit, just buttoning one of her gauntlets, and both were painted by the best modern Spanish portrait-painter, José Madrazo. It is hard to say which of the sisters was the more beautiful. Eugenie's beauty was of world-wide repute, but her sister must have been at least her equal. Her hair was even more blond; her deep blue eyes larger; her form as graceful, though a little fuller. I thought her more charming than the Empress. But opinions differ, of course.

Speaking of the deceased daughter, I am led to say something of her husband, the Duke of Alba de Tormes and Berwick, who claims also descent from the royal house of Stuart. He is the one who had the duel with the son of Pierre Soulé, our minister to Spain under Pierce, and on whose account old Pierre Soulé had a duel with the Marquis of Turgot, the French ambassador. He was a stout, but short man, had plain features and nothing haughty or Spanish about him. In conversation he assumed a very familiar tone, and spoke his meaning very freely. A great sportsman, he was a dog-fancier and a turfman, betting highly at the English and French races, drove four-in-hands, and had an acknowledged mistress, who sat with him in his opera-box, drove out with him, etc. She was the Baroness D'Ortego, the wife of a titular chancellor of the Portuguese legation. She was a splendid Spanish beauty, though then above thirty years of age, and very amiable. She gave fine parties at her house, her husband being conspicuously absent. No ladies, however, attended, except a few of her special friends and some ladies of the opera. The gentlemen enjoyed themselves very much. There was music and the-

atrical performances, scenes from favorite operas, or some light one-act French comedy. She herself was a fine performer, and the male parts were usually rendered by younger members of the diplomatic corps. As most of my colleagues did not fail to be present at the D'Ortego parties, I also went there a couple of times and did not regret it.

ART-TREASURES OF MADRID

But if there had been no parties, no dinners, no theatres or bull-fights, the picture-galleries of the Royal Museum, of the Academy of San Fernando, of the Infante Gabriel, and of some private gentlemen, such as the great banker Salamanca, would alone have sufficed to give us not merely amusement, but real instruction and delight. I have devoted a great part of my book on Spain to a description of the principal masterpieces of those unsurpassed collections, and may therefore pass briefly over these treasures.

The Museum itself was an immense building, and most of its salons received the light from above. When it is said that Murillo was represented in this gallery by forty-six of some of his finest pictures, such as the incomparable "Conception of the Virgin," pendant to the so much praised "Conception" of the Louvre, but vastly surpassing it in sweetness and angelic purity; that Velasquez has all his masterpieces here, sixty-three in number, among them the world-renowned "Las Lanzas," the "Borrachos," the "Hilanderas" (Weavers), the "Meniñas" and his unsurpassed portraits; that Ribera (Spagnoletto) is represented by no less than sixty pictures; that all Spanish painters, such as Juan de Juanes, Alonzo Cano, Sanchez Coello, Ribalta, Zurbaran, who are all artists of very great merit, but whose works are seldom seen outside of Spain, are represented; that of Raphael we have ten pictures, and all of them masterpieces, such as the "Christ on his way to Calvary, breaking down under the cross (Spasimo de Sicilia)," the "Madonna of the Fish," the "Madonna of the Rose," the Madonna called "La Perla del

Museo," the "Meeting of Maria and Elizabeth," and the portrait of Cardinal de Medici; that we find here the celebrated "Mona Lisa" of Leonardo Da Vinci and two Luinis; that we have no less than forty Titians, amongst them some of the choicest masterpieces, twenty examples of Paul Veronese, as many Tintorettos, several Guido Renis, Bellinis, Giorgiones, Andrea Del Sartos, Piombos, Correggios, Caraccis, Bassanos, and Salvator Rosas, — it is clear that this royal gallery is unequalled by any other, and this without counting the sixty magnificent paintings by Rubens, the ten or twelve Van Dykes, the almost innumerable Teniers, the Snyders, Wouvermanns, Antonio Moros, the Berchems, the Ruysdaels, some splendid Van der Weydens, Memlings, Albrecht Duerers, Poussins, and Claude Lorrains.

In these "holy halls" I passed many hours. Whenever I felt depressed, I went to the Museo, and returned refreshed and invigorated by those glorious visions.

There are in the Academy of San Fernando, in the Calle Alcala, large collections of subjects of natural history, of which those of Spanish geology and mineralogy are highly interesting. But its small collection of paintings is superb. The large picture representing "Santa Isabel" (the Landgravine Elizabeth of Thuringia), were it not that the sick she is administering to are too realistic and somewhat repulsive, might almost be pronounced the greatest of all Murillo's creations. The drawing, the coloring, the grouping, are incomparable. The divine beauty of Santa Isabel has not been surpassed by Raphael's Madonna della Sedia, his St. Cecilia, his Jardinière, or his Sistine Madonna. This noble picture, like nearly all the masterpieces of Murillo and Raphael found in the Escurial, Madrid, and Seville, were abstracted by the French at the time of the invasion of 1808, but by the second treaty of Paris in 1815, were restored to Spain when all the treasures of the Louvre taken from Spain, Italy and Germany, had to be surrendered. Some, as the "Conception" of Murillo, now in the Louvre, were not returned. It was found after-

wards in the private collection of Marshal Soult, and bought from his heirs by the French government for $100,000.

But in this Academy were also three splendid Murillos, some of the best works of Alonzo Cano, Zurbaran, Careño, Claudio Coello, and Rubens. Strange to say, there is not even a catalogue to be had of these three hundred pictures in the Academy of San Fernando. Speaking of this institution, I have remarked in "Aus Spanien":

"The Academy has either no means or no taste (for there were fifty or more pictures in it mere rubbish). The good old Duke de Rivas, novelist and general art dilettante, holds the chair of president. Without the infusion of new life, this creation of one of the best of the Bourbon kings, Charles III, will die of bureaucratic marasmus. Most of the Spaniards with whom I occasionally conversed about it, were surprised to learn what treasures it contained. But few strangers, even led hither by their guide-books, visited San Fernando. When I entered it for the first time and presented my card I was shown about with the utmost indifference. Something like astonishment was expressed that I remained in the salons any length of time. When I repeated my visits, the half dozen officials (smoking and doing nothing) seemed to wonder at my curiosity, as far as Spaniards can wonder at anything. At last, the guide that usually accompanied me became almost interested in me and appeared to be glad that there was at least one human being in Madrid who patronized the subjects entrusted to his care."

The National Museo in the building of the Ministry of Fomento (Internal Improvements) also contains some very fine paintings, but badly arranged and also without catalogue. It contains mostly Spanish paintings, some fine Riberas, Riccis, Carduchos, but what interested me most was a copy of Raphael's "Transfiguration" by no less a painter than Julio Romano. It is a wonderful painting, painted for Charles V, and was previously in the Escurial.

This "Transfiguration of Christ" I have never been able to understand. The ascension of Christ is, of course, a very plain idea; but the scene represented in the lower part of the picture, or rather its connection with the upper part, the

ascension, has always puzzled me. Goethe has tried to explain it, but I think not satisfactorily. In spite of the fact that the vivifying idea of the picture was lost to me, yet the admirable drawing, the excellent grouping, the superhuman beauty of the women in the foreground, who, with the most perfect naturalness, turn to the "demoniac" boy, the fine transparent color, the distribution of lights, made a deep and lasting impression on me.

The private gallery of the Infante Sebastian, in the Calle Alcala, contains some two hundred pieces, all of which have been selected with the utmost care and taste: fine Murillos, wonderful examples of Velasquez, several Riberas, Goyas, and Claude Lorrains, many old German masters of the most splendid coloring, several pieces by Rubens and Titian, six grand Salvator Rosas, one Rembrandt, Raphael, Domenichino, Correggio, a great many of the finest Teniers, Snyders, and some of the best other Spanish painters. The gallery is open on all days except rainy ones, and, as these are very few, the Infante has shown certainly great liberality. But it was then a sort of "terra incognita." I found myself the only visitor every time. Yet it cannot be said that the Madrid public cares little about pictures. The Royal Museum on Sundays, the only day it is open to everybody, is always crowded, and, what is seldom found in the rest of Europe, is frequented by the lower classes, by peasants of the neighborhood, by soldiers, and male and female servants. All these visitors distinguish themselves by their quiet and correct behavior, and by their perfect ease while moving about on the marble floor amidst the higher classes and surrounded by the most resplendent treasures of art.

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC COMPLICATIONS

Early in January (1863) the O'Donnell ministry quite unexpectedly tendered its resignation. The Queen did not accept it, but still a modification was made. The minister of foreign affairs, Calderon Collantes, was supplanted by Gen-

eral Serrano, Duke de la Torre. Though denied by O'Donnell, this was undoubtedly done to reconcile the Emperor Napoleon. Serrano was an enemy of Prim, and was supposed to be very favorably inclined to the French government. A bold, daring soldier, just then returned from Cuba, where he had been captain-general, this change, I thought, boded no good to our interests and would make my position rather more difficult. The atmosphere of the island where he had passed the last few years, and where the "Montgomery" affair and other difficulties had just happened, was one not favorable to the Union cause. I was, however, greatly disappointed. I found him the most pleasant of all foreign ministers to deal with. There was no circumlocution about him. He was frank and straight, and spoke to the point, and yet was always courteous and even cordial. Our grievances he found in great part well-founded, and promised redresses. On some points he begged me to give him time for further investigation until he could hear from the Cuban authorities. He was a very handsome man, extraordinarily so, with graceful manners, and a man of the world. If it was true, as was universally believed, that he became so much a favorite of the young Queen, soon after her marriage, as to arouse the jealousies of the King, who left Madrid and for a long time lived at the Prado Palace, separately from the Queen, the lady showed at least very good taste. Of course, more than ten years had passed since, but the General was still a model of manly beauty. His wife was also one of the great belles of Madrid, and of his two young daughters one could say "pulchra mater, pulchrior filia."

In my "Aus Spanien," I said of Serrano that there was a great future before him. He was still in high favor with the Queen, was a man of brilliant manners, an excellent soldier, and possessed of a vast fortune. To a certain degree he was even liberal and took great interest in colonial affairs. He had a keen intellect, and was merciless if necessary. In the revolution of 1868 he was the main hero, became regent

of Spain after Isabella's dethronement, until the election of Amadeo as King in December, 1870, and then was made prime minister. After the resignation of Amadeo in 1872, and the short and strange reign of the Republic, Serrano made an end of it, and Alphonso, Isabella's son, was returned to the throne under a liberal constitution.

But my relations with General Serrano came to a rather speedy end. In March the O'Donnell ministry had to resign, and the Marquis of Miraflores, a liberal Moderado, became minister-president and also minister of foreign affairs.

While Serrano was minister, I had a very singular experience of some of the diplomatic ruses, in which sometimes Mr. Seward indulged himself, not always successfully. In one of my interviews with Marshal Serrano, after having finished our discussion of official business, we came to speak of things generally. A letter written by the Emperor Napoleon to General Forey in July, had just been published in some of the French papers and had created a great sensation. In it the Emperor indicated the object of the Mexican expedition to be to prevent the encroachment of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the Latin civilization existing in the southern part of the American continent, a task which devolved on France as the head of that civilization. This, of course, was aimed at the United States.

Serrano said he was not surprised at the contents of the letter, but rather by its indiscreet publication. He did not think, however, that Napoleon would attempt to impose a dynasty on Mexico; he thought this was impracticable and that the Emperor would retire as soon as the military honor of France was vindicated. I took a different view; said that I was satisfied that the Emperor was pursuing a deep laid scheme of interference and of the establishment of a monarchy, trying to take advantage of our trouble; that, however, we should never allow a foreign power, against the will of the Mexican people, to force a monarchy on that country.

This official interview, and also a subsequent conversation,

I reported to Mr. Seward, in a despatch, Number 22, of the 31st of January, 1863, particularly calling Mr. Seward's attention to the letter of the Emperor.

In reply, Mr. Seward wrote that the President had fully approved of the presentation of our claims to the Duke de la Torre, but had disapproved of my remarks made concerning the Mexican question and the Emperor Napoleon; that the United States placed the utmost confidence in the loyalty of the Emperor, who was only intent on settling the just claims of the French citizens and so forth; and that I should call on the Duke de la Torre and tell him that the views I had expressed relating to his Imperial Majesty were only my private views, noways committing my government. When I read this despatch in the presence of Mr. Perry, we both simultaneously remarked that this despatch had been read to the French minister at Washington, before it was sent. And sure enough, when the next year's diplomatic correspondence was printed and published as one of the public documents, I found a despatch from Mr. Dayton, our minister to Paris, to Mr. Seward, containing the following message: "Showed your despatch to Mr. Koerner, our minister to Spain, to Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys, who expressed very great satisfaction at its contents."

Now it was well known that General Prim, after he had withdrawn the Spanish forces from Mexico, alleging that the government of France was pursuing plans of subverting the Republican government, on his return to Spain, by way of the United States, was received there with enthusiasm; that the entire press of the North highly approved of his conduct; and that President Lincoln and Seward treated him with the utmost courtesy and respect. Mr. Perry, before my arrival, and I, afterwards, had expressed to the Spanish government our great satisfaction at the action of Spain in withdrawing from the convention, and had always put forth our most strenuous efforts when there appeared the least vacillation in a ministry on this point, — all of which had been reported to Mr. Seward and was by him always approved. Besides, the Ameri-

can, and a great many organs of the European, press had denounced the claims of French citizens as wholly fraudulent and as gotten up by the Emperor's personal followers. The lower house of Congress had passed a resolution against any interference of European powers in establishing a dynasty in Mexico, and the American newspapers had endorsed this resolution unanimously.

Could Mr. Seward reasonably believe that in the face of this public opinion he could dupe and mystify so keen and practiced a diplomat as Drouyn de l'Huys and his master? It seems that he did.

In my reply to Mr. Seward I rather ironically stated that I was sorry that the President differed so widely from the views which I had expressed in a friendly conversation with General Serrano; that, however, this gentleman was minister no more; and that if the President wished that I should entertain his successor with that affair and clear our government of the suspicion of distrusting the Emperor, I should do so, if instructed. Of course I was not so instructed, but advised to drop the matter. Mr. Seward undoubtedly thought that he had made a good point at the Tuileries.

I must say, however, that this was the only time that Mr. Seward visited me with disapproval, which was only ostensible and not meant as such, as he knew me well enough to know that I would see through it at once. In all his correspondence he showed the utmost delicacy and courtesy and in almost every instance expressed his approval in very flattering terms. The public diplomatic correspondence, as printed in almost every case, except that relating to England and France, which, of course, at that time was exceedingly voluminous, is very meagre, and I think that such a stunted and mutilated diplomatic correspondence does very little good and is very apt to create erroneous views with the general public.

In Madrid, the O'Donnell ministry (Union Liberal) exploded. Nobody knew or dared say openly, why? Narvaez, the head of the Moderados, was called upon to form a ministry,

but the Queen became alarmed, as she was told the people would rise. Miraflores, a Moderado too, of a more liberal turn, was entrusted with the government. He was an old gentleman of the old school; he had been a page at the court of Joseph Bonaparte, which was thrown up to him every day by the opposition papers. Most ceremonious and polished in his manners, my interviews with him were rather more formal than those with his predecessor. He rejoiced in the general discussion of international law, and plumed himself on his superior diplomacy. He had, indeed, in times now long past, been a cabinet minister, and ambassador to Rome, London and Paris. He reminded me a good deal of old Polonius. In one respect he was an improvement. He gave us frequently the finest dinners at his palace. The Pope's nuncio only was equal to him in this respect. He himself confessed that for many years he had been retired from active public life, (though he had been in the Senate all the time,) and had paid little attention to the present state of affairs. The consequence was that I had to commence *ab ovo,* and to go over again the whole ground that had been covered by Perry, Schurz and myself, — a tedious business.

AMERICAN VISITORS

Early in the spring, Mr. Payne left us, and the other attaché, Irving Van Wart, came back from England. He was a fine, jovial, vivacious young man, fond of society, and was very popular with the young men of the diplomatic corps and their Spanish associates. He had become quite a hero in Madrid on account of his pluck. Walking in the Calle Jeronimo once, he came across a big Spanish bully who was beating a woman. Van Wart, though a small man in comparison, but a fine pugilist, sprang to the woman's assistance, knocking the fellow down with one blow between the eyes and gave him a big thrashing to the delight of a crowd of bystanders, who, however, had been quiet spectators.

Not long afterwards we were surprised by visitors. Ex-

Governor Matteson, of Illinois, his wife and two beautiful daughters, Clara and Arabella, a Miss Payne, of Cleveland, a daughter of Senator Payne, of Ohio, and now wife of William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland, and my old warm friend, Curran, of Springfield. Mrs. Matteson, Clara and Bella had been friends of our Augusta at Springfield, and I had been, of course, much in the family as Lieutenant-Governor when Matteson was Governor.

We did everything in our power to make their stay agreeable. When the ladies, Mrs. Matteson being herself still a very handsome woman, and the girls, all blondes with rosy, delicate complexions, drove into the Fuente Castellana, they created quite a sensation, and sustained the reputation for beauty which the American ladies had in Madrid. Colonel Preston's daughter was also very beautiful, and it was said that no less a person than the Duke de Ossuna, the richest and most titled grandee of Spain, had come very near offering her his hand. The young Mattesons made one conquest, when, after a few days' stay at Madrid, the party left for Andalusia and Morocco, and Irving Van Wart joined them as guide, providing himself with a full Andalusian costume.

The sea-voyage and the journey through France, Germany and Switzerland of last year, had somewhat improved my health, but the acute climate of Madrid had seriously affected me. While Sophie and the children enjoyed good health, my nervous system became again very much disarranged. Violent headaches and shooting pains through the head made me sometimes for days unfit to do my work. Sleeplessness was almost constant. As the court leaves Madrid in May and June for Aranjuez, and in July and August for La Granja, way up in the Guadarrama Mountains (a second Versailles), and the ministry follows the court, the diplomatic body, if they are not absent on leave, also resort to those places, at least to La Granja. The fact is that during the summer months very little official business is transacted. Nearly all the foreign ministers leave the capital. Under

these circumstances I asked and obtained leave of absence for three months to commence the middle of June.

But before leaving for the north of Europe, (sea-bathing having been recommended,) we made a tour to Andalusia. In my "Aus Spanien" I published a number of letters descriptive of this journey, addressed to our Mary at home, — hence I shall here only touch on some of the principal incidents.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Granada, the Alhambra, and Seville

Leaving Madrid in the evening of the 5th of May by rail, we arrived at four o'clock in the morning at Santá Cruz de Mudela, the terminus of the railroad toward Cordova. There we were transferred to the stage of the Postas Granadinas. No stranger has written about Spain without giving an account of the Spanish diligencias with their "mayorals" (conductors), "zagals" (assistant drivers and runners), and "delanteros" (postilions riding the foremost near horse), and a multitude of mules and horses, sometimes as many as eight, decorated with all sorts of ribbons, tassels and bells. Washington Irving has used in their description his light fantastic pen. Alexander Dumas, Théophile Gautier, Wachenhusen and Hackländer have left us most vivid pictures of these queer conveyances. Hackländer carries off the palm. More even than Dickens, he has an eye for animals, particularly horses, and for all sorts of vehicles, for harnesses, for drivers, and, in fact, for everything belonging to the stable. Without meaning to detract in the least from his great talent for photographing other pictures of life, I may say that we owe to Hackländer the poetry of the stable, in its nobler signification of course. I could repeat only what these distinguished travelers have written upon the subject with more or less ability. I will confine myself, therefore, to a short sketch given by a talented Spanish writer, Don Juan Garcia, of Madrid, who a few weeks before we, for the first time, trusted ourselves to the diligencia, published an account of his tour through Andalusia.

THE SPANISH DILIGENCE

"This old-fashioned mode of traveling," he wrote, "if less convenient, has nevertheless its charms and its poetry. The Spanish character is stamped on it in strong and fiery colors. The mayoral, zagal, delantero, are national types which in all probability the next generation will see no more. What life is there when the stage starts, what force in the arm that cracks the whip, what energy in the voice, what mobility in the legs of the zagal, who running alongside the animals, whips them, holding fast on the mane of one of them! And on the other hand what intelligence in the beasts! How they contract their flanks to avoid the blow, how they stretch their legs to go faster! The monster coach with its voluminous deck full of trunks seems to be nailed to the ground, immovable, but at the voice of the driver, at the crack of the whip, it flies ahead like the wind, lost already in the clouds of dust. Amid the cries, the curses, and the noise tinkle shrill and cheerful bells."

After taking a cup of chocolate and some rolls at the station-house, we were carried away in a very uncomfortable coach at a brisk gallop. The great roads of Spain (caminos realos) are most splendid, however, — wide and perfectly well kept; and the branches and rivers are spanned by solid and magnificent bridges; otherwise the speed of these coaches uphill and downhill would be impossible.

The country soon became quite interesting. Nothing ruggeder, wilder and fearfuler can be imagined than the narrow, rockbound gorge of Despeña Perros. Here Andalusia was entered. Santa Elena, Carlotta, and Carolina are regularly laid out towns, — German colonies planted by Charles III; but, save for the better cultivation of the soil and a somewhat lighter complexion of the inhabitants, no trace of their German origin is found.

BAILEN AND JAEN

We dined at Bailen, one of the glories of Spain. Near it the decisive battle between the Christians and the Moors was fought (Navas de Tolosa), and here Napoleon met with the first great reverse of his armies by the defeat and capitu-

lation of General Dupont. This victory (July, 1808) gave strength to the Spanish resistance, and encouraged the English in their support. The grand result of this battle is still the boast of the Spaniards, together with the defense of Saragossa. I do not think there is a newspaper in Spain which has not once a week at least some reference to Bailen or to "muy heroico Saragossa."

Our delantero was a boy of rather delicate frame, some eighteen years of age. Since five o'clock in the morning he had been steadily trotting or galloping, and at every relay he had to take the saddle off his horse and to put it on a new one. He had constantly handled his whip and had been hallooing and singing when not smoking his cigarette. When we arrived at Bailen, we could hardly believe that he was to ride the lead horse clear to Granada. It is said, however, that these delanteros usually die of consumption at an early age. Some miles after we left Bailen we crossed the Guadalquivir. It is not wider than the Illinois and of a rather yellow color.

The old Moorish city of Jaen, with an old Alcázar and a monumental cathedral, the capital of the one-time kingdom of Jaen, we passed toward evening. In spite of the cathedral and other churches and chapels it does not look at all like a Christian place. It is the Orient. We soon entered the valley, called Val-Paraiso (paradise), one of the most fertile in Spain, watered by hundreds of irrigating rivulets. Orange trees, pomegranates, splendid walnuts and chestnuts of most luxuriant growth filled up the wide valley; aloes, laurel and pomegranate hedges closed in the fields and vegetable gardens, which extended on both sides of the road in exuberant richness.

The sun had set. But a full moon was rising, and it was soon as light as day. We soon passed another rugged mountain-range of bad repute, as not long before several attempts had been made to rob the stage here. We rode through deep ravines, narrow gorges, and passed through one steep rock by a short tunnel. Up and down we went at the top of the

mules' speed. The wheel-horses were two high horses; then came three mules abreast; and the leaders were horses again.

It was a wild, romantic country, well wooded with pine and live oak. To see from time to time on the side of the hills a station of the "guardia civil" and to meet a patrol of two of them on horseback, their rifled carbines in position, was rather reassuring. About midnight we reached the wonderfully rich plain (vega) of Granada; and soon the city itself, leaning on a mountain-spur between the river Darro and the river Genil and crowned by the Alhambra and the Generalife, came into view. The idea of entering magical Granada, the balmy and yet bracing night-air, the wonderful landscape gilded by the moonlight, the near prospect of escaping from our prison-stage, all this had so affected us that when we dismounted at the Hotel Minerva, in the Carrera del Darro, we found ourselves refreshed and elastic in spite of the long, tedious and fatiguing trip of nearly thirty-six hours.

GRANADA

We entered the hotel. We were behind time, and nobody appeared. Our mayoral finally started a mozo. We wanted a parlor and two bed-rooms in the "primero." We were shown a suite of rooms quite acceptable. We were just ordering our trunks up and were taking possession when the chambermaid came in, telling us that we could not stay, as the washerwoman had failed to return the bed-sheets and so she could not make up the room. There was another large hotel opposite. Gustave went over, but found the house was full. We felt pretty bad. But the mozo soon relieved us by the information that there was in the garden adjoining the Alhambra a "fonda" which was much patronized by the English; he would take us there; our trunks would be sent up in the morning. Gardens of the Alhambra! That was enough to make us forget, even at two o'clock in the morning, all our fatigue. We cheerfully consented; we walked first along the very wide street of the Darro, turned then into a labyrinth of

small alleys about five or six feet wide, then went up hill, and after a march of one and a half miles, stood before the outer gate of the walls of the Alhambra, the Gate of Charles V. A most magnificent avenue opened upon us, after passing the portal of that mighty gate. Still we ascended. Parallel with this large avenue ran others. The trees were so trained that their tops came close together, forming bowers. The air was mild, perfumed by the exhalations of the trees and roses and the oleander-bushes. Numberless streamlets, unseen by us, "made music to the lonely ear," and fountains jetted up, their streams gilded by the moon. About half a mile from the gate stood before us a gigantic wall, flanked by a mighty tower, and close to this tower was a small house, "Fonda de los siete Suelos," named after the tower, called "Torre de los siete Suelos" (seven-storied).

The landlord was awakened, and amidst much hubbub and loud and lively chattering on the part of the landlord, the landlady, the mozo, the chambermaid of the Fonda, and our own mozo, and the barking of a half a dozen dogs, we were finally well quartered, at least according to the Spanish notions of a tavern; old-fashioned, decrepit furniture, high but narrow rooms, stone floors, but beds (all iron or steel bedsteads) and bed linen, as almost everywhere in Spain, fresh and clean.

THE ALHAMBRA

Alhambra and Granada, — what subjects for pen and pencil! How easy, one would think, to paint so charming a picture. How difficult, say I. Granada and its environs are a squeezed-out lemon.

Next morning at breakfast we met our consul of Valencia, Mr. Kent, and his daughter. They were, however, on the point of departing. An English party and a party from Vienna, the banker Pierrera and his wife and suite, were the only guests.

No description will be attempted here. Our Washington Irving, whose works are found in nearly every household in

the United States, has not only exhausted the Alhambra, but his imagination has added to the picture much which one does not find here. In "Aus Spanien," I have made an attempt to give some account of what we saw during our three days' stay at the "Fonda de los siete Suelos," and the various adventures we met with. All comparisons are more or less imperfect. But if one will look from some point of the road leading down from the Wolfsbrunnen to the castle of Heidelberg and down into the valley of the Neckar and the vast fertile plains beyond bounded by the Haardt Mountains and the Donnersberg, one will get at least some idea of the Alhambra and of Granada with its magnificent vegas, bounded by high hills to the west and southwest, and by the snow-capped range of the Sierra Nevada. From the outside, the Heidelberg castle is much more beautiful than the Alhambra. The Moors, like all Orientals, lavish their art on interiors. Cyclopic walls surround the inner palaces. High walls rise up from time to time outside of this immense structure, and stand on an almost perpendicular rock at the foot of which rushes the Darro, a glacier stream which sometimes flushes a great part of the city. Our favorite point was the Generalife, much higher than the Alhambra, but separated from it by a deep ravine. From our Fonda there was a direct path to it. It is useless to try to describe the beauties of this walk and the enchanting gardens in which the little summer-palace is nestled. It was this Generalife, where gentle waters and winds near "made music to the listening ear," which to our Sophie was the greatest enjoyment of this enchanting tour. Whenever in after years we dwelt on all the beautiful spots we had ever visited, she would exclaim "O, the Generalife! Nothing in the world approaches it." It commands a most expansive and magnificent view.

Right opposite to our Fonda was the charming park and modern villa of Señor Calderon, a rich banker of Madrid. From the belvedere of this gem of a little palace you have a prospect also into the valley of the Genil, which river is joined

by the Darro a little below Granada, and into the enchanting Alameda of the city on the banks of the Genil, with its double rows of elms, sycamores, poplars, its beds of thousands of flowers, cooled by splendid fountains and numerous flowing rills of the coolest running water, which keeps vegetation fresh in the hottest summer. Théophile Gautier calls the promenade on the Genil, and he has seen many lands, "perhaps the most beautiful in the world."

In our Fonda everything went forward in a gay and easy way, quite different from the celebrated resorts of the rest of Europe. The landlord and his young wife did their best in their own naive manner to please their guests. The mozos and manolas were refreshingly natural. Black dress-coats and white cotton gloves were banished. Shirt-sleeves prevailed. They urged you to taste the dishes with many recommendations, an inconvenience which one does not suffer at the hotel tables of the civilized world. If the large plates of most luscious strawberries disappeared within an incredibly short space of time, the boys were sent out in the gardens to gather fresh ones, and they were quickly served. I shall never forget the proud, joyful face of the head-waiter when he entered, at one time, the breakfast-room with a large plate in his hands and with a shout of enthusiasm exclaimed: "Caballeros, aquí un bifstick! Es magnifico."

Before our veranda, passed almost constantly gay and often singing groups of promenaders and peasants. Horsemen in their Andalusian dress, as gaudily bespangled and beribboned as their Andalusian horses, cantered by. Gypsy girls sang before our balconies and sold roses. The most exquisite of beggars and beggar boys enlivened the landscape. Small picnic-parties from time to time came up from the city. Ladies and gentlemen of the best society rested in the bowers of the little garden of the Fonda, full of roses, geraniums, pomegranates, peach, fig, and orange trees. They sang to the guitar and ate strawberries and milk, or drank lemonade, remaining a short time to make room for groups of young

men (pollos) who amused themselves in their own way. It was a free and easy country life, such as one can hardly find anywhere now where beautiful scenery attracts visitors.

In a chapter of "Aus Spanien," entitled "Andalusia in May, 1863," speaking of our pleasant life in the "Fonda de los siete Suelos." I remarked:

"In Switzerland one must go up at least ten thousand feet high to find a place that has not been spoiled by the sorry civilization of modern watering-places and summer-villegiaturas. Here, on a spot of earth as enchanting as the valleys of Cashmere, there are no bills-of-fare or wine-cards, no portiers and no voitures, no bills for unused "bougies" and for "service" not rendered, no "cabinet de lecture" and no evening-parties "in full dress." No railroad has as yet touched Granada and will not for some years. Hence let those make haste who can, to enjoy this paradise before the tree of knowledge grows up here. Here is one of the last and most wonderful heights, not yet reached by the deluge which has already swept over the Brocken and the Giant Mountains, the Grindelwald and the Rigi, and now rises to the Furca, the Gemmi Pass and the Faulhorn, and threatens in its rapid growth the Silverhorn of the Jungfrau and the mère-de-glace of Mont Blanc with the civilization of Grand Hotels, Bellevues and Belvederes."

THE GRANADA CATHEDRAL

To describe accurately the Granada Cathedral would fill many pages. This immense structure, built, enlarged, and restored through centuries, shows a variety of styles. Some portals and doors are Gothic. The interior is in the main in the Roman arched style. Pillars of immense height bear Corinthian capitals. Many chapels are in the Renaissance, some in the modern, tasteless Jesuit style. The main cupola is one hundred and fifty feet high. On the high altars and on the chapel altars are masterpieces of Alonzo Cano (who is here in all his glory), Bocanegra, his pupil, and Juanes. Statues in marble, bronze, carved wood, in which latter art the Spanish were preëminent, are abundant. Through a most imposing high Gothic door opening from the main structure, you enter a very large Gothic chapel, the "Capilla Real," in

which are erected the precious marble mausoleums of the Catholic kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Johanna, their daughter, and her husband, Philip the First, son of Emperor Maximilian, the works of the celebrated sculptor, Philip de Burgoyne. Over their sepulchres, on high pedestals, are sarchopagi, upon which lie the marble effigies of the historical dead. By some, these tombs are said to be the finest in the world, even more beautiful than that of the Emperor Maximilian at Innspruck. Charles V had these superb monuments erected. Many other very fine churches and interesting places we visited, such as the Church de las Angustias, the Carthusian convent, outside of the city, perhaps the most costly and richly ornamented church in Spain; the Albaicin, a suburb, where the gypsies, and, as our guide told us, Spaniards "de la gente baja Castellana" are huddled together, but from which high point you have the best total view of the Alhambra; the unfinished Florentine palace of Charles V; the Generalife, and the still higher "Silla del Moro," and on the other side of the Darro, the view of the Rambla, the archepiscopal palace, and the town-hall of the city.

During all this time we had most delightful weather, occasional mild spring showers, very warm but not oppressive days, and cool, bracing nights.

MALAGA

In the evening of the fourth day of our stay, we left the never-to-be-forgotten paradise of the Moors. Our stage-coach was more comfortable. We rapidly passed the renowned Vega, crossed the Genil several times, reached Santa Fé, the point from which the Catholic kings operated the siege of Granada, and saw Loja, where the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova lived and died after his campaigns were over. Narvaez had his summer residence there, from which he sent me at one time some of the finest and largest pomegranates and oranges I had ever seen.

Soon we got into the mountains again, — a spur of the

Alpujarras, wilder even than the Sierra Morena, it being far more destitute of vegetation. Early in the morning we reached the highest point of the road, and below us we looked into the valley of the Guadalmedina, a small river which runs by Malaga. So clear was the sky that we thought that city only a mile or two off, while it was some six miles distant. The descent into the valley was fearful. This part of the road is called Cuesta de la Reina and is the terror even of the Spanish postilions. Our stage had put the brakes on, and, in addition the wheels were held by chains; yet we ran down with amazing swiftness. The beautiful city, nearly all houses painted white and flat-roofed, glittering in the morning sun and skirted by the blue Mediterranean, lay at our feet. The enjoyment of this scenery, although not unmixed with some anxiety at our downward race, was indescribable.

At last we were in the Alameda, a fine and beautifully laid out promenade, lined by elegant modern residences. We stopped at the Fonda de la Alameda, a hotel which leaves little to be desired. It is built around a spacious yard, cooled by fountains, verandas running all around. There are baths in the house, and an excellent table d'hôte. Although it was hot and the air was trembling, the interior was pleasantly cool; and we could, after taking baths, rest sweetly after our night's trip. After breakfast we strolled through the town. The part near the quays of the harbor and on and near the Alameda is entirely new. The streets are well paved, and some very fine fountains attract attention. But when you leave these blocks, where are the principal hotels, the residences and the streets of the great merchants and the quarters where foreigners generally reside, the streets become Arabic again and labyrinthal. As the steamboat on the Lopez line, the "Marseilles," had already arrived and was to leave at six o'clock in the evening, we had just time to look at the large cathedral, Renaissance style, and looking more like a heathen temple than a Christian church, — and to admire the beau monde of Malaga, which just then began to fill the beautiful

paseo, the Alameda, which runs through the center of the city to the harbor. Our consul, Mr. Hancock of Kentucky, was our guide. A boat brought us, while a heavy shower sprang up all at once, to the steamer bound for Cadiz. The sun shone out bright again after we had got out some distance into the sea.

The view of Malaga and its surroundings was superb in the setting sun. After dark it commenced raining again. I was soon alone on deck under an umbrella. I was waiting for the moon, hoping that by her light we could see Gibraltar, which we were to pass at two o'clock in the morning. But it became so cloudy, and a thick fog so unusual in the straits set in, that I had to give up my plan to remain on deck, and retired to my cabin about midnight. But I got up again quite early. The steamer which had floated on the Mediterranean so smoothly now began to roll and pitch. We were in the Atlantic. At six o'clock we espied land, and not long afterwards glared in the form of a half moon the walls and houses of Cadiz from out of the bosom of the sea.

CADIZ AND JEREZ

Though an old Phœnician colony, there is no place that makes the impression of newness like Cadiz. The very tall houses with their flat roofs, crowned with turrets, cupolas, and belvederes, appeared like a string of pearls forming a crescent, the convex side turned toward the sea. The white color of all the buildings is heightened by the fiery beams of the sun and the contrast with the deep blue sky and the equally deep blue sea. Cadiz has, properly speaking, no harbor, but only a roadstead. Mighty rocks surround the walls of the city, and the surf is very heavy. Our vessel anchored at a respectable distance, and we were taken by a boat under a rather dangerous swell to the landing place, and the "Aduana."

The bay of Cadiz, of which Cadiz, situated on the Island of Leon, forms the southeastern, and La Rota, celebrated for

its wines, the western extremity, is very extensive, and on it are situated the two large ports of Puerto Real and Puerto de Santa Maria. These two large ports are now connected with Cadiz by rail, and really form part of it. Not having seen Naples, Rio de Janeiro, or Constantinople, I must say that Cadiz is the finest bay I have ever seen, New York not excepted. But I cannot attempt to give a description. We are in the land of the sun. Byron's beautiful verses rushed into my mind:

"Know ye the land of cedar and vine.
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine,
Where the light wings of zephyr oppressed with perfume
Wax faint o'er the gardens of rose in her bloom,
Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute,
Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky
In colors, though varied, in beauty may vie;
Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine,
And all, save the spirit of man, is divine."

Our hotel, the City of Paris, was a fine one, though in a very small street. The cathedral is a vast building of the decadent age of Renaissance art. We visited the convent of the Capuchins, remarkable only for the last picture ever painted by Murillo, the "Marriage of Santa Catharina." When it was about finished, he fell from the scaffold and soon afterwards died. It is considered one of his finest pictures.

The Alameda is one of the largest ramparts and is encircled by the sea, which is constantly splashing on the rocks on which the rampart is built. It is beautiful beyond description, and in the evening filled with the fair ladies of whom Byron and others have given us such glowing and exaggerated pictures. The second evening our consul, a Mr. Eggleston, and Captain Martin of the United States corvette, "St. Louis," and some of his officers called upon us, and we spent a pleasant and interesting evening with them. Their invitation to dine with them the next day on board of their vessel,

we had to decline, as we had already made arrangements, which could not be set aside, to leave early next morning.

Through the cities of San Fernando, Puerta Real, and Santa Maria, through fields where people were already busy in harvesting barley and wheat (early in May), through gardens with vineyards enclosed by hedges of aloe and cactus, we reached in an hour or so Jerez de la Frontera, the Mecca of the lovers of wine.

In our apartment we made the acquaintance of a young gentleman from Bremen, who was a partner in one of the firms in the wine-trade at Jerez. He gave us an interesting description of how the making of wine was carried on, by the treatment of it in the cellars. All the Jerez (Sherry) exported to England and the United States is strengthened by spirits and somewhat sweetened. The true Jerez has always a slightly bitter taste, and is preferred by the natives and the real connoisseurs of other countries. The Jerez, called Manzanilla, which is the most commonly drunk in Spain, derives its very name from its bitterness,—"manzanilla" signifying camomile. I can speak from experience of its healthfulness and goodness, as we used it all the time at the breakfast table at our house and at hotels.

The road from Jerez to Seville along the banks of the Guadalquivir is not interesting, being mostly flat, but now and then dotted with large orange groves and some pine forests. At noon we entered Seville and found an excellent and comfortable resting place at the "Fonda de Londres" on the Plaza Nueva.

SEVILLE

Seville! If we follow the traditional representations of the numberless travelers from many lands, Seville is the most picturesque and romantic city of all the romantic cities of the world. We have seen it in the most favorable season, in May, under an unclouded, brilliant sky, and we could not but feel somewhat disappointed. A great deal of affected enthusiasm, not to say nonsense, has been written and sung

of this Queen of Andalusia. Its immediate surroundings in the first place are flat and sterile. No hills or mountains are visible. The Guadalquivir, though broad and deep, is of a muddy, yellow color. The paseo, the Alameda, bears no comparison with those of Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Cadiz and Malaga. There are some handsome small squares, and some few streets wide enough for carriages to pass in. Except the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and that of the duke of Montpensier, called San Telmo, and the Alcázar, there are no other very remarkable buildings. The greater part of the houses are after the Oriental fashion, unseemly from the outside, though the interior may be very handsome, having noble staircases, and quadrangular yards with fountains.

Perhaps I should also say something of the exaggerations in which people have indulged regarding the beauty of the Andalusians, and more particularly of the Sevillian women. They have, like most Spaniards, the advantage of being of a homogeneous race, — they have a common marked type, or character, I may say. This appears to the stranger who comes from the more northern part of Europe or from the United States, where there has been a great mixture of national types, as a certain charm; but it does not follow that this marked race responds to all the requirements of ideal beauty. We have been through the Alamedas of Seville at the fashionable hours of the evening, have been in the principal theatres, have been in the tobacco-manufactory where some four thousand Andalusian girls and women were at work, have been at the great market-place, and have seen some beautiful ladies, particularly at the theatres and on the Alameda, but comparatively very few who could be called perfect beauties. It is true, most of the women have dark hair, deep and brilliant eyes, very exquisitely formed feet and hands, and an elastic step. But their noses are mostly too aquiline, their lips, though red and "half revealing, half concealing" well-set white teeth, are thick. The busts are

in proportion too full (as they are generally very undersized), and the nether extremities much too short. Like most other Spanish women they are very charming by their vivacity in speech and action, their amiable naturalness and kind-heartedness.

I have seen in churches, theatres, in the promenade, and in large gatherings at civic and religious festivities thousands of Spanish women. There was with us at the same hotel in Seville a Mr. Alphonse de Rothschild from Paris with his bride. But of all the Spanish ladies I have ever seen there was not one superior, — nay! not one equal, — to this young bride's grace and ravishing beauty. My judgment about Spanish beauty is this: In the first place the men on an average are much handsomer than the women. But the children of both sexes surely surpass all other children in beauty and loveliness. They do not, however, fulfill the promise of their early youth. While I am far from sharing the enthusiasm of strangers in speaking of Seville, yet there are some glorious objects of art there which justify the old Spanish adage:

"Quien no ha visto á Sevilla,
No ha visto á maravilla."

THE SEVILLE CATHEDRAL

There is the cathedral. I have devoted many pages in my "Aus Spanien" to a description of this colossal structure, and yet was able to give no more than an unsatisfactory sketch of it. To do it justice, one must not only write a book of some size, but ought to be a professional architect, a first-class painter, or at least a well-grounded connoisseur, a sculptor, a highly accomplished cabinet-maker, a jeweler, a goldsmith, an embroiderer and a historian. Théophile Gautier, in his vivid and *outré* French manner, has given us his impressions, which, though fanciful, are of great literary merit. Though they will lose by the rendering, I will give a translation of them here:

"The most extravagant and most monstrous Indian pagodas do not equal the Seville cathedral. It is a hollow mountain, an upturned valley. Notre Dame of Paris could walk upright in the middle nave, which is of terrific height. Columns, thick as towers, and yet so fragile as to cause trembling, shoot up from the ground, or rather fall down from the vaults on high like stalactites in a great cave. The high altar with its steps, its towering architecture, its rows of statues on different shelves, is of itself an immense building reaching almost to the cupola.

"The Easter wax-candle, large as a shipmast, weighs two thousand and fifty pounds. The bronze candlestick upon which it rests is a sort of Vendôme column; it is a copy of the candlestick in the temple of Jerusalem as seen on the bas-reliefs of the triumphal arch of Titus. Everything is in the same grand proportion. There are annually burnt in the cathedral twenty thousands pounds of wax and as much oil. The communion wine consumed yearly amounts to the frightful quantity of 18,750 bottles. But there are also five hundred masses read on twenty-four altars. The catafalque, called monument, which does service during the holy week, is nearly one hundred feet high. The organ, of gigantic size, looks like the basaltic columns of Fingal's cave, and yet the storms and thunder which issue from the pipes, large as siege guns, under these vaulted arches sound like the chirping of birds or the melodies of seraphim. One counts eighty-three glass windows painted after cartons from Michael Angelo, Raphael, Duerer, Peregrino, Tibaldi and Lucas Cambiaso. The choir, in Gothic style, is ornamented with little turrets, columns, niches, and all sorts of figures, flowers and leaves, — a work so immense and exquisite that we can in our day hardly conceive of it. In the presence of such works, one feels overwhelmed and asks anxiously whether the power of artistic creation does not retrograde from one century to another.

"To describe seriatim the treasures of the cathedral would be the greatest stupidity. To visit them thoroughly a year would be needed, and one would not have seen anything. Volumes are not sufficient to make merely a catalogue of them. The sculptures in stone, wood, and silver, by Juan de Arfé, Juan Millan, Montanés, Roldan; the paintings of Murillo, Zurbaran, Pedro Campana, Roëlas, Luis de Vargas, the two Herreras, Juan de Valdés, and Goya, fill the chapels, the sacristies, and the chapter-halls. One is appalled by the

splendor, intoxicated by the masterpieces; one does not know at what to look first. The desire and the impossibility give one a sort of fever of giddiness, and yet one feels every moment that a name has escaped us, that memory has lost its impression, and that one picture has forced away another one."

When I entered this wonderful structure, I was almost stricken with a sense of awe similar to that which I felt when I first stood at Niagara Falls.

I cannot leave Seville, however, without mentioning some sights which impressed me deeply. Near the main entrance of the cathedral one stands in the presence of the most magnificent emanation of the immortal Murillo, the much admired "St. Anthony of Padua." Here is Murillo in all his wonderful magical splendor. Here are his angels, his transparent clouds, his ecstatic saints, wrapped in sweetest dreams and yet living and moving in every limb. Daylight hardly penetrates into the dark chapel which encloses this picture of greatest dimensions; but from the picture itself streams a sea of light. Murillo, as has been said by a Spanish connoisseur, did not paint the effect of light, but light itself. No one has ever discovered the secret of these translucid illuminating colors. No one but he has so painted the heavenly light. Many think that in this picture Murillo has spoken the last word in painting. I highly admire it; but I have chosen for myself another pearl of the rich and precious wreath of his creation, and to this, my first love, I in Seville remained faithful; it is his "Purissima" at Madrid. On a second visit I asked some old beggar women to hold aside the heavy curtains which hang over the entrance so as to obtain more light. But as Schiller says of the eye, one can say of this tableau: "Es gibt sich selber Licht und Glanz." And as the white glowing Andalusian sun now shone upon it, it could truly be said:

"Und doch ist, was es von sich strahlet,
Noch schoener als was es empfing."

This picture some ten years afterwards met with a singular fate. One morning it was discovered that the figure of

the saint and some of the angels descending before the Child Jesus, and forming the middle ground, had been cut out by sacrilegious hands. Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the thieves and the recovery of the picture. For a long while no clue was found. But it turned out that it had been sold to some one in New York. It came back finally to the possession of the cathedral, and it is said that this stolen part was put into the picture again so skilfully that the patch could not be discovered.

Then there was the Convent of Caridad containing Murillo's "Moses Striking the Rock for Water." It is called the "Sed" or the "Thirst," and is the largest and best of what may be called his historical paintings. There is also here his wonderful "Niño Jesus" (the Christ-Child) standing on the globe.

THE PALACE OF SAN TELMO

Along the Guadalquivir is the palace of San Telmo, residence of the Duke of Montpensier, with a glorious collection of paintings, in which the modern French school is also well represented by Robert, Delacroix, Delaroche, Horace Vernet, Ary Scheffer, Decamps, and Winterhalter. Murillo's world-famed "Madona de la Faja," or "The Madonna Swathing the Child," is here the gem again. The gardens enclosing this beautiful palace are of enchanting beauty. Grand avenues of elms, linden, and poplar are intersected by parks in English fashion. Majestic orange trees (the sweet golden fruit of which covered, uncared for, as apples with us, the ground beneath), were grouped with palm, fig and pomegranate trees. Roses of all varieties blossomed and exhaled their sweet odor through the gardens. The ordinary centifolia was as large as the tuberose. Springs and artificial water-ducts rippled and rustled all around us. A mild, warm, delightful evening air floated about and laid itself as softly upon us as the autumn air of Lake Geneva. As in the park, one sees in the palace the effect of a refined taste. No dilapidation or other traces of decay offend the view, as is often the case in

Spain in the finest public buildings and residences and in the gardens and yards. Here everything is harmonious, and well taken care of, and one sees the ruling of an intellect ripened on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The Duke, to whom we had been introduced at Madrid, was a very handsome young man of good size and pleasant manners, and highly educated; and he had made his palace a museum not only of paintings and sculpture, but also of costly and rare armor, particularly of oriental make, — he having served for several years in Africa. His wife, the sister of Queen Isabel, was also very well educated. She was delicate, and slender, and had more the manners of a French lady. Married too young and mother of many children, she was pale and appeared suffering, — rather a great contrast to her full-blown sister.

OTHER MONUMENTS AND MURILLO COLLECTIONS OF SEVILLE

The Alcázar of Seville, were it not for the situation of the Alhambra, is a dangerous rival of the palace of Boabdil. Its majestic halls, corridors, gardens and squares, are, if anything, superior to the interior of the Alhambra. We congratulated ourselves on having visited the Alhambra first, as after the Seville Alcázar we should not have found it so admirable.

In the collection of Cepero, in the house where Murillo lived, I saw two portraits of Murillo, probably painted by his best pupil, Tobar, whose paintings pass generally for Murillo's. According to these portraits, he has a wide, free forehead, lively eyes, showing kindness, a rather smiling mouth, round chin and a light complexion. The face is round, not oval, his nose not aquiline, but commonplace. In fact he has no trace of the Spanish type. I should have taken the portraits unquestionably for those of a native of Flanders. Even before I had seen these portraits the thought had struck me that Murillo might have had some German blood in him. An eye even unpracticed in art cannot fail to see the immense differ-

ence between him and all other Spanish painters. Murillo's work will be recognized at once amongst a hundred other Spanish pictures. There is only then a great similarity when he as he did sometimes, adopted the style of Ribera, or when his many pupils imitated him. Murillo's family name was Esteban (Stephen). The name of Murillo he took from his mother's side, a very common thing in Spain, as Salazer y Maceredo, Rios y Rosas, and Serrano y Dominguez. No genealogy that I have seen of him goes further back than to his father. Could not our Bartholomew Stephen have been a descendant of one of the many German and Flemish artists, who, as is well known, for nearly a century worked on the Seville Cathedral? The painters of the glass-windows were Christopher Aleman, Arnold of Flanders, and his brother Charles of Bruges, all strangers from the North. Other Spanish painters have likewise done devout work, like Morales, Juan de Juanes, Ribera, Zurbaran, and Alonzo Cano; but such innocent, pure, childlike love, such a deep mild feeling as speak from Murillo's pictures are found only in the German and Flemish painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Seville Provincial Museum, a very large building, the old convent of La Merced, was undergoing very extensive repairs. Walls were broken through, foundations strengthened, and all the pictures had been taken down and covered up, so that it could not be visited. Only one side of the building containing the "Salon de Murillo," was left undisturbed, but this also had been closed for fear of dust penetrating into the hallowed apartment. Nevertheless, we did not want to leave Seville without having seen some of the greatest masterpieces of Murillo and the greatest treasures of Seville. I, therefore, asked our consul, Mr. John Cunningham, an English merchant, a gentleman of great repute, who showed us every civility, to get us permission to see the Salon Murillo. The director of the Museo, however, answered his note, expressing his deepest regrets that he could not comply with the

request, as the Salon, on account of the repairs, was *hermetically* closed.

But I had heard in the meantime that just the day before Mr. Alphonse Rothschild and his wife had visited the Murillo gallery, not however by the door, but by means of a tall ladder which had been put from the hall below to one of the windows above, through which the Salon was lighted from that side. I instructed the consul to address the governor of the province, and to remark to him that I expected to receive the requested permission, the more so, as it had just yesterday been given to a private gentleman from Paris. The governor, excusing himself on account of sickness for not being able to wait upon me in person, observed that he had just given instructions to open the Salon for me and my family.

Ascending the marble stairs we saw the ladder still standing at the wall on which the Rothschilds had climbed up, a thing which Sophie would never have ventured to do. A mozo went up on it, opened the window by removing several planks nailed before it, entered the Salon, and in a few minutes drew out the nails by which the canvas had been fastened on the inside of the doors, and flung it wide open. With a proud and triumphant air our guide followed us and exclaimed: "Miran Vds. las glorias de Murillo!" And, indeed, in glory we were enveloped.

A whole heaven descended upon us, — "Es kam ein ganzer Himmel auf uns nieder." I have tried in my "Aus Spanien" to give some idea of the most admired subjects in this Salon de Glorias. There is his celebrated Child Christ, said to have been painted on a napkin and presented by him to the head-cook of the Franciscan convent in which he worked for some time. There is his "San Thoma de Villa Nueva," giving alms to a group of beggars, which Murillo himself declared to be his best work. Here are two "Conceptions," surpassed only by the one in Madrid; and the wonderful painting of Christ on the Cross just dying and embracing San Francisco, an apparent impossibility, but yet successfully ac-

complished by the inspired master. (Only a faith that could move mountains could have drawn this piece.) Of one of the larger paintings I had a somewhat reduced copy made by José de Mazo of Seville, who had also copied for me the Niño Pastor of Madrid. It is his Joseph and the Child. On the cracked socket of an antique column, behind which rises another higher one with broken-down top, dressed in a long, light violet robe, stands the child Jesus, a little blond, lovely boy, gently leaning on his father Joseph, a noble figure, who with his left arm draws the child to his breast and presses his right arm tenderly around the boy's waist. Dark, heavy-laden clouds form the background. The boy standing on the ruins of the old world has the most childlike, innocent face, and yet there is impressed on his forehead the seal of Godhead, while at the same time the shadows of the great future sorrows are passing over the pure little face. On the lovely lips of the child seem already to float the words: "Oh, my Father! If it is possible, let this cup pass from me!"

CORDOVA

Early in the morning of the 15th of May we left Seville taking the train to Cordova. After some miles from the city along the banks of the Guadalquivir the country is more fertile. The people were harvesting barley. About midway between Seville and Cordova we passed the Guadalquivir on a magnificent bridge, leaving the river now at our right. The scenery becomes quite picturesque, and we had extensive vistas. About noon, through a very fine Alameda, we entered the exceedingly narrow streets of Cordova, stopping at a very good but small hotel.

It would take many pages to give even a meagre description of this highly interesting city. It is the most perfect specimen of downfallen greatness I have ever seen. An important city in the age of the Caesars, the cradle of the Roman poets Ennius, Lucan, Seneca and Florus; at the times of the Moros the seat of the Western Caliphate, with a million of

inhabitants and residence of the Abdurrahmâns; it is now one of the deadest cities of Spain with only fifty thousand people, and appears to have no influence on the intellectual life of the country, while its schools and universities were under the Romans, the Goths and Moors, the most renowned of Western Europe.

The greatest point of attraction is the mosque, the largest after Damascus of Arab times. Figures and numbers give hardly ever a true representation of monumental structures, but still I do not know that one can do better than give the dimensions of this building. It is from east to west 440 feet and from north to south 620 feet. It is divided by thirty-five naves in the first, and by nineteen in the second direction. These naves are formed by three hundred and fifty-four pillars of various thicknesses, and of all sorts of styles, consisting of alabaster, granite, jasper and marble of every color. They are all connected above by Moorish arches, often by double arches which sustain the only forty-feet high ceiling. With every step one sees into a different avenue of columns. It is a forest of stone. It is said that these columns were taken in part from an old Roman temple of Janus which stood at the place where the mosque now stands, partly from Nîmes and Narbonne, from Seville and Tarragona, one hundred and forty from old Byzantium and the rest from Carthage and other African cities, — all very interesting for an antiquarian. One thing is certain that the capitals of these columns are of very different styles, representing all known and unknown orders of architecture.

The same master-builder who put on the Moorish tower of the Giralda at the Seville Cathedral the Graeco-Roman top, has set up in this mosque in the time of Charles V a church in the Renaissance style, elevating a part of the roof, but not separating it from the parts of the mosque itself. Of course this destroys the symmetry of the whole, if one can speak of symmetry where hundreds of avenues of columns cross one another.

Of wonderful beauty is the Arabic Holiest of the Holies, the most perfect specimen of Moorish architecture in Spain. It lies under a cupola of shining marble supported by graceful pillars. The walls are ornamented with painted and gilded glass arabesques. The letters forming verses from the Koran are gilded glass. The vestibule to this sanctuary is made of columns bearing double arches of the finest and whitest marble. While in the Alhambra and other Moorish Alcazars the floors and columns only are of marble, but the arches and walls are of stucco, here everything is built of marble. The cupola, in the form of a half orange, with a diameter of about twelve feet, is one piece of marble. Everything is conceived and worked with infinite gracefulness. We visited the Moorish Alcazar situated on a high hill at the foot of which runs the Guadalquivir; also the gate of colossal dimensions which leads to the bridge; and saw fine squares with large gilded statues of saints.

At about midnight we took the stage towards Madrid, passed the Guadalquivir at Andujar at daylight, and, ascending upon hills, had the most magnificent views. On our right towards the south we had the mountain range of Jaen, the horizon being closed by the Sierra Nevada, the highest peaks of which, though some seventy miles off, could be clearly discerned through the clear, transparent air. Right before us toward the north rose threatening the dark mountains of the Sierra Morena.

Passing the battlefields, we reached Bailen at noon, and Santa Cruz de Mudela at five in the evening, where we took the railroad to Madrid, arriving there next morning after our excursion into the most charming province of "Fair Spain."

CHAPTER XL

Through Northern Spain and Germany in 1863

On cur return to Madrid the sad news of the battle of Chancellorsville in full detail reached us. Had it not been for the progress we were making in the West, which made the fall of Vicksburg in the near future highly probable, we should have felt the defeat still more keenly. In the legation I found my hands full of business. I had been charged with concluding a convention with Spain to leave the question of maritime jurisdiction to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians. The proposed treaty, drawn by the Marquis of Miraflores, I would not sign, but submitted it first to Mr. Seward. He objected to one phrase in the preamble, and the Marquis of Miraflores would not change it, but gave the sentence such explanation in writing as would be satisfactory, I thought; and so Mr. Seward at last thought himself. But before the treaty was signed by me I left on a leave of absence in 1864. I believe the Senate did not confirm it. I had, however, long and tedious interviews with the Marquis relating to it. Some mischievous articles had appeared in the French newspapers, and had found republication in some of the Spanish journals, that our government was at the bottom of the insurrection that had broken out in Santo Domingo against the Spanish government. Of course, I at once contradicted these reports and used the press also for the purpose, and asked Mr. Seward to instruct me positively on the subject, which he did, and I believe I succeeded in quieting the government here on that score.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF BARCELONA

Just about this time I received through the hands of our consul at Barcelona a beautiful portfolio containing an address congratulating the President on his Emancipation Proclamation of the first of January and signed by several hundred citizens of Barcelona. It was very eloquent and sounded majestically in its pure Castilian. On the receipt of it, I wrote to Mr. Little:

"Sir:—I have received through your hands the splendidly gotten up volume containing a congratulatory address to the President of the United States upon his proclamation of the first of January, 1863, relating to the abolition of slavery, and also expressing the sympathy of a large number of citizens of Barcelona who have signed this address for the success of the principles sustained by our government.

"I shall take pleasure to make myself the instrument of transmitting said testimonial to our distinguished chief of state, the more so as it comes from the citizens of Barcelona, a city renowned in history no less for its preëminence in industrial pursuits than for its love of the principles of human liberty and individual independence.

"I have no doubt that the President will in due time respond in proper manner to the enlightened signers of the address. In the meantime, if an opportunity offers, you will certainly express my own sentiments in acknowledging in sympathetic terms the action of the committee and their constituents. I am, sir, your obedient servant."

SPANISH DIFFICULTIES

Mr. Seward was also very anxious to settle the difficulties which had arisen between Spain and Peru, and I was instructed to offer our good offices in the controversy. It was a very delicate matter, as I was well aware with what jealousy the Spanish government tries to guard against all foreign interference. Just because Spain had lost the great prestige it had had centuries ago and is now considered a second-rate power, it was less inclined to yield even to reasonable demands than a powerful nation would be. I, therefore, confined myself to suggestions merely. They were at-

tentively listened to by the minister of foreign affairs, but remained without any response; so that I informed Mr. Seward that I thought it unadvisable to even mention the subject again, as it would not accord with our national dignity. So the matter was dropped for the present, to reappear, however, hereafter, throwing a large amount of trouble and business on my head.

THROUGH NORTHERN SPAIN

As we did not intend to retain our present lodgings during my absence, we broke up our household, storing our furniture and retaining only our principal servant, Francisco, who was to go with us to Germany where we intended to spend our summer vacation, promising, however, our other servants to reëngage them, if they were willing to enter our services upon our return. On the 15th of June we took the train to Barcelona. In an hour or so we passed Alcala de Henares, a once flourishing university, the cradle of Cervantes. It is at some distance from the railroad and we saw only a few large buildings, convents, and churches. It is now an almost deserted place, as is also the once celebrated city of Guadalajara, whose glory is also gone, and which we reached not long afterwards. We entered the mountains of Medinaceli. Here is the water-shed between East and West, The Henares empties into the Tajo, flowing westward to the Atlantic, and on the other side of Medinaceli across the Sierra de Mistra flows the Jalon, a tributary of the Ebro, emptying into the Mediterranean. The cars were all crowded, mostly with fashionable ladies and their "servidumbre" from Madrid bound for the much-patronized baths of Alhama. That watering-place is situated in a stony valley surrounded by high rocks, without a shade-tree to be seen, and the buildings themselves are, from the outside at least, more than forbidding. How thousands of people could stay here, mostly for pleasure only, was incomprehensible to us, used as we were to the shady, well-improved bathing-places of other parts of the world.

The building of the railroad through the Sierra de Mistra must have been of the greatest difficulty. On the brink of the precipices, often almost in a circle, it winds itself over deep ravines and through many tunnels and over innumerable bridges through this volcanic mountain range. One of the most African cities in Spain, the second largest after Saragossa in Aragon, is Calatayud. The railroad-station, which, by the way, has a most excellent restaurant, is a little too far off, to see much of this queerest of all cities. The lowest part of it, richly blessed with chapels, convents and churches, stretches itself to the foot of a high, rocky, isolated hill which is hollowed out. One sees from the outside only rows of holes some of which go through the hill with an opening on the other side, and these narrow alleys — I know no better name — are inhabited by thousands of people. It is the oldest part of the town, and is said to have been the dwelling place of the Moors. It is still called La Moreria. Through the most fertile and smiling valley of the Jalon, which we crossed at least a dozen times, we finally, about dark, landed in the well-built and fashionable West End of the "Siempre heroica" city of Saragossa.

SARAGOSSA

Saragossa! There are names of men and of things, I said in my "Aus Spanien," which, through the very ideas connected with them, make the heart beat more violently, excite the imagination, and arouse an intense desire to see the persons or the places bearing them. Different persons may be attracted by different names. Amongst those which even in my youth stirred my emotions, names such as the Acropolis, the Pillars of Hercules, Rome, the Rhine, Rio Janeiro, Mexico, Niagara, the Parthenon, the Alps, Lago Maggiore, Marathon, Roncesvalles, Alhambra, Ruetli,—not to speak of men,—the last was not Saragossa. The name of Saragossa, the heroic defence of which occurred in 1809, the year of my birth, must have quite early fallen on my ears, as my father and mother

with their fiery hatred of French oppression were enthusiastic for the daring defenders of this country.

The "Fonda del Universo" where we stopped was one of the finest in Europe at that time. We made a thorough exploration of the city, but it would take too much space even to attempt to give an account of what we saw. If the Saragossians are proud of the valor of their ancestors, they are equally proud of their patroness, the "Virgin del Pilar." This precious idol has a most romantic history. It was brought thither, in the year forty after Christ, by no less a person than the Holy Virgin herself. San Jago, the Apostle, the great patron of Spain, lived here, at Caesarea Augusta, and the Mother of God was accompanied by her own one thousand angels and others which God the Father had lent her for this trip. This wooden puppet is rather small and holds a smaller doll in one of its arms. The visage of the Virgin is brown, nearly black, as nearly all the old Byzantine representations of the Madonna are. She stands on a pillar of jasper, which was also brought along. These dolls are most richly dressed, and bespangled with precious pearls and most exquisite jewelry. They stand in a little chapel in the midst of the Cathedral del Pilar, but are enclosed by a gilded railing. This Virgin has a shrine in which a great many costly dresses and mantles are kept, — presents from pious devotees, — and from time to time there is a change of apparel. It is said that the value of the pearls and diamonds on the robes is immeasurable. When the French took the place by storm in the year 1809, and the city was given up to plunder, the Virgin must have been hidden away somewhere very securely, as otherwise the Lady of the Pillar would surely have been disrobed. It is whispered, however, that a good many of the precious stones have been replaced by imitations. One thing is certain, that for lovers of jewelry, particularly the ladies, this idol is an immense attraction.

The Church of Pilar by itself is large, but not at all of remarkable architecture. The other cathedral — for Sara-

gossa rejoices in two cathedrals — San Salvador, usually called El Seo, is also of very vast dimensions, built partly in fine Gothic, partly in very late Renaissance style.

We were also very much interested in the hanging bell tower, three hundred feet high, octangular, showing a different style in each story. It seems likely to fall down any moment. Its top hangs nine feet over the perpendicular line; looking up to it one feels almost giddy. It certainly was not built that way, for deep depressions near it would prove that it was twisted into this shape by an earthquake. We were anxious to ascend it. But the guardian was out promenading, "al paseo," and as the time of his return was quite uncertain we would not wait for him.

IN FRANCE

We left Saragossa in the evening. Part of the way we had the Ebro on our right and traveled through an open country; from time to time we had splendid views of the Pyrenees, which through the clear transparent atmosphere, appeared quite near, the highest peaks being covered with eternal snow. Passing the very interesting town and fortress of Lerida we entered the valley of the Llobregat and the foothills of the Pyrenees. There being a very bright moonlight, we caught south of us, not very far from Barcelona, some glimpses of the Montserrat with its most fantastic pinnacles forming cones, pyramids, sugar-loaves and most anything imaginable, some of these formations reaching a height of four thousand feet. Early in the morning we landed in our favorite city of Barcelona.

Through a most fertile valley, bounded on the east by the Mediterranean, where the Indian corn grew as high as in the Mississippi Bottoms, we went to old Gerona, so celebrated in all the many wars of Spain, nearly entirely hid in rocks, and then by stage through a very romantic, partly mountainous country covered with magnificent woods of live oak and pines and through Figueras to the French town of Perpignan.

Here again we reached a railroad. The railroad follows the shores of the Mediterranean, partly through bays; we passed by Cette, Béziers, Narbonne, Nîmes, Montpellier and Tarascon, where we struck the Marseilles and Lyons road again and reached Lyons through the now familiar magnificent valley of the Rhône.

At Lyons in the new and very elegant Grand Hotel we had the pleasure of meeting the Matteson party again on their return from their southern tour. We spent some very pleasant days together and found in the museum a rich collection of fine pictures, — some by Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, and other Italians, equal to those we had seen anywhere. There were many other objects of the fine arts. What struck me as somewhat remarkable was the presence of a strong German element. That all the waiters in the hotels and cafés spoke German was natural enough. But I met groups of people in the public squares and the charming parks of the Tête D'Or who talked German. In the cafés and restaurants into which I went with my friend Curran, Munich and Erlanger beer was the principal beverage and German was spoken at a great many tables. Were all these German people from abroad, or was there still a trace left of the population of ancient Lyons, one of the Imperial cities where the German emperors held their diets? The parting from this noble city with its most beautiful environs was always a most hard one.

The train took us up the Saône, through the old capital of Burgundy, Dijon, through Besançon and the charming valley of the Doubs to Montbéliard, and passing the great fortress of Belfort we found ourselves in the smiling plains of Alsace. It was Germany all over. Already up the Saône through Burgundy and the Franche Comté the cities and particularly the villages have a somewhat German appearance. Hay-mowing was in full blast, and the villagers, men and women, were out in the fields. In their dress and in their whole carriage they hardly differed from the farmers of Alsace. From Belfort to Strassburg we hardly heard a French

word spoken. At every station girls came out with glasses full of foaming beer in their hands and with "pretzels" to refresh the travelers during the two-minute stops.

STRASSBURG AND HEIDELBURG

We rested, of course, a few days at Strassburg. Since I left it in 1833, accompanied by two *gens d'armes*, it had immensely improved. I hardly knew it again. The Minster, even after we had just seen some of the noblest Spanish churches, still impressed us deeply as the heavenward-pointing creation of German art and German genius.

Through the lovely valley of the Rhine along the Black Forest we went by Heidelberg to Frankfort, where we stayed a few days, soon returning to Heidelberg, where the family was to remain through the summer. We concluded to leave our Gustave and Paula in Germany. Gustave had been for some years at the Washington University in St. Louis after having been through schools and private lessons in Belleville, and was now fully prepared to attend lectures at a German University. Choosing law for his profession, Heidelberg, the law-faculty of which was one of the best in Germany, appeared to be the proper place for his studies, the more so as he had there the society of his Hilgard relations, and was only a few hours' journey from Frankfort, where we were to place our Paula in a ladies' academy. In Madrid, it was of course out of the question to finish her education. At Frankfort she was also surrounded by our relatives, Mrs. Margaret Hilgard, her daughters, and the family of the Van der Veldens, Mrs. Van der Velden being an Engelmann.

At the Hotel Victoria, handsomely situated on the principal residence street, we took up our quarters. The society there was very refined. From Heidelberg excursions could be made into the Palatinate, to Kreuznach and other places where Sophie had so many relations and friends. I had been advised to use sea-bathing, and after staying with my family some time in Heidelberg I set out for Kiel towards the end of June.

HAMBURG.

Hamburg, after the great fire, had risen from its ashes in great beauty. Kiel, which, when I was there as a student in 1830, was a small insignificant place, had now become a lovely town and a number of fine villas extended far out to Duesternbrook along the bay. At Hamburg, a great agricultural exposition was in full blast. Learning that my friend Judd from Berlin had arrived, and that Mr. Haldeman, our *chargé d' affaires* to Sweden and Norway, and ex-senator and ex-minister to Prussia Wright of Indiana, who attended the fair as one of the commissioners of the United States, were to meet at Mr. Anderson's, our consul at Hamburg, I returned for a few days to that place. In many respects the exposition was a great success. Horses from England, Holstein, Normandy, Prussia and Southern Germany, the most splendid cattle from England, Holland, Holstein, Switzerland, and Hungary were there in abundance. The dog-show was for many the most interesting sight. It was pronounced by connoisseurs the best exhibition that had ever been given. The Saint Bernards and Leonbergers, the Newfoundlanders and English and Danish bull-dogs, the pointers and setters from England were really admirable in their way.

Agricultural implements were also well represented, and our Mr. McCormick took of course the gold medal in that class for his mowers and reapers. Hamburg was overflowing with people, and it was hard to get rooms. Prices were enormous. But whatever you got in meat or drink was first-class.

We had, of course, a very pleasant time. At a fine dinner at Mr. Anderson's, graced by the presence of his very lovely wife, where several other Americans were present, we were more than unusually joyful because the news had just arrived of the taking of Vicksburg and the battle of Gettysburg. Of course, we had many toasts and speeches. Ex-minister Wright, who, during the exhibition had taken every opportunity to indulge in speech-making, was particularly eloquent

on this occasion, though at home he had rather the reputation of being an anti-war Democrat.

But indeed a heavy load had fallen from our hearts, and we thought we saw daylight at last.

While at Hamburg a Reuter telegram in one of the morning papers struck my eyes. It stated in substance that Spain was willing to join France in recognizing the independence of the Confederates. Knowing very well that the Reuter Bureau was, as regards the United States, entirely under the influence of the English and French friends of the Secession, I felt no alarm about this telegram, considering it as a mere feeler thrown out before the last news of the victories had reached Europe. Nevertheless, I at once instructed Mr. Perry to call on the Marquis of Miraflores and ask him categorically what truth there was in this report.

Mr. Perry, according to my instructions, went to La Granja (San Ildefonso), where the court and the ministry were then summering and on the 9th of August wrote me concerning this matter. "I received the most satisfactory assurances from the Marquis of Miraflores as to the recognition of the Southern States by Spain, and forwarded the same to Mr. Seward, as authorized by the Marquis to do."

KIEL IN 1863

Of my never to be forgotten sojourn at Kiel some extracts from a letter I wrote to Mrs. Rosa Tittmann may give an idea:

"Bad Duesternbrook, July 13, 1863.

"Dear Friend:—Here on this grand bay, under the shade of gigantic beech and oak trees, such as are found only on the isles of the Baltic, I cannot resist writing to you once more. Entering these noble forests, I feel a sort of swelling of the heart. Tears come to my eyes. The temple forests of Gothic and Moorish architecture which I have seen in their perfections, must yield here. God worships himself best. This emotion often gives place to a feeling of home pride.

"The German blood rises again in me in spite of thirty

years of America, and in the midst of the woods I raise my voice and sing:

"Da lob' ich mir die deutschen Buchenhallen,
Durch deren kuehle Woelbung Hoerner schallen
Und unter Erdbeer'n wilde Rosen glueh'n."

"How would you be enchanted by these charming environs, by this brave, quiet, cleanly people, full of natural politeness, touched by civilization far enough not to be rude, but naive and uncorrupted in our frivolous times. Since the few days I have been here I feel myself strongly inclined to become thoroughly virtuous.

" We rise in the morning between six and seven o'clock—what a contrast to the life I have led during the past year! The hotel folks get up at four o'clock. Consider that at this season of the year it is daylight as early as three o'clock and that the sun sets at nine in the evening. One can see the pictures and photographs in the show-windows at ten o'clock at night. Then I go through the dense row of linden and elm trees to the bathing place, only a few hundred steps from my hotel, which has in front a beautiful park and in its rear on rising ground freshly mown meadows, exhaling the delicate fragrance of new-mown hay.

"The water was rather cold, sixteen degrees Réaumur was the warmest, but most of the time it was only from twelve to fourteen degrees, so that I could hardly stay in longer than five minutes. The hotels and villas along the sea-shores are handsome, built in good taste, and surrounded by beautiful gardens, close to the bay with fresh air and splendid vistas. What a harbor! In the war with Russia the united French and English fleets stayed here under the walls of the city and had plenty of elbow-room. Kiel has one of the best natural harbors in the world. The bay at its mouth is almost entirely closed by some moderately high hills and widens towards the city, it being deep enough for two or three miles for the largest war-steamers.

"After the bath, a lively walk, and then coffee is taken—rather an innocent beverage. But so much better is the cream, and what butter! Everything, in its peculiar perfection, excites interest,—nay, commands awe! Then I take to writing, reading, and promenading in the garden. Through the kindness of the Russian consul I have free use of the Reading Club, and can take out as many books as I want. Dinner is at two o'clock. For the present the hotel-society is made up

of ladies only, old and young, from Hamburg and Berlin. 'Very interesting to you,' I hear you say. 'No'; for from natural curiosity they have learned from the waiters who I am, and now have put themselves on their best behavior; whether on their own or my account, I will not undertake to decide, but will leave it to your judgment, as you must know this better than I do. A siesta after dinner, and then a walk for from two to four hours.

"Roses and jasmine (syringa) are now in great abundance and in full splendor, almost as luxuriant as in Andalusia in May. What a wonderful journey we have made! The roses, my favorites, remind me of it. In the middle of April we met them first at Aranjuez. In the middle of May we lived amongst them at Granada, Malaga, and Seville. They accompanied us through France and Spain and Germany through June. Traveling farther north they blossomed in their early freshness in Hanover and Hamburg, and they are now here in their finest bloom.—O, it was a delightful journey! I have found that though years and many afflictions have deadened in some degree my natural disposition to enjoy life, there has yet remained to me an open eye for the beautiful in nature and art. I shall feel sorry to leave Germany. It is yet a gem of the purest water."

I did not dream then how soon that fair spot would be the scene of war, and that those peaceful and quiet people would be called to arms against the oppression of the Danish government. To be sure, trouble had been brewing for some time on account of the King of Denmark's claiming the right to incorporate the German dukedom of Schleswig with Denmark proper, although there was only a personal union existing between Schleswig and the other dukedom of Holstein with Denmark, and although Schleswig and Holstein were by former treaties to be eternally united under governments essentially independent of the Danish crown.

The German diet at Frankfort had taken up this matter and had summoned the King of Denmark to withdraw his claim, threatening to protect the rights of the dukedoms by military execution. But still it was thought that the difficulties would be amicably settled, the more so as the diet had

always shown a great want of vigor in asserting the rights of Germany against other powers.

I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the citizens of Kiel, but in my various trips through and from Hamburg I had listened to the conversations of fellow-passengers, intelligent Holsteinians, and from their casual discussions I learned that a deep feeling hostile to Denmark was general. The Hamburg press had also taken up the cause of the dukedoms with much spirit. A little incident which happened while I was at Duesternbrook, small as it was, still showed the prevailing sentiment even of the lower classes of the people. My servant Francisco had gone one evening in company with the hotel waiters to a neigboring village to a dance. The next morning he begged permission to ask me a question. He then said that there had been quite a row at the ball. Some Danish soldiers had entered the room behaving very well; but when they came up to the girls to ask them for a dance, the girls would turn their backs on them and would say: "Nit Dansky!" The soldiers made a noise about that, but they were put out by the men. Why, asked Franz, would they not dance with them? He had understood "dansky" for dance. Of course, I could not enter into an explanation. When Palmerston had publicly declared that no man in the world was able to understand the Schleswig-Holstein question, it would have been idle to make Francisco understand it.

BERLIN IN 1863

The weather, and consequently the water, got too cold for bathing, and so I had to shorten my stay. The additional week I had intended for Kiel, I utilized by taking a circuitous route back to Frankfort, via Berlin, Dresden and Leipsic. In very pleasant company I left Hamburg very early in the morning and reached Berlin, where I put up at the Hôtel du Nord, Unter den Linden. Judd and family had gone to some watering-place in Silesia; but my old friend Hermann Kreismann from Chicago, then secretary of legation, took charge

of me, and being thoroughly acquainted with the city acted as my cicerone. Judd had placed his carriage and coachman at my disposal, so that I could see many sights in a comparatively short time. Berlin was then as different from what I found it in 1830 as the present Berlin is from that of 1863. The great equestrian statue of Frederick the Great with the surrounding groups was right opposite my window. The splendid Schlossbruecke, ornamented by antique marble statues, I had to pass before I came to the Royal Museum, which was, of course, the very first place I visited. The Old Museum, fronting the old Royal Palace, I had seen when first in Berlin. The celebrated Amazon of Kiss in bronze now ornamented the colonnade before the main entry, reached by a noble flight of stairs.

The New Museum, connected by an archway with the old one, is devoted to a complete collection of fine statuary both old and new in plaster of paris, forming a history and school of plastic art. It also contains a rich collection of engravings and drawings of every kind and of curiosities from every land. The walls of the colonnade of the Old and also of the New Museum are covered with frescoes designed by Schinkel and Cornelius. The very rich collections of marble and bronze statues, of coins, gems, and vases in the Old Museum, I had no time to examine at any length; it was the picture-gallery which attracted me most and to which I went repeatedly.

Like the statuary and other articles of interest, the picture-gallery is divided into the different schools chronologically, so that the development of the art may be studied. This is the great merit of this collection, and I do not know of any other which offers this advantage to the students of the fine arts. There are some very interesting old paintings of the pre-Raphaelitic times, but Raphael himself is poorly represented. The catalogue gives his name to six pictures, but there are but two which are really remarkable, the Maria with the Child holding in his hand a little goldfinch, and the Maria and Child di Casa Colonna. There are four very ex-

cellent Bordones. Three magnificent portraits by Titian, and one equally fine portrait by Giorgione are the only remarkable pictures of the old Venetian school. But I cannot stop to mention the many fine pictures of the Italian salons. I will point out but a few which riveted my attention most: the great masterpiece of Correggio, Io, and Leda and the Swan, and an Amor by Michael Angelo. Of the Spanish school, there are in the catalogue four Murillos, of which but one portrait may possibly have been painted by him. One Zurbaran appears to be genuine. The Flemish and old German schools are well represented. The Van Eycks, Memlings, Van der Weydens, Holbeins, Van Dykes, Rembrandts, and Teniers, and the examples of Rubens, Floris, and Quinten Massys, bear no comparison with those in the Madrid gallery; Velasquez, at that time at least, was absent in Berlin.

The collection of Wagener, comprising some two hundred and fifty paintings of living masters, which he bequeathed to the King, and which the latter placed in the Academy building. was also visited. I enjoyed it more than the gallery of the Museum. Some of the very best modern painters are here represented, such as Begas, Hildebrandt, Meyerheim, the Schirmers, the Achenbachs, Cornelius, Hasenclever, Lessing, Sohn, Meyer of Bremen, Adam, Buerkel, Hess, Riedel, Rottmann, Rahl, Biermann, Gallait, Leys, Verboeckhoven, Gudin, Robert, Vernet, Calame, Schiavone, and Landseer. There is not one picture there which is not of the very best of these masters.

My time under the attentive guidance of Kreismann was well spent in Berlin. As an instance of American business mania, I may say that quite early one morning when I was just dressing a waiter handed me a card with the name of Cyrus McCormick of Chicago on it. I had never seen him before as I remembered. The portly gentleman came in. He had arrived late the night before, had seen my name in the register, and, as he was to be off for Brandenburg in an hour, he excused his early call, saying he could not leave Berlin

without paying his regards to me, as I had given good recommendations to his agents at Madrid. I asked him whether he had been in Berlin before, and he said he had not. I pressed him to stay, saying that there were some very fine things to be seen, and that I had a carriage at my disposal and would take pleasure in driving him around. But he would not listen to my invitation. "Business before pleasure," he said, and so he left for Brandenburg, where I believe a local fair was going on. I became in later years very well acquainted with the millionaire and his handsome wife, and spent many hours at his house. I do not believe, however, that he enjoyed his fortune very much. I never heard him talk about anything else but business matters and local politics.

On comparing notes with Mr. Kreismann I found that the living at Berlin at that time of a foreign minister was at least one-third cheaper than at Madrid. Rents, wages, horses, carriages, all kinds of provisions, theatres, and concerts cost in Prussian dollars what it cost in Madrid in gold dollars. In many articles the difference was still greater, as in dress. Yet our government makes no difference in the respective salaries. Vienna, Mr. Kreismann said, was still cheaper. The inadequate salary of our ministers is the reason that of late years successful merchants, owners of mines, rich newspaper-publishers, in other words, men of great wealth only are generally sent on foreign missions whether they are specially qualified or not. Most of them to my certain knowledge cannot speak any other language than their own, and their popularity abroad is purchased by giving elegant and costly dinners and balls.

DRESDEN

Dresden surpassed my expectation. The charming situation, the many fine churches and other public buildings, the museum and the theatre, both magnificent creations of the brother of my friend Semper whom I lost at Jena, the enchanting promenade, the noble broad river make it a most delightful place of residence. Most of the three days I spent in the

Museum of Statuary and Pictures. The Dresden Gallery is world-renowned. The Sistine Madonna occupies a small salon by herself. The first time I looked upon it I was almost moved to tears. For an hour or so I sat on the divan opposite the picture. What detracts from it is the ravishing beauty of Santa Barbara at her feet, rivaling the beauty of the Madonna even. Pope Sixtus adoring her on his knees is one of the finest pictures Raphael ever painted. The Virgin here appears as the queen of heaven with the child in her arms, descending from heaven as a full Italian beauty. The child is not the best of Raphael's children, and the coloring in the immense tableau is not as harmonious as it might be. The red tunics and the dark blue cloak contrast too much with the green drapery on the upper part of the picture. Yet take it all in all, the Sistine Madonna is certainly one of the greatest masterpieces of the divine Raphael.

At the opposite end of the vast building is another smaller salon, almost exclusively devoted to the younger Holbein's Madonna, adored by the family of Burgomaster Meyer of Basle. It is what is called a votive picture. If the Sistina is a revelation of southern, Holbein's Virgin is a revelation of German beauty. With blue eyes, and the fairest complexion,—the very picture of sweetness and innocence,—she stands erect with a quite realistic child in her arms, accepting the pious thanks of a family whose child has recovered from a deadly sickness through her supposed intervention. In its way this picture is as precious a treasure as the Sistina.

And yet Murillo's Madonna in the Madrid Gallery, the one surrounded by a crowd of people, young and old, rich and poor, and before which one or more copyists are always busy, appears to me not only equal but superior to the two Dresden Madonnas. Count Schack, himself the possessor of a very select picture-gallery at Munich, and who, from repeated visits, is familiar with all the picture-galleries of the continent of Europe, speaks in his late work, "A Half Century," of the Madonna of Madrid in this wise:

"In this picture of the Conception, Murillo has left beneath him the nether world and draws us up to a region to which only Raphael's Sistina has risen. The latter, it is true, appears as the queen of heaven, the one of Murillo as the timid Virgin Maria, just budding into womanhood, finding herself transported into another world. Standing on a half moon and surrounded by a jubilant crowd of angels, she feels herself enveloped by sheets of light of a higher world. The finite has sunk into depth beneath her; eternity opens above her; and out of the full light, blinding mortal eyes, emerge new angelic faces to the infinite. Murillo has painted this subject repeatedly, but the picture in Madrid appears to me the most beautiful, and it is certainly one of the highest wonders of art. The one which formerly belonged to Marshal Soult and is now in the Louvre, may be of more picturesque effect, but in spiritual conception it is far below the Madrid one."

In the Holbein salon is also a splendid portrait by the same master and also a few paintings of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden of very great merit.

I need not speak of Correggio's "Night" (Adoration of the Shepherds), his "Penitent Magdalene," now doubted, of Van Dyke's "David," of Titian's "Christ de la Moneta," and of the "Christ with a Crown of Thorns" by Guido Reni. They have been copied and reproduced a hundred times. By a sale of the pictures of the gallery of Louis Philippe, the Dresden Museum has come into possession of some Spanish pieces. Of the two Murillos, one, San Rodriguez, may be genuine; the other, the Virgin and Child, is at best a bad copy. There are Riberas, replicas or copies merely, as I believe; from Velasquez, there is a splendid portrait of the Conde de Olivarez, a replica, from Madrid. One Alonzo Cano and one Zurbaran are of no importance.

Taken altogether, the Dresden gallery with its two thousand paintings is unquestionably the best in North Germany, and in its Raphael and Holbein Madonnas equal to the Louvre. In what is called the Green Vault, which, on account of its very precious stones, glasses, china, pottery and other curiosities, is even more patronized by the multitude than the

gallery of statuary and pictures, I lost but little time. Interesting to me was a pistol more than a hundred years old with three revolving barrels, which no doubt was known to our Colt, who passes for the inventor.

LEIPSIC

From Dresden to Leipsic there is quite pleasing scenery. Perhaps no city has so rapidly improved since I was there last in 1833. It had in 1863 nearly doubled its population. New streets, new squares, and new promenades met me everywhere. I visited all the old places where I had so often enjoyed myself during my repeated visits while a Jena student.

The City Museum in the great Augustus Place is one of the most tasteful and imposing buildings, and contains some three hundred pictures of old and modern masters. It contains three or five Rembrandt portraits, one original Bellini, two Murillos, probably good copies only, fine landscapes of Calame, and many pictures of the new French school. It is, in fact, a very good collection, which by this time has undoubtedly been made much richer.

I was very sorry that my arrangements compelled me to leave this most agreeable place just at the beginning of the great General Turner Festival, for which the city had already decorated herself. The public buildings and most all of the houses in the principal streets had raised the old German flag —black, red, and gold,—so long persecuted by the German Diet and the State governments. Triumphal arches had been erected in the principal thoroughfares. Festoons of evergreen and oak-leaves fringed the windows or were drawn across the streets. It was a beautiful sight indeed. The evening before my departure I went out to the festival hall, an immense building, also appropriately flagged and decorated. In going to the Frankfort railroad station I met numerous processions of Turners who had just come in by rail. It was afterwards stated that more than ten thousand Turners from all parts of Germany, from the extreme south and the extreme north, marched here in the procession.

Courtly historians and other monarchists, statesmen, and politicians have been very active in depreciating the many meetings of the German riflemen, singing societies and Turners and in representing them as having been of no consequence whatever toward establishing German unity. It was Bismarck and Emperor William, they said, to whom alone Germany is indebted for its present greatness. If Bismarck was even a much greater man than he is, he could never have succeeded in carrying out his plans to place Prussia at the head of Germany and incidentally in constructing the new empire, had he not found the field well prepared for it. The aspirations of the young men of Germany towards the unity and greatness of the fatherland, never crushed out by the most tyrannical measures, sunk at last into the hearts of the people, made them willingly lay aside their State prejudices and to gather under one common banner. If public opinion had not been ripe for it, King William would never have dared to put the imperial crown on his head. As it was, he did it hesitatingly, not to say reluctantly.

SOUTHERN GERMANY, AND MUNICH AGAIN

Sophie and the children had been passing their time at Heidelberg, but had come down to Frankfort a day or two before I reached it, about the first of August. While I was absent they had visited Speyer and other places in the Rhenish Palatinate, Winnweiler and the home-place of Sophie, also Kreuznach and Bacharach. They concluded to stay some time longer in Germany, while I was desirous of visiting some of my friends in South Germany. In a couple of weeks Sophie and Augusta were to meet me at Berne. Pauline was to remain at Frankfort and Gustave at Heidelberg. It was hard for me to part with lovely Pauline at Frankfort.

From Heidelberg I went to Stuttgart, which I hardly recognized, so much had it grown in size and beauty. The park from the royal palace to Cannstadt is one of the finest I have ever seen. The museum and Danecker's atelier were of course visited, also the Cannstadt bath. Stuttgart has now

become a favorite place for Americans, and deservedly so; for a more lovely city, a more agreeable people, a more pleasing scenery can hardly be found anywhere. By Ulm and Augsburg I went to Munich where so many memorable recollections crowded upon my mind.

I put up at the new and very splendid Hotel of the Four Seasons in Maximilian Street. Julius Hilgard, son of Margaret Hilgard, who occupied an important office in the Bavarian railroad department, had received me at the depot and took me in charge during my stay at Munich. During the daytime he was mostly occupied, but during the evening he took me to some of the many pleasure-gardens, where people of all classes, from the ministers and high officials down to the clerks and mechanics, and even private soldiers, enjoy themselves, listening to fine music from the military bands and sipping the world-renowed Munich beer. A great many families take their suppers there regularly. Of course, wine and coffee and tea can also be had, but beer is the leading beverage. There are also more exclusive places of recreation, but when the beer is exceptionally good at one garden, all distinction of class and rank disappears. The excellence of the drink confers nobility on all comers.

I had intended to call on Gustave Hilgard, Sophie's cousin, and father of Henry Hilgard (Villard) one of the judges of cassation, the highest tribunal for the Rhenish Province of Bavaria, where the Code Napoleon still prevailed. But his state of health was such that he could receive no visitors; so I merely left my card. I had a pleasant visit from Doctor Schroeder, whose acquaintance I had made at Madrid and who had attended our family as a physician. He had come there with Prince Adalbert of Bavaria, who had spent the greater part of the winter before at Madrid with his wife, who was a sister of the King. Prince Adalbert, the youngest son of the poet-king, Louis I, was a remarkably fine-looking man of very pleasant manners. I was first introduced to him at a children's ball at the palace, and he took some interest in

me because I had been a student at Munich, and we had agreeable subjects in common to converse about. A few days afterwards, upon the invitation of the Queen, the diplomatic corps and their ladies were presented to Prince Adalbert and wife, a small, rather fleshy, but very amiable lady, at the palace. The Prince, having learned that Sophie was the daughter of a former officer of Bavaria, expressed his great pleasure at meeting her and had quite a long talk with her, asking how the new life in America had impressed the family in comparison with the former comfortable life in Germany, etc., etc. Amelia de Bourbon, his wife, had been well educated, and I found in the New Pinakothek, a landscape representing the village of Cravanchel near Madrid, painted by her in oil, of really great merit. The Prince resided at the time in Nymphenburg. The doctor had informed him of my presence, and so I received an invitation from the Prince to spend a day with him at Nymphenburg. It reached me, however, by some negligence on the part of the hotel-clerk, a day late, when I was getting into a carriage for the railroad-station bound for the West. I had hardly time to inform the Prince by a note of my inability to comply with his invitation.

That I improved the opportunity of revisiting the Glyptothek, containing the best collection of ancient statuary in Germany, and also the two splendid buildings to which the old picture-gallery had been removed, may well be imagined. The Munich Gallery is beyond question the finest in Germany, and in many respects surpasses the Louvre. The Rubens and Van Dyke collections, as those of the other great masters of the Flemish and Netherlandish schools, are in numbers almost equal to the Madrid collection of the same painters, though, as far as Rubens is concerned, not in quality. The Italians are well represented; it claims ten or twelve Raphaels, but none really can be counted among his masterpieces, with the exception of a splendid replica of the Madonna de la Sedia in Florence. There are some splendid Da Vincis, Del Sartos, a few Titians, and some by Veronese and Tintoretto. It has more Spanish pic-

tures than any other gallery outside of Spain; five Murillos, the celebrated "Beggar Boys" amongst them, and low-life genre pictures. It is very singular that all of Murillo's pictures of that sort can be found only outside of Spain. I never saw one there. The gallery is richer also in the old German masters than any other I have seen.

The New Pinakothek contains the works of modern painters, and interested and pleased me much. The most remarkable are those of Schorn, Piloti, Kaulbach, Achenbach, the two Adams, Overbeck, Rottmann, Riedel, Leys, Gallait, Schadow, Camphausen, Wilkie, Robert, Hasenclever, and Schnorr.

I had to be very industrious in order to visit all the places so dear to me from my former residence and the many new monuments and buildings which have made the old city a perfect art museum, such as the Ludwigskirche, the Church of Boniface, of the strictest Byzantine, and the Au Church in the Vorstadt Au, of the strictest Gothic order, the statue of Maximilian Emanuel, the Propylæa, a wonderful Greek structure near the Glyptothek, the colossal Bavaria and the Hall of Glories on the Theresia meadow, the exposition building, etc. I could not forbear to take a look at the old frowning "Frohnveste," where I had been imprisoned in 1831 for four months. Willingly would I have staid a few more days, but the appointment I had made with my family for a meeting at Berne called me away. While at Munich the heat during the daytime was excessive. The thermometer showed 34 degrees Celsius, nearly 94 degrees Fahrenheit. I astonished the people by using my umbrella as a parasol, a thing which appeared to be unknown there.

SWITZERLAND

Via Augsburg, the fertile plains of Lech and Iller, the most romantic and charming city of Kempten and the grand mountain scenery of the foothills of the Vorarlberg, I reached Lindau on Lake Constance. Lindau is built on a peninsula, and you have grand views of the Rhaetian Alps and over the beautiful lake, nearly as large as the Geneva Lake. Passing

a very pleasant evening promenading, and finding in the hotel sitting-room a highly intelligent set of ladies and gentlemen, with whom, stranger as I was, I felt very soon quite at home, I took next morning the steamer for Constance, on which also the company was very excellent, Germans, English and French. The weather was magnificent, the lake full of all kinds of watercraft, the views westward to the mountains of St. Gall and the Thurgau charming. At the hotel at Constance, brother-in-law Ledergerber was waiting for me, and after having visited the cathedral, the council-house and other memorable places in this most memorable old city, he took me out to his house in the country, a mile distant from the city but on Swiss territory, where I spent a few pleasant hours with him and his wife. His place is right near the lake and from it one has a fine view. The few acres around his house are laid out in a garden and very large orchards. Late in the evening I took a train through Schaffhausen to the little château of Laufen right on the falls of the Rhine. The hotel is small and not very well kept. But it is a most romantic spot. I was tired and went to bed, taking no look at the falls as there was no moonlight. But it took me some time to fall asleep. The falls being so close to the place, their roar sounded tremendously, and the house, though built of solid rock, was shaking all the time.

In the morning I went upon the platform below the hotel and at the foot of the falls, projecting some over the river. While of course neither the volume of the water, nor the height of the falls can be compared with the mighty Niagara, yet the country around it far surpasses it in beauty of scenery. I went up the river where, from a hotel built on a high plateau, one has a most interesting view of the falls, the river and the mountains.

Through Zürich, where I had a short interview with cousin Fred Hilgard at the railroad station, I reached Berne on the 14th of August and met Sophie and Augusta at the Berner Hof.

CHAPTER XLI.

Switzerland and France

From Berne we went to Interlaken, where we took lodgings at the Dependency of the "Jungfernblick," the hotel of that name not being yet finished; our dinners we took at the Pension Ober, the principal resort of the English. At the same Dependency we became acquainted with Mrs. Vogt, the mother of the celebrated natural scientist, Karl Vogt, and sister of Charles and Adolph Follenius. She was then about sixty-five years of age, but a woman of great vivacity and of high intellect. We made several excursions with her, one to Grindelwald, where we visited the lower glacier, which we had not seen on our first visit. A day or two after we came to Interlaken, our Gustave arrived in company with Max Costenoble, a distant cousin and his university friend, a very quiet, amiable young man, whose death at Gravelotte in the Franco-Prussian war as an ensign in the guards we much regretted. We made an excursion to Lauterbrunnen near the Staubbach, where we also met Max Costenoble's father and his two daughters. Mr. Costenoble was privy councillor in the ministry of foreign affairs, and afterwards reporting councillor in the same department under Bismarck. Max was his only son.

INTERLAKEN

Sophie, Augusta and myself ascended a comparatively new tourist point,—Mürren, just above the Staubbach and right opposite the Jungfrau. Mürren is about two thousand five hundred feet above Lauterbrunnen, and it takes nearly three hours to reach the top where the hotel is. The road has some quite ugly places and is very steep. About half way up,

where the path was no more than six feet wide, with a cliff on one side and on the other an abyss of several hundred feet, Sophie met with an accident which might have become fatal. The girth of her saddle broke, and she slid down; but the guide was at her horse's head, and I was walking close behind leading my horse; so we caught her in our arms before she fell to the ground. She was, however, not in the least alarmed, and after we had again made the saddle secure, she at once mounted her horse and went bravely on.

We reached the hotel about dinner-time. The view of the Jungfrau and some of the adjoining giants was enchanting. There is no use trying to describe such scenery. A half a dozen avalanches came thundering down. Some we saw, others we only heard. The noise was like the report of a big Krupp gun. Coming down, the steepness of the road compelled us to walk most of the way. We were pretty well worn out when we reached our carriage at Lauterbrunnen.

Gustave and Augusta went up to the Schynige Platte, a celebrated place for a vista. It is about 6,000 feet above the sea. Another time, they, in company with some of the guests in our Dependency, ascended the Faulhorn, 8,500 feet high. It takes one, from Grindelwald, some four hours to reach the highest peak.

Both here and elsewhere Gustave and Augusta proved excellent mountaineers. While they were out two days on the Faulhorn tour, which they found most enjoyable, there being hardly any other place in Switzerland where such a vast panorama of mountains and lakes presents itself to the tourist, Sophie and I went in an open carriage to Spiez, a village on the lake of Thun, some eight or ten miles from Interlaken. The village itself lies on the small bay in the lake, but the road leading to Thun, and where the hotel is situated, was on a high hill near the village. We had a fine view to the southwest of a part of the Berner Alps we had not seen heretofore, the Bluemli's Alps and the Doldenhorn, and right before us the lake and the Stockhorn. At the hotel where we

dined we found a Spanish party, a lady with her daughter and her two sons, the only Spaniards we met on our travels outside of Spain. It really did us good to hear again the "lengua castellana" spoken. The young people spoke some French, and so we could carry on a conversation. They seemed to be equally glad to have met people who had just come from Madrid. They were delighted with the country, and particularly with Germany, where they had spent some months. Instead of returning by land we took the evening steamer going from Thun to Neuhaus, the landing place for Interlaken. An excursion to the Giessbach was a matter of course. It is a most charming place. The falls of the brook are 1,100 feet high. At night during the height of the season they are lighted up by Bengal fires, changing from white to red and from red to blue. This is a brilliant sight, but still I preferred to look at them in the daytime, when they are partly darkened by the shade of the forest trees and then again illuminated by the beams of the sun.

The hotel, about three hundred feet above the lake on a terrace, is not as splendid as the vast caravansaries in Berne or Lucerne, but is exceedingly well kept. The waiters are all young and respectable girls of middle-class families, who spend a couple of months there to earn some money for the support of their parents and also perhaps for their health. Mrs. Englemann, of Berlin, and her daughter, cousins of Sophie, who had been staying at the hotel for several seasons, and whom we met here this time, told us that these girls were real angels, handsome, and well educated, and above all, of the most irreproachable behavior. When several years afterwards we were traveling in the Green and White Mountains, we found at all summer resorts young men as waiters, and were told that they spent their vacations in the same way as the German girls, (they were not Swiss,) at Giessbach.

On our return from the Giessbach, which is at the upper end of the lake of Brienz, we had a real storm, not in a tea-pot. Our steamer was quite a small affair and rather shaky.

It was crowded, and when we left the Giessbach landing to return to Interlaken, the weather was beautiful,—a little too hot perhaps. When about half way, all at once a dark cloud loomed up, and in a few minutes a howling wind arose, followed by a tremendous shower and thunder-storm of considerable size. Lightning and thunder-claps were simultaneous. The many passengers all fled down into the little cabin. I found it so suffocatingly hot there that I took my big traveling plaid, wrapped myself in it and went on deck again. I declare I was a little alarmed, for the pilot looked greatly scared. The waves began to rise threateningly and swept over the deck. In all the guide-books these tempests are represented as not without danger. Fortunately, such storms frequently pass over as quickly as they come, and this one did not last long enough to raise the waves very high, so that our boat weathered the storm. The peals of thunder reverberating in the high steep mountains around the lake had frightened the company below very much, and we all breathed more freely when the sun came out again, and before we reached Interlaken, the lake became as smooth as it was in the morning. Take it all in all, Interlaken appears to me to be the most delightful spot in Switzerland to pass the late summer months. Situated between the two lakes of Brienz and Thun in a valley about three miles long and of an average width of one and one half miles, and through which the quiet running silvery Aar rushes, surrounded by mountains which leave, however, to the south a large opening through which you have enchanting views of the Jungfrau and the Silverhorn, it presents at the same time all the pleasures and comforts of a fashionable watering-place. On the north side of the valley right under the steep cliff of the Harder Mountain stretches a long line of hotels, pensions, stores, and reading-rooms, called the Hoehenweg, which wide street is shaded by a double row of chestnut trees. Near Lake Brienz are two ancient monasteries, one of which was once peopled with nuns, and the other with monks, both connected together by a covered way.

Near the promenades are the little Rugen 2,500 feet above the valley, covered with a variety of all forest trees indigenous to Switzerland, and the great Rugen some 3,000 feet high, covered with a majestic forest, from which a great part of the Berner Alps are visible. The Harder on the opposite side of the river also gives you a fine prospect of the lakes and the Jungfrau. There are within a few hours' drive the celebrated Lütschine valleys, one leading to Grindelwald with its glaciers, and the other to the Lauterbrunner Thal with the Staubbach falls. An hour or two of steamboating takes you to Giessbach on Lake Brienz or to Thun on the Thunder Lake. Members of the Alpine Club, or as they say in Vienna, "Bergfexen," have the Faulhorn, the Jungfrau, the Monk and other giants not far off.

THE VALLEY OF THE AAR AND ST. GOTTHARD

These few weeks passed at Interlaken were marked in our memories with a double red letter. About the first of September we started on another tour, following in the tracks of Goethe in one of his Switzerland travels, where he took those notes of the country which Schiller in his "Tell" has worked up so truthfully and so beautifully. We made this excursion just before the carriage road through the greater part of the country through which we went was constructed. Now and then we met parties of surveyors, busy in locating the then contemplated macadamized road. By boat to Brienz, where we took a carriage, thence up the Aar River, and passing by Meiringen and Reichenbach and its waterfalls, we stopped at Inhoff, where the turnpike road ceased, and hired two guides and three mountain horses. It was quite a cavalcade. One guide ahead near Sophie's horse, then Augusta and a guide and then myself. The horses were laden also with our valises, shawls, and umbrellas. Gustave walked most of the time, sometimes he rode my horse. Francisco, an excellent mountain climber, was usually ahead. These horses are surefooted, hard in the mouth, and never can be got out of a walk. They take their own way, which is always on the "ragged edge" of

the mountain track. This is natural enough; for, as they are mostly used for carrying heavy loads over these small bridle-paths winding around the rocks of the mountains, their loads would otherwise frequently rub against the rocky sides and push them over the precipice.

The Aar valley, called the Hasli, becomes constantly more narrow. The ride, for miles along the banks of the Aar, roaring beneath you, on a path leaving but a few feet between the rocky walls of the mountain and the precipice hundreds of feet deep, with the road going up and down and winding in sharp curves around the mountain sides, required a good deal of nerve. These curves are most dangerous places and are now and then guarded by poor railings on the brink of the abyss. These were, when we passed, nearly all broken down, pointing out the danger, but failing to protect you against it. Late in the evening we got to Guttannen, and stopped at the only inn in the village, a wooden, barnlike house. But being very tired I slept well and soundly, and woke up pretty late to find a big fog settled in the valley. Our principal guide thought that the weather would turn out bad, and we might find snow and ice ahead of us. As we had to travel up the Grimsel Pass and the Furka, more than seven thousand feet high, on very narrow winding mountain tracks, I had come to the conclusion we had better return; but seeing the disappointed looks of the children and Sophie rather encouraging me to go on, we started, and the skies apparently cleared up. But hardly had we gone half way to Handeck, when the rain poured down. To return, however, would have been out of the question. Our horses had a hard time. Making three steps, they would slip back one on the steep, rocky wet ground. Many places could not have been passed at all, had not the granite rock been made uneven by the hand of man, small furrows having been cut into the hard rock. Innumerable waterfalls, perennial or improvised by the rain, dashed down from the mountain heights on each side of the Aar. The thundering sound of the falls announced to us that Handeck was

near. Rain and fog prevented us from seeing the falls below; so we rode up to the inn. It was originally nothing but a "Sennhuette," to which, however, for the accommodation of tourists, a log kitchen and a dining room had been added. The dining room, which was at the same time the sitting and at night the bedroom, was very low and furnished with rough tables and benches. The smoke and the steam from the kitchen where the brave Helvetian guides of other parties and of our own had gathered, perfumed with the flavors of Swiss country wine, of cheese and indigenous tobacco, penetrated the dining room and would have made the atmosphere unbearable, had not the odor of a large quantity of coffee being roasted at the kitchen range somewhat improved it.

In the sitting room we found a party of English, male and female, some German students and some French travelers, probably students too, who had, however, kept up such a continuous laughing, singing and chattering as to make themselves rather unpleasant. A German painter made this "Sennhuette" his studio for some time, and his portfolio was well filled with sketches of Alpine scenery. A Swiss woodcarver had also a little shop in one corner, and sold really pretty carved work at half the price they asked at the big places. Some people who had arrived before us, afraid of pursuing their route under such depressing circumstances, turned back, while others had come from the Grimsel. As they had got through, we concluded we might as well try it.

Our dinner was boiled potatoes and a sort of mutton stew. As the bread and cheese were fine and our appetites keen, we enjoyed our meal better than any dinner in the hotels. In the meantime the rain had somewhat abated, and a sharp thunderstorm had set in. And now to the falls! About half a mile's walk took us to the bridge which spans the Aar just above its great falls. Almost stunned by the mighty roar of the waters we looked back from the little bridge towards the upper rapids. Some distance above the bridge the powerful mountain stream raises itself up, whips

itself into a rage and rushing down over the huge rocks before it reaches the edge of the basin, dashes down headlong some several hundred feet deep into the dark abyss, where it boils and foams, and springs up again forming a dust-like cloud. And while it makes this terrific leap another large brook dashing down from a tremendous height on the left, strikes the large fall about midway with great force. This clashing of the water spirits makes the noise still more deafening.

The Aar, like all glacier-streams, has a yellowish white color, while the Ärlenbach which strikes it is clear and transparent. And this wild marriage of waters culminates in a valley which in ruggedness and steepness has hardly an equal, and over which in the distance rise the many pointed peaks of the Grimsel and the awe-inspiring horns of the Finster-Aarhorn. The Handeck falls is considered one of the finest and most picturesque in all Switzerland.

From the Handeck to the Grimsel hospitz the road becomes still more perilous. We passed several places which in the guide-book were pointed out as dangerous, and where as usual the railings on the sides of the vertical slopes were broken down. Indeed, I frequently dismounted, walking close to the mountain side. I am not inclined to giddiness; but as the horses took always the verge of the road, I felt some considerable anxiety at these risky places where one has to look down several hundred feet into a roaring river. The two guides kept close to the ladies, watching the horses. The higher we got, the more desolate and barren the country looked. No trees any more, hardly any vegetation,—nothing but immense granite boulders, or now and then stretches of loose gravel which gave way under the horses' feet.

The highest of the Berner Alps, the snow crowned Finster-Aarhorn (13,200 feet) loomed up to our right towards evening; and when we got near the hospitz,, 7,000 feet high, the air became piercingly cold. We were glad to reach the old hospital turned into an inn, but very much crowded.

Owing to the unfavorable weather during the greater part of the day, many of the parties going either east or west had stopped there, and the new arrivals had filled the place to overflowing. Yet we got some of the very small rooms for our party.

After having warmed ourselves we looked around the place. Close to it is the lake, called the Lake of the Dead (Todtensee), of a dark, inkish color. Going on a rise behind the hotel we had the Finster-Aarhorn and its glaciers in full view. A more godforsaken, weird locality than the one where the hospitz stands, I have never seen before, nor since, even in the Rocky Mountains.

Next morning early we mounted the height of the pass, which is about 1,000 feet higher than the hospitz, and then descended the much celebrated Maienwand. It slopes down to the south, and is covered with Alpine roses, many other flowers and some meadow. It is so steep that riding is out of the question, and without our tall alpine staffs, we could never have ventured to descend. Before us rose the most glorious glacier of all Europe, the Rhône glacier, filling up the valley between two mountains over a thousand feet high and occupying a space of more than twenty miles in length, and at the bottom several miles in width.

The sun shone brightly, and this mass of ice looking like a frozen river coming down from a height of about 5,000 feet presents a view which it would be an idle task to describe. Out of this crystal mass issues a small stream, the Rhône. Down in the valley we reached a new and good hotel on the banks of the Rhône, where there is a streamlet only. In my younger days I could have vaulted over it. We took some refreshments, and then, leaving the glacier to our left, began the ascent of the Furka. The bridle-path is tolerably good, and has but a few ugly places, but is very steep. It took us nearly two hours to go to the Furka pass. Gustave and our Galician Francisco, though excellent mountain climbers, felt somewhat exhausted when about noon we reached the small

inn on top of the pass, 7,419 feet high. We all needed rest. The Furka is one of the branches of the very complicated St. Gotthard mountains. The Rhône seeks its outlet in the Mediterranean. From the Furka down we enter the valley of the Reuss, which, emptying into the Rhine, flows into the German Ocean.

On the east branch of the Gotthard rises the Inn, which, issuing into the Danube, flows into the Black Sea, and the rivers from its southern slope finally lose themselves in the Adriatic. The ride down through the Reuss valley was delightful. Although there are no large trees, yet there are bushes, large meadows and farther down in the valley even some fields. The Reuss is also a glacier-stream, and we had to cross it repeatedly. At last we saw the villages of Hospenthal and Andermatt at our feet on the broad macadamized road leading up the St. Gotthard. I confess I was glad to get away from these mountain-paths and down from those stiff-necked, hard-mouthed mountain horses that have lost all spring and are more like iron machines than animals. Francisco, when he saw the white broad road glittering before him, made a jump and hallooed, "Miran, el camino real!"

In a very excellent hotel we stayed over night at Hospenthal. Sitting on the veranda some two or three stages full of passengers passed by on the Gotthard road bound for Italy. How we envied those travelers! In a day we should have been in the land,

> "Wo die Citronen blueh'n,
> Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-Orangen glueh'n."

But it was not to be! Many beautiful sights awaited us on our tour. We hired an open barouche and three horses, and early next morning followed the course of the Reuss, which has here become a considerable stream. We soon entered the most picturesque and romantic of mountain-gorges, passed a small tunnel called the "Urner Hole," came to the much-renowned Devil's Bridge, under which the Reuss has a fall of nearly a hundred feet, and stopped some time at Goesch-

enen near the Devil's Rock, where now the great tunnel through the St. Gotthard begins. The valley becomes more open and becomes well settled. The road is lined with tall fruit trees. We now come to the country of Tell. In a side valley called Schächenthal lies Buerglen, the reputed birthplace of the mythical hero. A few miles further on is the town of Altdorf, where he made his masterly shot. A colossal statue of Tell stands at the place where the event is said to have happened. We got out and went to see it. From an artistic point of view it is a big failure. But thousands of people look at it with enthusiasm. Then to Flüelen on the Lake of Lucerne (Vierwaldstaedter See), where we came just in time to make connections with the steamer for Lucerne. On the banks of the lake are several memorable places where Tell has cut a figure. This region from the Schächenthal on to Flüelen and over the lakes by the Rütli to Küssnacht and Tell's Chapel has been immortalized by Schiller, to whom the Swiss erected a monument on the lake a few years ago,—a rather late recognition of the halo which the great poet has thrown around these forest cantons. This legend of Tell proves true one of Schiller's beautiful verses:

"Ewig jung bleibt nur die Phantasie:
Was sich nie und nirgends hat begeben,
Das allein veraltet nie."

Augusta and Gustave left us somewhere on the banks of the lake to ascend the Rigi, where Augusta had not been before, joining us the next day at the Schweitzerhof in Lucerne. Sophie and I contented ourselves with visiting a very fine panorama of the Rigi. We had got a little tired of mountaineering. Sophie would have gone with the children; for she was always enterprising. She was most fond of traveling, particularly on the water. Rivers, lakes and ocean had a magical charm for her. From Lucerne by Sarnen and Lungern over the charming Brünig route on the 6th of September we came back to Interlaken, packed our trunks and bade farewell to the lovely place.

My leave of absence was about expiring, and I had soon to start for Madrid. The presence of my family was not required there. Besides, we had not, when we left, engaged a house to reside in. We concluded, therefore, that Sophie and Augusta should pass the autumn months at Lake Geneva, as this was just the right season to enjoy the upper part of it, which in summer is almost too hot, but in fall is the very spot sought by those seeking health and pleasure.

We at first intended to select Vevey for our stopping place; but learning at Lausanne that the better hotels there were overflowing with people, we went by Vevey and Clarens to Montreux, where we found suitable rooms at the Hôtel des Alpes near the lake and not far from the railroad station, Territet. The views from the garden of the hotel were enchanting. To the left the Castle of Chillon, which we visited, and Villeneuve, where the Rhône enters the lake; opposite the Savoyan snow-capped Alps and the Dent du Midi. As Schiller has glorified the valley of the Reuss and the Vierwaldstaedter See, so has the genius of Rousseau canonized the borders of Lake Leman from Lausanne to Villeneuve by his "Nouvelle Héloise." It was hard for me to leave this fascinating region. After a stay of three days I left Sophie, Augusta and Gustave, whose lectures did not commence at Heidelberg until late in September. On the 11th of September, I found myself at Lyons again, took the train down the Rhône valley where I had a front coupé, with all the windows entirely to myself, and could view the magnificent scenery much better than on my former trips. At Nîmes I stopped over for a night and a day.

NIMES

The country immediately surrounding Nîmes is a rolling plain on which nothing but grape-vines and olives are grown. When in my young days I heard of the lands of the olive and the vine, I thought of them as an earthly paradise. The fact is they thrive best on poor, sterile, brown soil where all other vegetables cannot live. The grape-vine is cut near to the

ground and looks, after the vintage is over, like the dead trunks of a cabbage-field in winter. The leaves of the olive are gray and cadaverous. A willow in the moonlight looks exactly like an olive tree. I forgot to mention the mulberries, which are frequent in the Provence. They are fine trees, but after they are stripped of their leaves, which is done every year, they present anything but a fine appearance, and look like so many scare-crows.

But Nîmes itself is one of the most beautiful and interesting cities. There is the Amphitheatre, one of the best preserved colossal structures of the ancient Roman empire. Except in Rome, nothing like it remains extant. The particulars of this wonderful monument, built of immense blocks of stone, without mortar or cement, may be learned from the guide-books and encyclopaedias. I walked partly around the top seats, some two hundred feet high, and felt rather giddy; but the prospect is of surpassing beauty. The finely built city with its boulevards and esplanades lies right before you. Towards the south is an immense plain,—towards the east we see the course of the Rhône from Avignon down to Arles; farther east rises the isolated mountain Ventoux near Vaucluse, and in the distance the Alps. In the north the view is confined by the Cévennes, and towards the northeast by the mountains of the Hérault. When the weather is quite clear one sees towards the southwest Aigues-Mortes on the Mediterranean.

The Maison Carrée in the middle of the city, an ancient temple, or, as contended by some, a forum, is another great sight. In my "Aus Spanien," I said of it:

"Connoisseurs and ordinary observers are equally attracted by the building. This is a secret, but does certainly point to the craving of every human soul for harmony. We have something within us which is not taught us, but is innate, whether we call it the sense of beauty or something else, which is the standard by which we measure everything which falls within our perception and which makes the objects of our perception appear either beautiful or the reverse of beau-

tiful according as it harmonizes or fails to harmonize with this standard. The style is pure Corinthian. Thirty magnificent graceful columns support the roof, ten of which project forward from the portico. It is a parallelogram of the most magnificent proportions.

"It is now used as a museum, containing a picture-gallery and a large collection of Roman antiquities, votive tablets, torsos of statues, sarcophaguses, gathered together from the many ruined temples, baths and burial places found in the neighborhood.

"Some very valuable pictures are in the gallery; amongst others, the very celebrated one of Delaroche, 'Cromwell at the Open Coffin of Charles I.' The drawing and coloring are excellent, but the idea is somewhat far-fetched, and Cromwell in my opinion misconceived. The French love of antithesis is here apparent. Charles's face, even in death, shows nobleness and high breeding, which is right enough; but it is not necessary, in order to show the contrast, to represent Cromwell as a rude trooper thoroughly vulgar in his features, figure and carriage. And this the painter has done and has spoiled the whole, to me at least. As one of the pearls of the collection is considered the great tableau of Sigalon, (I believe, a native of Nîmes,) representing a slave dying from having become poisoned by Locusta, a celebrated magicienne of the time of Nero. It is terribly realistic, though painted in the classical period of David. The expiring slave is a true pathological representation of one dying of cholera. It is a very powerful picture, and very impressive, but the impression is sickening, not to say disgusting."

A very beautiful avenue in the middle of the city leads to the "Garden of the Fount," a spring which for its purity and health-giving qualities was renowned before the Romans occupied Gaul. A short distance from the spring and the adjoining Roman baths are the ruins of the Temple of Diana, which still show the beauty and grace of the structure. Around it lie hundreds of broken pillars and statues, some of which are of superior beauty.

This temple is flanked by a hill laid out as a landscape promenade, and on top of it is the "Tour Magne," a colossal quadrangular tower built by the Romans, probably as a look-out. I went up on it, and obtained a view still vaster than

that from the topmost wall of the amphitheatre. Unfortunately, I could not spare time to visit Montpellier, which can be seen at a distance from the railroad depot. From all descriptions it must be one of the most interesting places in the Provence. It is said to have in its museum one of the finest collections of paintings. I examined the catalogue and regretted not being able to visit it.

Perpignan was reached late in the evening. The places in the stage for the next morning had all been taken, so I had to wait for the evening coach. I took a look at this old renowned place, visited the cathedral, the museum, the fine park, or rather, Alameda, for Perpignan is more Spanish than French. It is a strong fortress with a large citadel on a high hill. Without having any permit I went up, and to my surprise was admitted within its walls without any hindrance. The view from this citadel is a splendid one. To the south and the southwest the eye wanders over the Mediterranean, and the well-known gulf of Lyons. Towards the east are the hills of the Hérault, and towards the north and west the wild fantastic forms of the Pyrenees tower up.

From Perpignan in a much crowded stage-coach we ascended the pass over the Eastern Pyrenees at the fortress of Bellegarde, the frontier between France and Spain, passing by Figueras, a Spanish fortress, to Gerona, and reached Barcelona about noon the next day.

A PARADE IN BARCELONA

After dinner I had just laid myself on a sofa to rest from the fatigue of the terrible night I had just passed in the stage when the clanging sounds of military bands broke my half slumber. There was a great parade passing in the Rambla, where my hotel was situated, in honor of the news received from Madrid, announcing a probable increase of the royal family. Such a thing outside of Spain could never have been made the occasion of a public festivity. But the Spaniards are a very realistic people in some respects, and have no idea

of prudery. They call everything by its true name and find nature perfectly natural. I could give the most astonishing instances of their plain-speaking even amongst the best bred and perfectly pure ladies.

This parade again showed the splendor and pomp of Spanish uniforms and military equipment. The line reached from the Gate of Peace to the harbor at the opposite end of this noble avenue, which is about a mile and a half long. At the head stood some battalions of infantry, then came three or four battalions of the popular riflemen, then four field-batteries and one mountain howitzer-battery. A regiment of hussars in rich and tasteful dress closed the line. The commanding general with a full staff and escort rode down the line at a slow pace, returned at full speed, and the troops then defiled before him in company-columns. The mountain-battery interested me much, for I had seen nothing like it before. One mule carried the small howitzer on his back, another the gun-carriage, another the wheels, and still another the ammunition box. Every mule was led by an artillery man, also mounted on a mule. The mobility and the *élan* of Spanish soldiers is admirable. They march generally at quick-step. Every battalion has a large band. The French appear quite steady compared with these gay and nimble fellows. I take the Spanish infantry, particularly the riflemen, for the best infantry in the world, when well led. Very temperate, used to no comforts, indefatigable walkers, they must form excellent light troops. The uniforms and armaments of all the troops are rich and of good material,—no shoddy cloth, no iron sabres, no stiff, heavy caps. A cadet or second lieutenant carries a finer sword than a Russian colonel, and Prussian lieutenants of the Guard would die of envy at the slender natural waists of the young Spanish officers.

Conversing, many years later, at Manitou, Colorado, with General Grant about his late visit to Spain, the General expressed the same opinion regarding the Spanish troops as I had done in my book "Aus Spanien." He said they were

the finest material, particularly for light infantry, he had ever seen. As he had attended not only parades but field-manœuvres on a large scale while the guest of King Alfonso, his judgment is certainly of great weight.

The parade over, I had just time to make the train for Saragossa and Madrid. About noon the next day at Alazon, where the railroad from Pampeluna strikes the Barcelona and Madrid road, I met Mr. Barrot, just from Paris, where he had spent his vacation. At seeing him I was sorrowfully reminded of the ending of my own leave of absence. The fair, free leisure-time had passed away, wherein for three months I had lived without restraint, following my own inclinations. I felt pretty much as I used to, when, as a boy, I had to wend my way to the dark school-rooms again after a couple of weeks of holidays.

CHAPTER XLII.

Diplomatic Life at the Court of Madrid

On the 16th of September I put up at my provisional stopping-place, the Hôtel de los Principes, Puerta del Sol. Now began another tedious and long-continued search for a residence. At last I succeeded in getting the *belle étage* of a large new house with a marble front and a marble staircase of vast dimensions at the corner of the Calle de Flora and the Placuela de Santa Maria, not far from the Plaza Oriental and the Palace. Thomas and the French cook at once entered my service again, being very glad at my return. A chambermaid, Sophie was to bring along from French Switzerland. Francisco and Thomas attended to the removal of our things. The same coachman and lackey, though with a new coach and horses, attended our establishment. The house was roomy enough for the whole legation, which was another great advantage of this change of location. I at once found myself in the midst of business. The question of maritime jurisdiction, to be settled by a convention, had met with new difficulties. I found that some of the Spanish papers containing charges against our government as having instigated the insurrection in Santo Domingo against the newly established Spanish government, had made an unfavorable impression upon government circles. I was soon able to trace these reports to French papers, writing in the interest of the Emperor. I at once called upon Señor Miraflores, stating that I had no instructions on this matter, but that I would take it upon myself to denounce these insinuations as utterly false, and that they originated in Paris with a view to creating an ill feeling in Spain against us, and that even as a matter of policy we

should not be likely to adopt a hostile course towards Spain. He said that he was glad that I had brought the matter to his attention, that he had himself been somewhat alarmed about these reports and would have broached the subject to me, and that he was now satisfied that the charges were not true.

FRENCH INTRIGUES AGAINST THE UNION

I have already mentioned that when I first read in a Hamburg journal the telegram from Paris that Spain was about to recognize the Confederacy as an independent power, I had instructed Mr. Perry to call at once upon the minister of foreign affairs and to ask him categorically whether this was true or not, and that Mr. Perry had received the most satisfactory answer and had communicated it to Mr. Seward. From the tenor of some later despatches from Mr. Perry, treating the matter as more important than was at all necessary, Mr. Seward's mind seemed to be still disturbed, and I received a despatch directing me to point out the very serious consequences that might arise to Spain if she would take it upon herself to lead the way in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States. His arguments were very full and positive and amounted to more than a mere warning.

A year's experience had taught me that it was not always the best thing to follow instructions. Of course one ought not to act against them, though there may be occasions where, by a sudden change of circumstance unknown to the foreign office, even that might be necessary. So I did not communicate this despatch to the Marquis of Miraflores, but wrote to Mr. Seward as follows:

"The very valuable suggestions as to the probable consequences arising from acts of hostility committed by Spain towards us contained in your last despatch will be used by me in occasional conversations with the minister of state. In a very recent interview I had with that functionary, his assurances of friendship towards our government were so strong and his disavowal of any intention to recognize the South apparently so earnest that it would seem almost offensive at

the present time for me to open the subject again in any other manner than in a merely casual one."

I was very much surprised by Mr. Seward sending a copy of the despatch to Mr. Motley, our minister in Austria, October 9th, 1863. Mr. Motley had, like all true Americans, looked with alarm at the Mexican expedition of Maximilian of Austria, supported by the French government with a large army of Belgian and Austrian volunteers enlisted by Maximilian, and had proposed to Mr. Seward to ask explanations of the Austrian government in regard to this matter, referring to the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Seward, in his despatch to Mr. Motley, rather sharply directed him not to trouble himself about this Mexican business.

"France," said Mr. Seward, "has invaded Mexico, and war exists between the two countries. The United States hold in regard to these two states and their conflict the same principles that they hold in relation to all other nations and their mutual wars. They have neither a right nor any disposition to interfere by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to establish or maintain a monarchical or a republican government there, or to overthrow an imperial or foreign one, if Mexico shall choose to establish or accept it."

My surprise was not so much at this disavowal of the Monroe Doctrine, as it is commonly understood, for that common understanding has no justification in fact, (as will be seen from the construction that Mr. Adams, then secretary of state, and Mr. Calhoun, secretary of war under Monroe, have put upon it, and as Mr. Benton, in his "Abridgment of the Debates of Congress," has also construed it,) but that Mr. Seward should have communicated this letter to our minister to France and to me, since Spain had not only not encouraged the Archduke Maximilian to accept the imperial crown of Mexico, but, as was well known, was very much chagrined about it. If a kingdom was to be made of Mexico, she naturally, as she thought, should have had the privilege of furnishing one of her own princes. It might be said that Mr. Seward acted inconsistently, because when our war was over and we were able

to throw a half million veterans into Mexico, he forcibly complimented the French out of the country; but it may be replied that, while the so-called Monroe Doctrine never bound us to any action, it still left us free to act at any time, if the best interests of our country required it, in assisting any country of this continent in any war it might be engaged in. Such was the construction placed on Monroe's declaration by the cabinet of that President and by all those who really were familiar with the particular circumstances under which it was made.

If Mr. Seward thought that I would also busy myself in the Mexican imbroglio, as his communicating to me the despatch to Mr. Motley would indicate, he was very much mistaken; for when the Marquis of Miraflores showed great anxiety to know what our policy would be, as to this invasion of Mexico, as we must be very much interested in it, I had anticipated Mr. Seward by assuring the minister that, as far as I knew the views of our government, it was disposed to let matters there take their own course; that if, however, the government set up there should be used as an instrument to give support to the rebellion in our country, our course might be very much modified, as in such case we could hardly remain idle spectators.

Not long after my arrival at Madrid I became aware that my principal task would be to counteract the machinations of the French government, through which Spain was to be moved to adopt the unfriendly policy of the Emperor toward the United States. The Spanish people generally hate the French bitterly, and the Liberal parties in and out of the Cortes were particularly hostile to the French Emperor. Notwithstanding this, there was a very influential party favoring a close alliance with France, partly from interested motives, partly from fear of the Emperor, who just then seemed to be the acknowledged ruler of Europe. The most distinguished leaders of the army, O'Donnell, the two Conchas, Narvaez, and many others, were bearers of the Grand Cross of the Legion

of Honor and had been much flattered and cajoled by the Emperor when they visited Paris. Even General Prim, before he turned against the Emperor, (having found out the real plans of the Mexican expedition,) had been in high favor with Louis Napoleon. The Condesa de Montijo was the mother of the Empress, and she had a large circle of friends in Madrid. The Duke of Alba was Napoleon's brother-in-law. The first sub-secretary of state, a Biscayan, was thoroughly in the French interests, and was even charged with being in the pay of France. One of the most important banking-houses was the agent of the Rothschilds in Paris. The Parisian Crédit Mobilier and Crédit Foncier had branches in Madrid. The railroads had been built mostly with French capital, and their stock was held in France. Besides, nearly all the manufacturing establishments in Catalonia, and also in Madrid, were in the hands of French capitalists. The French embassy, with half a dozen secretaries of legation and attachés and its unlimited hospitality, naturally exercised a great influence.

To check this unfavorable and dangerous influence and to prevent its having any effect on the government, I labored to the best of my ability during my mission, devoting to it most of my time. It became evident soon after my return from Germany that Louis Napoleon was going to renew his efforts to gain over the Queen's government to his policy, more particularly as regarded the war with Mexico and the establishment of a monarchical government in that republic. I so informed Mr. Seward (Oct. 10th, 1863).

"The Emperor of France," I wrote, "is just at this time busily engaged in enlarging his influence in Spain. He and the Empress visited San Sebastian the other day, witnessing some manœuvres of Spanish troops, and expressed themselves in the most flattering manner as to their performance and particularly as to some light-infantry tactics said to have been invented by Gen. Manuel Concha, brother of the present minister of war. The Empress, instead of accompanying her husband back to Paris, has gone round by Cadiz, is visiting now Malaga and Alicante, and, it is said, will come to Madrid for the first time since her marriage. Now all this is signi-

ficant, and it can hardly be doubted that the object is to cajole Spain into an alliance with France in her Mexican policy, and into aid, if need be, in her aggressions against us."

VISIT OF THE EMPRESS EUGENIE TO MADRID

On the 20th of October Eugenie arrived in Madrid. She was received by the Queen with the utmost pomp and parade at the Atocha station. The people, however, showed great apathy, not a single "viva" being heard. When, during her stay, she rode out with the Queen and a splendid escort to the Retiro, there was here and there some hissing, and even "down with the French!" was heard. A great bull-fight, of which sight she used to be very fond, and which was to have been given in her honor, was countermanded, for the police had ascertained that there would be a hostile demonstration. It was said that the people were particularly offended because she had brought with her as a companion Princess Anna Murat, niece of King Murat, who had put down so cruelly the rising of the Madrid people in the French invasion of 1808. For three or four days there was a round of festivities at court, in which the diplomatic corps had to play its part.

The first of these festivities was a gala-representation at the Opera House. The royal box was filled with the Empress, Princess Murat, the Queen, the King, and all the royal infants; the other boxes of the first tier by the diplomatic corps, the ministers and other high officials, the marshals and generals; the boxes of the second tier by the staff-officers; and the orchestra seats and the parquet by the line-officers and the cadets. Of course, most of the invited guests had their ladies with them. It may be imagined what splendid toilettes, what oceans of pearls and diamonds were displayed on that evening. In Spain, as in Italy, the auditorium is often more interesting than the stage-performance. But while certainly a more magnificent gathering could hardly have been seen, yet the most exquisite opera of Rossini, "Semiramide," supported by one of the finest orchestras in the world, received the utmost attention. The sisters Marchesi, while by no means prepossess-

ing in their persons, sang the principal parts in so masterly a manner, that, though generally it is not allowed at such gala-representations, loud applause was raised, the Empress herself not being the last to join in the general enthusiasm. I had an entire box at my disposition. I was sorry that Sophie and Augusta were away. I took, however, my friends General Gaertner and his wife and Condesa Pomar and her husband, so that my box presented quite a respectable appearance, both ladies being very handsome and most tastefully dressed. The boxes are partitioned off, and, ours being near the royal one, I had no opportunity of seeing much of the Empress, catching only now and then a glimpse of her elegant coiffure.

But the next day, upon the invitation of M. Barrot, the diplomatic corps met at his salon, where we were personally to be presented to the Empress and to Princess Murat. We formed a circle and she entered in what is called morning-dress, which, however, suited her admirably. I was not without prejudice against her. I hated imperialism and all its concomitants. She certainly had come for the purpose of influencing the Queen, the court and the government, in favor of the Mexican intrigue. Besides, I had heard so much in Madrid, (of all places in the world where scandal is most rife and poisonous,) of her levity of conduct, that I thought I was fully proof against the fascination which she was so generally reputed to exercise. But when she went round the circle like a sylph; and when she spoke, (and spoke in *Spanish,*) and when her features lighted up, and her hands and fingers and fan and little feet kept harmonious motion with her tongue, I was taken captive. Yes, like Portia, "she was fair, and fairer than that word."

The same night a great banquet at the Palace took place. She beamed with beauty in her evening dress. I did not sit right opposite to her, for that was the place of the Queen, but I was near enough for close observation. My partner, the wife of the Portuguese minister, an English woman of the most highly respectable character, who had not seen her

for some years, said to me that the Empress was even more beautiful than before. She asked me with some degree of warmth: "Do you not think, Sir, she deserves a throne for her beauty?"

Perhaps for an Empress she did not appear quite dignified enough. Her evening-dress, wonderful as it was, showed perhaps something bordering on coquetry. As an Andalusian, as a woman and nothing else, she was the most perfect creature I have ever seen. That I may not be charged with having been seduced by her rank in praising Eugenie's beauty, I may refer to no less an authority than the very sedate, considerate, and unimpressionable Count Moltke. In a letter to a friend written from Paris, where he met the Empress a few years before I did, speaking of her, he says:

"At a dinner at the Tuileries I was placed opposite the Crown Prince (Frederick), who sat between the Emperor and the Empress. The person of the Empress is a surprise: neck and arms are of unsurpassable beauty; her figure is slender, her toilette exquisite, tasteful and rich without being overcharged. She wore a white satin dress of huge dimensions. In her hair she wore an ostrich-feather ornament, and around her neck a double string of splendid pearls. She talks much and with more vivacity than one is wont to find in such a high position."

Since writing this, I found, in a letter from Bismarck to his sister dated June 2nd, 1862, the following tribute to Eugenie's beauty: "The Empress is yet one of the most beautiful women whom I know, in spite of Petersburg. She has grown rather more beautiful during the last five years." Later on he writes: "Eugenie is as beautiful as ever, she is always amiable, and very gay."

In my "Aus Spanien," I have given quite a full description of her person and her toilette, in a letter to a lady friend.

The amusements wound up with a gorgeous ball at the Palace, where all the beauties of Madrid blazed forth in the greatest splendor. Princess Murat was also presented to us at the French Embassy. She was then about twenty years

old, a most lovely and fair girl, fresh as a rose and perfectly unaffected. When I complimented her on her excellent English she smiled and said: "Why, Sir, I was brought up in your country. I am a Jersey girl." A few years afterwards she was married to the Prince de Mouchy, a scion of one of the oldest houses of France, a descendant of the crusaders. Louis Napoleon tried very hard to connect his house with the old nobility. It was said that he and the Empress took great pains to bring this match about.

My interview with the Empress was rather longer and less formal than is usual on such occasions. In my report of it to Mr. Seward I said:

"The real object of her presence is much speculated upon. I am inclined to think that it was to open the way to a more cordial understanding of the two governments with a view particularly to Mexican affairs.

"In her conversation with me the Empress was as civil and amiable as could be desired. After the usual stereotyped phrases of courtesy, she inquired for the latest news from the United States, and said she was very anxious to know the state of affairs, as she had left Paris a good while ago and had in the meantime failed to hear much of what had taken place in our country. She expressed a great anxiety for peace, as well for the sake of America as for the reason that so many nations in Europe were suffering so much industrially in consequence of the war. She wanted to have my opinion as to when the war would probably terminate. I replied that the people of the North were equally anxious for the restoration of peace, that their sufferings and sacrifices were beyond comparison, that we had accepted the war reluctantly, but that in my opinion it would not terminate except on the total submission of the insurgents; that division would involve the destruction of our national life, and that we were determined to preserve it at all hazards. At what period the success of our arms would force such a submission, it was of course impossible for me to say, etc., etc. With the repetition of the wish that peace might be very speedily restored she ended the conversation, which, though of no intrinsic importance, I have thought best to report to you."

Our great successes in July had not borne the desired fruits. Far from it: the repulse of our armies under Rosecrans at Chickamauga with terrible loss had destroyed our hope of finishing the war during this year. We should have felt very much depressed had it not been for the very good news we received of the fall elections in Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania, which had defeated the Democrats in October, while in the other States the Republicans had been victorious in the November elections.

The Cortes were opened on the first of December by the Queen in person. The Santo Domingo insurrection was but slightly touched and in a way to show that it was rather a painful matter to talk about. The fact was that this annexation was becoming daily more unpopular, and at no distant day would have to be given up. There was not a word about Mexico and the policy that had been pursued after the withdrawal from the expedition to Mexico.

The first week in November Sophie and Augusta returned from Lake Geneva, after having stayed some days in Lyons making purchases. They had come by Marseilles and Alicante, the most convenient route. They had much to relate about their life on the lake, and the beautiful boating on its deep blue transparent waters,—Gustave and Augusta having become excellent rowers. They brought along a French-Swiss girl as chambermaid, who had, they said, as far as they knew, but one fault,—she was too handsome for Madrid. I found the fault pardonable.

PATTI IN MADRID

We were soon in the midst of social life. Of course we could not answer all the invitations; yet our life was more diversified than the winter before. Our great treat was a concert in the concert hall of the Royal Opera House, to which the Queen had invited, amongst other high dignitaries, those of the diplomatic corps who had families. Mlle. Adeline Patti, then just twenty years of age, was the principal performer, supported by some of the best singers of the Opera

and a select orchestra. She had been engaged for the latter part of the season, Mme. La Grange taking her place at Paris, which city Patti had just left, both operas being at that time under the same direction. Though born in Madrid, where her father had been on a concert tour, she considered herself a citizen of the United States, where her father and mother lived, and where she had been brought up. I recollect that I heard her sing several years before I went to Spain in a concert at St. Louis when she was perhaps not more than twelve years of age. At any rate she called upon me as the representative of her country, as she said to the secretary. Unfortunately we were all absent; so she only left her card with her compliments to the minister of the United States. When I called to return her visit, she was out. I have heard her since. Her voice has not changed much, though, of course, it was fresher at twenty than at forty.

BIRTH OF A ROYAL INFANTA

Some time in 1864—that is to say, in February of that year—I witnessed quite an interesting scene, connected with the birth of another royal infanta. I have already stated that when I was at Barcelona on my return from Germany in September a great military parade had been held upon the official announcement of the Queen being in a delicate condition. Now, ever since the beginning of the year, the expected confinement was made, I might say, the order of the day. The Cortes suspended their sessions. Bulletins of the Queen's health were published, and other proceedings of a curious character took place. Knowing that Mr. Seward and the President would be amused by an account of these preliminaries, in a despatch of Jan. 31st, 1864, after stating that the Cortes was not in session on account of the situation of the Queen, whose "accouchement" was daily expected, I wrote:

"The diplomatic corps has already received notice to be prepared at a moment's warning to repair to the Palace in order to witness the presentation of the new-born Infante or Infanta, which is to take place immediately after delivery.

Masses are read every day in the various churches of the capital and the provinces to propitiate the Holy Virgin and to implore her assistance in the trying hour. The Queen herself has paid her devotions at the various shrines of the different Maries in Madrid which are supposed to exercise a happy influence over such events, such as Santa Maria del Leche (Virgin of the Milk), and Santa Maria del Buene Partu (Virgin of the Safe Delivery). Numerous relics of saints have within the last few days been sent from various parts of Spain, such as legs, arms, collar-bones and the like, all of which stand in high repute as to their efficacy in procuring an easy delivery. The press does not fail to give full and detailed information of these incidents, whereby a sort of literature is produced which in almost any other country would not be considered of the most edifying character. I doubt, however, whether the people see anything improper in these things; they are accustomed to this from early infancy, and the masses of the nation are still primitive and unsophisticated and are strangers to artificial refinement."

On the 11th of February the French ambassador, in honor of some distinguished strangers, gave a dinner, to which the chiefs of legations, some of the ministers and other dignitaries had been invited. Mme. Barrot not having returned to Madrid as yet, and no ladies being present, it was quite a jovial and convivial entertainment. Anecdotes were told, jokes cracked, and at about half after nine o'clock we retired to another room to sip our coffee and cognac and enjoy a smoke. These after-dinner sociables are generally most pleasant and lively affairs. But just as we were getting ready for a free-and-easy talk, M. Barrot burst into the room and with his usual pompousness exclaimed: "Messieurs, la Reine nous demande." Diplomats and Spaniards are not much given to swearing, at least in company; but that there was some internal cursing at this announcement was plainly visible on many of the faces. There was another trouble. This not having been a state or official dinner, we were not in uniform, but in evening dress, so we had to hurry home to dress for the occasion. But we had all dismissed our carriages,—it being a raw, cold night,—and had ordered them to call for us again about

11 o'clock. M. Barrot sent out for cabs, and, after waiting a considerable time, I was driven home.

A messenger from the Palace had already been there and Sophie had sent for the carriage. I was rather slow in getting ready, hoping to come *post festum* and to be at once able to return home. But this was not to be. When I reached the Palace about half past ten, I found the large audience-room crowded with ministers, generals, judges, grandees filling court-offices, chiefs of the legations and about a dozen court-ladies. The few arm-chairs were occupied by the ladies, and we stood around for a long time in quite an uncomfortable position. The large room being very cold, fortunately one of the generals, I believe General Cordova, let some of us know that he had discovered quite a cosy room where there was a good fire. So about a dozen of us followed through numberless corridors and rooms, (there are about two or three hundred in this immense palace,) to a rather small chamber. Here we had seats at least, and could enjoy a smoke. Among the company were Generals Prim and Marchese, as well as Lersundi. The conversation was very lively for a while. There is amongst the Spaniards great cordiality. However much they may be divided in politics, or how often the officers may have been opposed to one another in the many military risings so common in Spain, in company they appear most good-natured fellows and speak without any reserve. I have often been astonished at having Spaniards, to whom I had hardly been introduced, treat me at once as an old acquaintance and with a certain familiarity, and speak of their own affairs with the utmost frankness. One general who had distinguished himself in the war with Morocco and had commanded a brigade in the Mexican expedition, a great friend of our Union, had called upon me several times. I asked him for his address, expressing a wish to return his calls. "Pardon me," he said, "but I am now on the retired list, and the little apartment I occupy is not fit to receive visitors. I am very sorry but I cannot help it. Allow me to call upon you at the legation to

see you, as I have done before." Of course, I can only speak of the society I have mixed with, consisting of men and women who had seen much of the world, and most of whom had had an eventful life.

By this time it had become midnight, and it was quite a relief when a chamberlain came in and informed us that there were some refreshments ready for us in one of the dining rooms. So we went in and joined many others at the lunch, which was very simple,—coffee and lemonade, chocolate and confectionery. Yet still there was as yet no special news of the expected important event. The people became very impatient. I was very tired, and instead of going back again into the large audience-room, I remained in the antechamber where the ladies had put their wraps upon some divans along the wall. There was nobody there but two of the halberdier-guards at the door. I lay down on one of the lounges, covered myself up with a fine, soft, lady's fur cloak, and in a few moments was fast asleep. I must have slept several hours when I was awakened by loud reports of cannon of a battery right in the main front of the Palace. I knew what it signified, and half-dozing I went to the audience-room. And now the major-domo, Mayor Baron de Carondelet, Duke of Bailen, led the assmbly through several rooms until we reached the doors of the Queen's bed-chamber, which stood wide open. In that apartment, which was glaringly lighted, we saw the Queen's chaplain, Thomas Iglesias, Patriarch of the Indies, the infantes and infantas, and the ministers. We stopped at the door, and presently the King made his appearance, having on a silver salver a little babe wrapped up in a cloud of tulle. He smilingly showed it to us. The doyen of the diplomatic corps, the Pope's nuncio, Señor Barili, in our name made a few congratulatory remarks, and after we had signed our names in a book of record we were finally released.

It was then four o'clock in the morning. Before the Palace there was a great crowd. "Hija solamente," was the cry. It was a girl. Twenty-five salutes only had been given, while,

if the child had been a boy, one hundred and one would have been fired. As the Queen had but one boy, the rather frail and delicate looking Alfonso, there was great disappointment in the royal circle.

A few days afterwards Sophie and I, with the other diplomats and their wives, had to attend the baptism in the royal chapel. Of course, there was again much ceremony performed by a crowd of priests. The poor little girl received about eight names, and those of all the saints in the calendar in bulk. The chapel is a magnificent, but not very large, building, and contains some precious pictures. All these ceremonies were duly and fully described in the government journals, while the Progresista and Democratic papers made no mention of them whatever.

DIPLOMATIC QUESTIONS

Early in January, the ministry, of which the Marquis of Miraflores was the head, being defeated in a proposed measure, had resigned, and a moderate cabinet took its place. Though Narvaez did not take a seat in it, his friends did. The prime minister and minister of foreign affairs was Señor Arrazola, chief justice of the supreme tribunal, who had filled many high places before and who was considered a great jurist and classical scholar. It was a pity, however, that his scholarship did not extend to modern languages, and my first interview with him was rather comical. Supposing that he understood French, I did not take Mr. Perry along. But, when I addressed him in that language, he answered in Spanish that he could speak neither English or French. He proposed that we should converse in Latin. I begged to be excused, since I had not spoken that language for thirty years when I had been graduated as a doctor of law. This I spoke in Latin. He then in the same language proposed a sort of compromise. He said if I would speak French he could understand me, and he would speak in Spanish, which I told him I could understand, but did not speak to any extent. As he was not yet posted on any pending question, our conversation was merely

formal. Now, he was the fourth minister of foreign affairs I had to deal with, and as a consequence I had to begin *de novo*. Of the United States he evidently knew nothing, as he asked me what the prevailing language was in the "Estados del Norte." Was not this a fine prospect for the carrying on of a number of rather complicated negotiations?

Fortunately, the moderate ministry did not last long. It resigned without any particular reason at the end of February, and a new one was formed on the first of March consisting of men all of whom were considered very able. It was a kind of resurrection of the old Union Liberal party. Its members had, however, belonged to the most conservative wing of that party, and could hope for the support of the less reactionary Moderados. Alexandro Mon, who had had much experience, having filled some of the highest offices of state before, was prime minister and Don Francisco Pacheco, minister of foreign affairs. The latter had a great reputation as a statesman, as a most eloquent parliamentary speaker, and as an elegant writer in prose and verse; he was also an eminent jurist. He had been minister to Mexico, Rome and England. He was undoubtedly a vast improvement on his immediate predecessor. My intercourse with him became very frequent, owing to the troubles between Spain and Peru, in which our government took the greatest interest, trying to prevent war. I received despatch upon despatch from Mr. Seward and was given very large discretion in the management of this affair. Peru had no representation at Madrid, Spain never having formally acknowledged its independence. There was a consul there, who was advised by the Peruvian government to consult with me, and to furnish me with all the necessary papers and documents to show the action of her government, in my pleading the cause of Peru. He himself was not permitted by the Spanish government to act in a diplomatic capacity. I had also received instructions to present claims of American citizens for property destroyed by the

Spanish troops in Santo Domingo at the bombardment of Puerto Plata.

Add to this the many pending questions and almost daily troubles arising in the Spanish seaports between our marines and the local authorities, and I must say that the last six months I remained in Spain would have been most burdensome had it not been for the great ability and the unaffected urbanity with which Señor Pacheco treated all subjects under consideration.

A SPANISH PRINCELY BAPTISM

Very soon I attended another baptism at the Palace, of quite a different kind, and having somewhat the appearance of an opera bouffe. The Infante Sebastian, the ugliest man in Madrid, had been blessed with another infanta. The Queen was to stand as godmother. The diplomatic corps and some other court-people were invited to the baptismal ceremony, not in uniform, however, but "en frac," as the formula runs. We met at the ordinary audience-room. On a large table stood various silver goblets, silver salvers, a big silver salt-cellar, and a silver crucifix. A prelate of the church, assisted by some priests and a ministrant, stood behind the table, all in full canonicals with surplices, stoles, high square caps, etc., etc. Don Sebastian and the other princes and princesses also stood around.

After waiting a few minutes, the Queen, accompanied by the King, entered the room, smiling all over and holding in her arms the little babe swathed in old-fashioned style, but with a long train hanging down nearly to the ground, and with its head covered with a big white cap. We had formed a half-circle around the table, and the Queen, still holding the babe, went towards us, not speaking to anyone particularly but showing the baby and asking generally whether it was not very good-looking. Casting a comical glance on Don Sebastian, she said: "It does not look like you at all, at all." She added something in Spanish which I did not understand, but which must have been very jocular, for it raised an almost

loud laugh in which the Queen heartily joined. She then came to the table, and the bishop intonated a Latin litany, which was responded to by his assistants. Then the ministrant took off the bishop's cap and put one of another color on his head. The cape and the scarf were also changed. There was another brief sing-song, and then the child's cap was taken off and his head was sprinkled with water amid some incantations. I believe some salt was also put on his head. There was another change in the dresses, this time of all the priests, some crossing, while a short Latin prayer concluded the ceremony, which appeared to me and, I believe, to many others very ludicrous. Such performances in a large darkened church before the high altar at some distance from the spectators may have some solemnity about them; but when they take place right before you in open daylight, they appear childish, to say the least.

During the christening the "niña" became restless and was about to cry; but the Queen fondled it and patted it on the back, smiling most good-naturedly. After the baptism was over, the nurse entered,—a handsome stout Galician in her national dress, of course highly idealized,—and the Queen threw the child into her arms.

The Queen did not make the circle, but talked indiscriminately to all of us and to her nearer acquaintances in the most familiar manner. I have not been at any other court, but, barring a few antiquated and ridiculous ceremonies which are still kept up at the court at Madrid, there is certainly much less etiquette here than at many other courts, as far as I have learned. I have been at balls, dinners, and many private audiences, and I have been astonished at the free-and-easy way in which everybody admitted to such places moved about. Some of the foreign ministers and some of their wives were far more buttoned up and reserved than the King or Queen, or any of the infantes or infantas, or any of the grandees of Spain.

About this time I had the pleasure of making the acquain-

tance of Mr. Stephan, now the very distinguished head of the postal department of the German Empire. It was at a party at Mr. Weisweiler's. He had been sent on a special mission to arrange a postal treaty with Spain. He made the most favorable impression by his person, as well as by his interesting and instructive conversation. He was even then considered an authority in this branch of administration and as a rising man.

SAD NEWS FROM AMERICA

In November the reverse the Union army had suffered at Chickamauga was amply compensated by the great victories obtained under Grant and Sherman at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge and the retreat of the Confederates into Georgia. In the pursuit of the Confederates, by bad leadership a part of the Union force fell into an ambush and suffered severely at Ringgold. One of the best regiments, the 12th Missouri, met with great losses. Colonel Wangelin of Belleville was severely wounded and had an arm amputated. Several other officers of Illinois were killed. Our nephew, Major Frederick Ledergerber, was wounded, and his brother Joseph, a captain, whom General Osterhaus had pronounced the best officer in the whole regiment, lost his life. Capt. Henry Kircher, one of the best friends of our family, lost one leg and one arm. A great many others from Belleville, like the Ledergerbers and Kircher, all quite young men who had volunteered at the first call, were killed or wounded.

The letters we received giving all the harrowing details cast for days a deep gloom over our family. They had been the playmates and schoolmates of Augusta and Gustave. Our only consolation was that they had died and suffered for a glorious cause. Not long afterwards we received also the sad news of the death of John Scheel. It was not unexpected. For nearly three months his condition had been such as to leave little hope of recovery.

The death of my brother-in-law confirmed me in my resolution to ask the President for a leave of absence of some

months, the coming summer, that I might return home. John had been left as my agent to take charge of my affairs, renting houses, collecting outstanding debts, and watching my unfinished law-business (which I had turned over to other lawyers), and paying taxes. His protracted illness had made it impossible for him to do any business. Besides, we had concluded that upon our salary we could not live respectably any longer. The many invitations which we could not refuse to attend and the great hospitality shown to us could not but be returned. We had already expended several thousand dollars beyond my salary. If the family went home, I could of course manage to live in a style more becoming the representative of a great nation. Mr. Lincoln could probably find another mission for me where I could be at less expense. To let my family make the journey home without me, was out of the question.

THE MADRID CARNIVAL

Perhaps I ought to say something about one of the features of Madrid life, which, outside of Rome, is not to be found anywhere else,—I refer to the Carnival. It is not a pre-arranged festivity with programmes, as it is at Rome, Cologne or Mayence, but a spontaneous outburst of the people of all classes. From morning to night the principal streets are thronged with masks,—mostly men, however; but the Spanish youths are generally disguised as women in the picturesque garbs of the various provinces, and, owing to their slender figures, small hands and feet, it is almost impossible to discover their true sex except when they speak. Thousands of students go generally, however, unmasked in small bands, playing the guitar and stopping from time to time to play and sing. The higher classes take the Prado in the afternoon in open carriages. Very few of those in the carriages are masked, but now and then you see a platform-car with masked groups most elegantly costumed. The sidewalks on this noble promenade are crowded with masks who have or at least take the privilege to mount on the carriage steps, frequently climb-

ing up to the box, and then, as it is called, "intriguing" the occupants. As they know with whom they have to deal, there are frequently questions asked or suggestions made by the maskers of a very personal character.

It was a new and very amusing thing for us to witness those exhilarating and exciting scenes. The more people there hung around a carriage, the more the inmates considered themselves flattered. To say that ten thousand masks filled the Prado on the three afternoons of the carnival, would not be up to the mark. There were of course bands of music playing and lively chattering going on. We noticed but one thing like a regular procession. The employees of the two large Bavarian breweries, about one hundred men, paraded the streets, all uniformly clad, on big horses, decked in Spanish fashion with ribbons, rosettes and spangles. They were all stout, robust Germans, and with their banners created quite an impression. Yet, as at all the public meetings and rejoicings, there was no disorder, no quarreling, no fighting. The most efficient mounted civil guard kept the many hundreds of carriages and riders in a perfectly quiet way in perfect order, so that not the slightest accident happened. Strange to say, Ash Wednesday with the lower class is still a carnival-day, on which they have their jollification down at the canal of the Manzanares.

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE SLAVE TRADE

Some time before this and while Señor Arrazola was still minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Seward informed me that by the treaty of Washington of August 9th, 1842, between the United States and Great Britain, it was stipulated that the parties would unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions markets for African negroes were allowed to exist, and that they would urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets effectually forever; that Great Britain had a special treaty with Spain by which that country had obli-

gated herself not to allow African negroes to be introduced into any of her dominions; that it was understood, however, that the just expectations of the British government in that respect had been signally disappointed, and that negro slaves to a greater or less extent, by the connivance of Spanish subaltern officers, had been imported into Cuba; that Lord Lyons had requested the United States to assist under the stipulations of the Washington treaty in remonstrating against this violation of international law and of her treaty with Great Britain; that we had, however, no special treaty with Spain, and that, consequently, the relations of the United States with Spain were of a different character from those with Great Britain; but that the President had authorized and directed me to address the Spanish government in general terms on the subject.

Now this was a somewhat delicate charge for me to undertake. The instructions of Mr. Seward were very general indeed and left a good deal to my discretion. Sir John Crampton had been to see me on the day before I had received Mr. Seward's despatch and had shown me a note from Lord Russell in which he complained in very strong terms of the Spanish government for suffering the treaty with Great Britain to be violated and asking immediate action toward stopping these shipments of Africans. This note he had communicated to the Spanish minister. Now, we had no such treaty with Spain. Our treaty with England, Spain need take no notice of, and if she chose she could look upon our support of the English demand as an uncalled for interference and treat it as such. Spain, for reasons I have already had occasion to state, was oversensitive as regards her power. However, I went to work. It is not my object to dilate upon my diplomatic course. I will speak of the incident, however, at the risk of being, perhaps justly, charged with vanity.

It was one of the many occasions on which a foreign minister has to use his own judgment on matters of some importance.

My note to Señor Arrazola read thus:

"Sir:—The subject of suppressing the inhuman African slave-trade has been one of deep anxiety to the government of the United States from the time of its foundation. The United States have been among the first nations, if not the first, that have denounced the traffic in human beings as piracy, and have visited their own citizens implicated in it with the severest penalties. At very heavy pecuniary sacrifices and at the risk of the lives of their own naval officers and seamen, they have for more than twenty years supported a squadron on the western coast of Africa in a most destructive climate in order to prevent the successful carrying on of this nefarious trade.

"They have with a like view entered into stipulations with the government of Her Britannic Majesty in the year 1842, contained in what is called the Treaty of Washington, the ninth article of which is as follows:

[Here follows the article entire.]

"The attention of the President of the United States has lately been directed to certain difficulties which have presented themselves and which would appear to prevent a complete suppression of the slave-trade in the colonial possessions of Her Catholic Majesty, and more particularly in the Island of Cuba, which difficulties do not arise from any desire of the Spanish colonial authorities to favor the said trade. It is well known that the efforts made by the captain-general of that island correspond entirely to the wise and humane policy which the Home Government of Her Catholic Majesty has adopted with regard to the subject in question and which is thoroughly appreciated by the President and the people of the United States. The difficulties spoken of seem to be inherent in the laws and regulations in existence, which are supposed to give room to interpretations by which their force can be evaded.

"In view of the general policy of the United States, which looks on the African slave-trade as an offence against the public law of nations and has denounced it as piracy; in view also of the treaty stipulations existing between them and the government of Her Britannic Majesty, the President of the United States has instructed me to respectfully call the attention of Her Catholic Majesty's Government to this matter and to suggest such a revision of the existing laws and regulations concerning the unlawful introduction of slaves into the Island

of Cuba as will best accomplish the object which Her Majesty's government had in view when the laws and regulations were enacted.

"It is hardly necessary for the undersigned to assure Your Excellency that these suggestions arise from the purest motives and would not have been made unless the President had considered the very friendly and cordial relations existing between the United States and Spain as justifying this application, and had he not been bound to another friendly nation to engagements which it was his duty, as well as his pleasure, to carry out faithfully.

"It is also unnecessary for me to inform Your Excellency that it would afford the utmost pleasure to the President and the people of the United States if any obstacles existing in the Island of Cuba to the complete suppression of the African slave trade should be removed by the considerate action of the government of Her Catholic Majesty.

"The undersigned takes great pleasure to assure etc., etc.

"Gustave Koerner.

"His Excellency D. L. Arrazola,
"Minister of State."

In the first place, Mr. Seward, to whom I had reported this note under date of February 28th, 1864, says:

"Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of February 28th and to inform you that the manner in which you have executed my instructions to communicate with Her Catholic Majesty's government concerning the slave-trade in Cuba is entirely approved."

On the 6th of March, I could write to Mr. Seward:

"Sir John Crampton expressed himself as very much obliged for the note which under your instructions I addressed to the minister of Spain on the slave-trade in Cuba. He sent a copy to Lord Russell."

Not long afterwards Sir John called upon me and said that he had just received a despatch from Lord Russell in which he had directed him to express to the minister of the United States at Madrid, the great satisfaction with which he had read that officer's note to the Spanish government regarding the African slave-trade. Sir John added that he felt great pleasure in making this communication to me.

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE

The reason I have mentioned this business so particularly is that it gave me the opportunity of making the acquaintance of one of the most interesting persons of the period. Some months afterwards I was called upon by Sir Moses Montefiore, the celebrated champion of the Jewish cause in every country and clime, and a general philanthropist, who spent almost his whole time and a great deal of his fortune in protecting the oppressed and advancing the cause of humanity generally. He had just returned from Morocco where he had succeeded in setting at liberty a number of his co-religionists who had been terribly persecuted by some of the Pashas. Though then eighty years of age, he appeared to be no more than sixty, and his very noble face looked beautiful under his silver locks. He was of very commanding stature, and he would have been the finest model for some Michael Angelo of an Old Testament patriarch. His manners were polished, but unaffected, as was natural for one who stood high at the English court, had visited the Sultan, the Khedive, the Czar of Russia, and perhaps many other potentates in the endeavor to alleviate the condition of oppressed Israelites. He said he could not leave Madrid without calling on me, that he had read Lord Russell's and my correspondence with the Spanish government and with the English legation, and he wished to give me his thanks for what I had written. Two years ago, I believe, his hundredth birthday was celebrated, I may say, all over the world. He died, I believe, in 1888.

THE SPANISH-PERUVIAN DIFFICULTY

In reply to my application for leave of absence, Mr. Seward informed me under date of April 8th that the President was disinclined to grant me the desired leave of absence, and would ask me to reconsider my application, and, if at all compatible with my private interests, to withdraw it.

The hesitation of Mr. Lincoln, or I should say rather Mr. Seward, arose from the idea that I could be very effective in

preventing Spain and Peru from drifting into a war. Mr. Seward wrote that if I could crown my mission by accomplishing this object I should have deserved well of my country. I had actually succeeded in getting the Spanish government to agree upon conditions for compromising the difficulty, agreeable to both parties, when the Spanish Admiral Pincon took possession without instructions of a number of Peruvian guano islands, wherefore Peru made all further negotiations dependent upon the recall of Pincon and the immediate surrender of the islands. As Spain at once disclaimed the act of the Admiral by circular-notes to all the great powers, matters, even then, could have been settled, and I found Mr. Pacheco willing to discuss the methods of doing so, when another untoward incident spoiled our negotiations. Señor Salazar y Maceredo, who had been sent by the Arrazola government as a special envoy to Peru in the first instance, was an obstinate, hot-headed, high-tempered man, who, as the present minister of state confidentially informed me, ought never to have been sent on such a mission, and he had, on his arrival, adopted offensive and threatening language. The Peruvian government declining on that account to treat with him, particularly after the outrage committed by Pincon, who had acted under his orders, he, not waiting for instructions from home, concluded to return to Spain. Arriving at Panama, a mob set upon him, and he had to take refuge at the French consulate, which was also threatened by the mob. According to his telegraphic report to the government, Peruvians had been on board of the English steamer which brought him from Callao to Panama. He had been threatened, he alleged, with assassination, and these Peruvians had set the mob in motion at Panama. He claimed his government should hold the Peruvian government responsible.

Some time afterwards he came to Madrid and gave a great ado. He was a man of distinction with great influence, a radical Moderado, and frightened the government. In spite

of what I could do the ministry demanded of Peru a disavowal of the acts of violence perpetrated upon its minister.

Mr. Moira, the Peruvian consul at Madrid, had been instructed to say that the Peruvian government did, of course, disavow any complicity in the Panama mob, and I brought this to the notice of Mr. Pacheco; also that they would receive a special envoy to settle the Talambo trouble,—but not before Spain had surrendered the islands. I thought this but reasonable, and proposed by way of compromise that the surrender of the islands and the acceptance of a new commissioner should take place simultaneously. Mr. Pacheco thought that might do, but the Queen and the rest of the ministry overruled him. I was then given to understand that, at present, neither the mediation nor even the good offices that had been offered by us, and also by England, could be accepted, as Spanish honor forbade it. Peru, to be sure, had also in several instances shown herself to be imprudent, and had given just cause of offense to Spain. But the matter is too complicated to be explained here. Only the original cause of the trouble may be stated. Some considerable time before a Spanish settlement at Talambo, without any provocation, had been mobbed by Peruvians, some Spaniards killed and wounded, the rest driven away. Spain demanded punishment of the offenders and indemnity for the sufferers. The Peruvian government was somewhat slow in instituting proceedings and the trial dragged along, as the Peruvians contended, owing to the great number of the culprits. It was then that Admiral Pinçon appeared with a man-of-war demanding in rather menacing terms a speedier prosecution. The Peruvians replied that they had no right to interfere with their courts, etc. So much was certain, that as far as the action of the United States was concerned, it was completely paralyzed by these recent events, and my presence on account of the Peruvian difficulties was certainly not of much importance. It did not come to actual fighting, though all negotiations were broken off.

But early in 1865 Spain sent a large fleet to Peruvian waters. Callao was threatened with bombardment, an ultimatum was presented and a treaty paid by which the guano islands were restored to Peru and the latter country paid three millions of dollars as a war contribution.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Last Days in Spain

In a letter to Mr. Lincoln himself, I again presented the reasons for my desire to leave for a few months and also my opinion of the Peruvian matter, giving him, further a view of the then very complicated affairs of Europe, the Polish Revolution, the German-Danish War, and the entanglement of Napoleon in Mexico. I said I felt sure that all idea of an intervention now by any European power in our Civil War was out of the question, and that Spain, at least, would, at present, not be induced by any blandishment offered her to recognize the Confederate States, as she was bitterly opposed to seeing Mexico under the tutelage of France.

Not receiving any definite answer to my request for leave of absence, I wrote to Mr. Seward that, if I had any fears that my absence would prove detrimental to the interests of our country, I should be willing to undergo almost any loss and inconvenience and should then be willing to comply with the desire of the President to withdraw my application; but I was satisfied that nothing of importance was depending upon my remaining in Madrid during the hot summer months when the court and the ministers were in the mountains and the chiefs of legation in northern Europe; and that if the President should insist on my staying, I should have to ask leave to be relieved of my mission. Some time in May, Mr. Seward informed me that I should delay my departure to as late a period as possible, which, of course, implied the granting of the leave.

The letter of Mr. Seward is so significant of the kind-

heartedness of Mr. Lincoln that I cannot refrain from giving some extracts from it:

"The President directs me to say that he has received a communication from you in which you reinforce your request for leave of absence from Madrid during the summer, and that it causes him great perplexity and regret. He especially desires to grant any reasonable request that you may make. [Mr. Seward then gives some reasons which he thought would make my further presence in Madrid very desirable.] The President then asks you to weigh these considerations against motives which urge you to ask a leave of absence, and, if possible, to relieve him from the necessity of conceding it to you on the ground of personal kindness, a request that, as he thinks, conflicts with the public safety and welfare. If you still insist, he then desires that you shall fix as late a day as possible for leaving Spain."

POLITICAL SITUATION IN AMERICA

In the meantime, I received many letters from home regarding the Presidential election. To my surprise I found that great opposition had developed to the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. My most intimate friends, while still determined to support Mr. Lincoln, did so very reluctantly. They thought him too conservative, and particularly so with regard to placing Missouri in the hands of ultra-conservative men, thus retarding the abolition of slavery, which the Union men were ready and willing to abolish by a State Convention. But the opposition to Mr. Lincoln early in 1864 was not confined to the Western States. The prospect of a very speedy ending of the war was not very bright. Attacks on Charleston and other seaports had been repulsed. An expedition by General Banks up the Red River, supported by a fleet, had been repulsed, and an army corps under General Steele, which was to unite with Banks, had, in consequence, to beat a hasty retreat to Little Rock, as Banks was routed before the junction could be made. In this retreat a battle took place at Jenkins's Ferry in which the brigade of our Adolph fought with great distinction, not only affording the army a safe crossing of the river, but beating the enemy back and taking some guns

from him. Sherman had entered Georgia and there was constant fighting, but without any decisive results. Grant at the head of an immense army was about to march straight on Richmond. While a final triumph could reasonably be expected, the people had so often been disappointed that some depression was natural. The great draft on our resources was severely felt. Volunteering had almost ceased. Draft upon draft had been ordered. Taxes had increased terribly, and our immense debt was rolling up. The war expense alone amounted to a million dollars a day. The draft had been very unpopular, and the anti-war Democrats made the greatest capital out of it. They became every day more boisterous and really dangerous. But the most alarming sign was the dissatisfaction of our own party. Among the higher officers who had been discarded by the President there were candidates for the Presidency, as there were also in his own cabinet. Mr. Arnold in his book "Lincoln and Slavery," himself an ardent friend of Lincoln, admits that early in 1864 politicians and a majority of both Houses of Congress and the great leaders of the metropolitan press were not favorable to the reëlection of Lincoln. But though away from home, I myself was fully satisfied that the great mass of the people were for him. They knew that his hands were pure, that he was perfectly honest in his opinions, and that while he was mild and indulgent to others even to a fault, he was as firm as a rock in sustaining the principles of union and liberty for which he had worked all his life. I used my best efforts in corresponding with friends at home to impress them with the necessity of standing by Mr. Lincoln. I could tell them that in Europe Lincoln was considered the only man who could pilot the ship of state safely through the raging storm; that he was looked upon there as the second Washington in his love of his country and purity of motives.

What I most regretted was that so many Germans were found in opposition to him. They were most radical on the slavery question, and Lincoln was too slow for them. They

were honest enough, but highly impractical idealists. A convention, held at Cleveland early in May, principally gotten up by some Germans in Illinois, Missouri and New York, (and on that account alone deprived of much influence,) nominated John C. Frémont for President, who accepted the nomination on a radical platform.

Spring had set in and it was a lovely one. Copious showers had made everything fresh and green. Almond and peach trees were in full bloom early in March. We had concluded to leave early in July and so we made several excursions to places not visited before,—as my family, at least, was not to return to Spain. I also needed some recreation; for I must say that during the last three months I had been really overburdened with business. While usually notes are exchanged, and personal intercourse with the minister of state takes place once a week only, the Peruvian, the Santo Domingo, the maritime boundary, and the Mexican questions, necessitated almost daily interviews with Señor Pacheco or Señor Mon, the prime minister.

THE ESCURIAL

We went to the Escurial, to which, through a very desolate region of country, the railroad takes you in a little less than an hour. At the rugged granite foothills of the Guadarrama Mountains stands a small hamlet, which, as many strangers come there, has several indifferent fondas, and right beneath this collection of straggling houses stands the colossal body of the "Real Sitio de San Lorenzo," known by the name of the Escurial. The immensity of this granite pile would appear from merely giving its number of feet in length and width, of the height of its towers and the number of square feet of its interior enclosures. But that can be found in any guide-book. We wandered around for many hours in its cloisters, corridors, chapels, domes and palaces. The great chapel with its grand cupola still contains many precious pictures, though the very best have been taken to Madrid. Splendid fresco paintings adorn the walls and cupola. It is a noble build-

ing, the chapel mostly in the Dorian style. High above runs a gallery ending in a suite of small rooms where Philip II used to stay, and from which the King could attend the services of the church. In this gallery is a marble statue of Christ by Benvenuto Cellini, which is much praised, but which I could not admire. There is, however, by the same master a crucifix of most exquisite workmanship in one of the rooms. Immediately under the magnificent high altar is the Pantheon, the burial place of the Spanish kings from Charles V to Ferdinand VII. The coffins of the dead are in hollow niches in the marble walls, the kings on one side and the queens on the other. There are separate niches for the infantes and the infantas. It is said that the corpse of Charles V, which was examined not long ago, was found perfectly preserved. Standing in the middle of this gorgeous vault of marble and gilded ornaments, one cannot but feel a certain interest in looking at the mouldering remains of such mighty rulers as Charles V and Philip II.

The vast library rooms, the walls and the ceilings of which are painted *al fresco* by distinguished masters, with their rare books and manuscripts, most sumptuously illustrated with miniature paintings, and the many excellent pictures which are hung in the library rooms, could rivet the attention of lovers of books for weeks. Of course, we could only examine a few of the most precious treasures of these chapels, halls, and cloisters. A hallway leads to the royal palace, forming the southern part of the Escurial, with views into the grim plains towards Madrid. It was the summer residence of the Spanish kings of the Hapsburg house. We passed swiftly through a suite of rooms, in some of which we had to admire the exquisite Gobelins, woven after the paintings of the great masters. Just below the Escurial is another small but very elegant château, Casita del Principe, surrounded by a pretty park. It also contains a very pretty collection of paintings of varying merit. I thought some of them very

fine. The evening train from the north took us back to Madrid.

No one should fail to visit this singular and eccentric yet grand monument erected by a gloomy, superstitious monarch, who, strange to say, was at the same time a lover, a judge and a generous patron of the fine arts.

ARANJUEZ

In May we went to Toledo. At Aranjuez we again visited the two fine gardens, De la Isla and Del Principe. The first is near the palace, washed on one side by the Tajo, and bordered on the other by a wide canal, which separates it from the palace and the town. The river forms, just at the entrance into the garden, a very fine cascade by an artificial dam. This Garden de la Isla is the one which is the most generally visited; it is almost crowded with statues, not of the best taste, and with fountains. It is not so large as the Garden del Principe, but of wonderous beauty. With the exception of the double avenues of gigantic sycamores, the other walks are all narrow. The trees, elms, beeches, horse-chestnuts, lindens and oaks are planted close together and so trained that their tops interlace. The trunks of these trees are so connected by their thick hedges from six to eight feet high that one can walk in a continuous arbor. When the heat in town is almost insupportable and you enter the gardens, you at once breathe a refreshing air. The leafy bowers and the thick hedges do not permit the sunbeams to steal in at any hour of the day. And from the river, the canal, the fountains, the innumerable rills of running water, the air in the whole park is most delightfully cooled. The Garden del Principe is much larger; it is more like an English park. The Tajo rushes through it. It is full of the finest forest trees. Near the end of it, however, there are lawns and spacious terraces of flower-beds. Being tired, we lay down on the velvety grass under a large shade-tree, and I slept soundly for at least an hour, while the waters and the birds were singing and the delicate scent of flowers perfumed the air.

Right in this part of the park stands the summer palace, called the Casa de Labrador. It is built in the rococo style, without taste, but contains, in workmanship of all kinds, tapestries, inlaid doors and furniture, a richness and a luxury which has cost millions to the poor people and is yet almost useless.

TOLEDO

The train for Toledo left at eight o'clock in the evening. The road, a mere branch of the Madrid-Alicante road, was through a forlorn country after leaving the Eden of Aranjuez. The moon shone brightly, but nothing was to be seen until we came somewhat near Toledo, where a bold ridge of black hills became visible. In an hour or so we stopped at the station, which is about a mile from the city.

There was but one omnibus there. It was already filled and had started off before we left our compartment, which was at the rear end of the train. A mozo was charged with our satchels, and we went up hill on a splendid road called the Paseo de las Rosas. We came to the Tajo, bounded on each side by high rocks. On the opposite side loomed up a chaotic mass of walls, turrets, towers and rocks, so intermingled as to leave the impression of cyclopic ruins. You could not tell which was rock, and which was wall. We could hear the rushing of the river deep below, breaking through steep rocks. It is spanned by the celebrated massive bridge of Alcántara, each side of which is protected by a fortified gate. We crossed it. A terribly steep road leads up through high walls and large buildings into a street about twenty feet wide, at the end of which we issued upon a small square called Zocodover, the only large open place in the city, from which through a labyrinth of narrow alleys paved with small pointed boulders we at last reached the Fonda de Lindo, to which we had been recommended, a real parador, no better than can be found in any village in the Sierra Morena.

In the glare of the moon Toledo appeared to us at first view like a vision from Dante's Inferno. Our rooms were

miserable, but the beds comfortable and the linen snowy white. We refreshed ourselves with chocolate and ices and cakes, which the landlord sent for from a neighboring confectionery shop. Early next morning we took a guide and armed with Ford's Hand-book of Spain, we set out to explore this most antique and unique city, as yet untouched by modern civilization.

In my "Aus Spanien," I have made a feeble effort to describe some of the most memorable sights in Toledo. I will now barely refer to some of them. The chapel of San Juan de los Reyos is considered one of the finest remains of the later Gothic style. Originally it was designed as the burial grounds of the Spanish kings and built by Ferdinand and Isabella. A Franciscan convent joined the "capella real," partly destroyed by the French, but there are some cloisters left of the most delicate workmanship. From there we were shown through several churches, some of them having been Moorish mosques or Jewish synagogues.

In the afternoon the cathedral was visited. It was not so large as that of Seville or Granada, but if one looks at the wonders it contains in detail, one is almost stupefied and must confess never having seen such splendor and magnificence. Every one of the side chapels shows precious treasures. The cathedral was founded by San Fernando, in the year 1226, and it is said that the structure took several centuries to build by one hundred and forty-nine architects. The different portals are masterpieces of art. The doors of bronze are finely chiseled. A half dozen of the older kings of Spain have here highly decorated tombs. Besides, there are tombs of many of the greatest bishops and statesmen. In numerous chambers are the treasures of the church, chalices, etc., and in one salon are innumerable relics of saints, all enclosed in silver and gold vessels, inlaid with jewelry. Before this reliquarium stands a small figure of the Virgin. This Virgin is the object of the greatest veneration, as it has worked innumerable miracles. Her everyday clothes glitter with precious stones, pearls, and

gold spangles. But we were shown in beautifully worked cases a number of her holiday dresses and ornaments, such as golden crowns, bracelets, and a cloak studded with the biggest pearls and the choicest of precious stones. This cloak alone is said to be of fabulous value. Add to this that at the high altar, at the altars in the chapels, in the capitulary salons, and in the reliquarium, are paintings of Rubens, Alonzo Cano, Bellini, Bassano, Orrente, El Greco, Cartuchio,—add the choir for the canons of the church, which is admitted to be the largest and finest even in Spain,—and one may get a faint idea of this wonderful cathedral.

On the highest point of this mountainous city rises majestically the Alcazar of Charles V. He had grand ideas, this singular emperor. Whatever he touched here in Spain bears the stamp of greatness. He had a strong individuality. Every portrait that I have seen of him, and there are many in Madrid, particularly two splendid ones by Titian, resemble one another closely. His cold eyes show prudence, but no soul. The lower part of his face is "Burgundian," disagreeably prominent, sensuous, betraying gluttony. And yet there is a nobility mixed with melancholy in his features. He stands easily and gracefully, and yet there is nothing showing the warrior about him. He was not a battle-hero. He owed his successes, and they were, after all, for a born monarch of such empires not very great, more to foresight and cunning than to his military talents, more to his toughness and to his perseverance than to his boldness. He was a poor, vexed, suffering man, always more or less sick; and, if ever well, his high living and gluttony took him down again. The archives of Simancas contain the records of the medical treatment he underwent during his residence in the convent of San Juste. It was a genuine Spanish one; for they show several hundred blood-lettings. How little enviable was the lot of this most powerful ruler of the world! Even the ephemeral empires of Napoleon or of Alexander or the rule of Rome at her grandest epoch cannot be compared in extent to his dominions.

This Alcazar is now in ruin. The foundation, one would think, is big enough to place the whole city upon it. The basement and the subterranean stables, large enough to lodge a thousand horses, are still standing. It was at the same time a strong fortress. The prospect from the height is most remarkably beautiful,—if we can call beautiful the view of a half ruined city of Roman, Gothic, Moorish, Jewish and Castilian houses which climb up and down on steep hills, and of a yellow boiling river forcing itself through wild gorges of mountain-ranges of the sharpest and most jagged forms, upon which now and then nothing but a pale, sickly olive, but no other tree, bush, or blade of grass, is to be seen.

But we had to tear ourselves away from this unique spot. An omnibus took us down the steep declivity at such a furious rate, that we thanked our stars for having reached the station with unbroken limbs.

WAR NEWS

The news from the seat of war was not encouraging. The campaign in Virginia had opened in March. General Grant had pledged himself to carry Richmond on a straight line, "if it took all summer;" but after fighting four or five most bloody battles with an immense loss of men, the army was defeated at Cold Harbor with a terrible sacrifice of life and had to pass by Richmond, seeking the same position south of the James River which McClellan had taken and had thought to be the most advantageous for the taking of the place. If Grant had not constantly been supplied with reinforcements, he would certainly have had to retreat. Nevertheless, Mr. Lincoln was renominated for the Presidency by the Republican party, and the determination of the Union people to prosecute the war at any price of blood and treasure remained as firm as ever.

EUROPEAN POLITICS

The Polish Revolution, the national awakening in Germany on account of the war with Denmark, and above all, the recent events in Italy had created great excitement all over

Europe, and Spain could not remain unaffected. The government was very much reproached for not acknowledging the new Italian kingdom, which had been recognized by all the other powers. The Progresista and the Democratic parties developed much strength, and acted with very much spirit. I reported to Mr. Seward on the 9th of May as follows:

"There has been for some days past considerable political excitement here, produced by party demonstrations, not undertaken, however, with apparently any view of having present and immediate effect. The national festival of the Dos de Mayo was made the occasion of a very large procession of the Progresista party, headed by their principal leaders, Olozaga, Prim, Madoz and others, which marched in a body several thousand strong in the general procession.

"In the evening some members of the Democratic party, from one thousand to three thousand persons, (the numbers being differently stated by the friends and opponents of the party,) marched to the monument where the ashes of the martyrs of the 2d of May rest, to decorate it with floral wreaths. On the following day the Progresistas met at a great banquet in which deputations of the party from every part of Spain participated. Twenty-five hundred sat down at the table (in the Elysian Fields), and many speeches were made, all of course in opposition to the present government, though there was not anything exactly revolutionary in the proceedings. All the provinces and colonies of Spain were represented in the banqueting hall by their banners, except Santo Domingo.

"On the 5th of May again there was an immense funeral procession to convey the remains of Munoz Terrero, an ancient member of the Cadiz Cortes, who died an exile in Portugal in 1829, to a vault in one of the cemeteries of Madrid. The procession consisted of the Democrats and Progresistas, the students of Madrid marching with the former party. For hours the principal streets of Madrid were so taken up with the procession and the enormous crowd of spectators that circulation, by carriages at least, was entirely stopped.

"It will not be without interest when I observe that during all these demonstrations, when about all the population was turned into the streets, not the slightest disturbance took place. No single arrest was made as would appear from the reports in the papers. In fact, I have nowhere seen more orderly and better behaved crowds than in Madrid. I presume

the government had taken good precaution to put down any disorder; but certainly nothing of the kind was manifest on the surface. That these public demonstrations showing such a large force of the Liberals and even the Radicals, as the Democrats are here called by the government party, will be of some effect hereafter, I cannot doubt. It may not bring these parties into power, but it will turn the policy of the reactionary and moderate parties into more liberal channels by showing the hold which the opposition has on the affections of the people."

In the same despatch I also remarked:

"The complications in Europe are on the increase. The London Conference seems to add fuel to the flames. I think that our country was never in less danger of being interfered with than at present. All our efforts may now be concentrated on the one single object, the suppression of the rebellion."

On the 11th of July I had to report another incident, manifesting the feeling of uneasiness on the part of the authorities regarding the prevailing spirit of opposition to the existing government.

"The government," I wrote, "seems to be much alarmed. Last Wednesday night at 11 o'clock, the principal guard of the city, at the Puerta del Sol, was increased by not less than two hundred troops. Messengers called all the officers from their clubs, coffee-houses and the theatres to their barracks, and the soldiers were kept on the qui vive for several hours. These measures created some excitement in the streets, promenades and cafés, which here in Madrid about midnight are generally as crowded as Broadway about noon. But I saw no disorder, only people wondering what it all meant. The captain-general of New Castle, who ordered the troops out, it is now alleged, was trifled with by some false denunciation, and he has offered to resign, but his resignation will not be accepted.

"There was a rumor that in one of the barracks a battalion was ready to join an insurrection, but that at the decisive moment the officers who were in the conspiracy lost courage, and so the contemplated outbreak failed. If there was such a move the governor succeeding in keeping it a profound secret."

DEPARTURE FROM MADRID

According to our preconceived plan Sophie and Augusta left Madrid on the first of July for Germany. The Peruvian business and the winding up of our household affairs kept me until the 20th of July. My family, at all events, was not to return. My return might be possible, though I intended to ask Mr. Lincoln to change me to some other mission, if he wanted me to remain in the diplomatic service at all. Sophie and Augusta went directly to Frankfort by way of Paris, and they wrote me that they had a very pleasant and easy journey.

The last few days I spent in paying farewell visits and in having all our things, comprising carpets, pictures and some of our furniture, packed and forwarded to New York by way of Cadiz. I had, of course, taken leave of Gen. Gaertner and his wife Olympia; but when I arrived at the station in the evening, there was my friend Gaertner again, to see me off. Although I held out the hope of seeing him again in Madrid, he was deeply moved, and big tears rolled from his eyes when I pressed his hand again from the car-window.

I must say that Francisco and Thomas who had seen my trunks to the depot and also stood in the waiting-room, looked very sorrowful and came very near crying too. The little lackey also sobbed, when I, for the first time shook hands with him. Servants in Spain, I believe, when well treated, have far more attachment for their masters than anywhere else. The little lackey had been a very necessary appendage; for whenever Augusta and Paula left the carriage and were not accompanied by Sophie or myself, he had to follow them closely, even in the Royal Gardens. It was quite amusing to see two American girls, who would not have been afraid to travel alone around the world, guarded by a little boy about fifteen years old, four feet high, in a livery coat, white leather breeches, top boots and a stiff leather hat with a big cockade. No young ladies of the better class are allowed to walk the streets in Madrid unless accompanied by an elderly married lady or a servant. As we were in Rome, we had to do as the

Romans do. In my compartment I had two companions, English gentlemen returning from a continental tour. They were tired and fell asleep.

JUDGMENT OF THE SPANISH NATIONAL CHARACTER

Alone with my thoughts, I found that, after all, my leaving Spain was not without causing me considerable regret. There is some great charm, not only in its scenery but also in its people. According to our American common-school histories and geographies, Spain is a worn-out and effete country, without much industry or much commerce, abounding in wild mountain scenery, old cathedrals and innumerable convents. The people are priest-ridden, indolent and cruel, and their sole occupation is to attend bull-fights and to dance the bolero. The only redeeming qualities are the black eyes and small feet of the señoritas.

This might have been partially correct during the last century, but it is ridiculously untrue when applied to Spain since the French invasion in 1808. Whoever has studied the national character of the Spanish will be slow to believe that the people have ever become so degraded and worn-out and useless as they have been generally represented to the English and the American mind. There is a great diversity of feeling, sentiment, talent, manners and customs in the Peninsula, as may be expected from its history. There is more difference between the Catalonian, the Yankee of Spain, and the Andalusian in Cadiz and Malaga, than there is between the New Englander and the planter of Louisiana. Yet one thing is certain; the Spaniard everywhere is of quick wit and of quick speech; he excels in keen repartee; he is a born orator, and there is in the mass of people a fund of good, sound common sense and a horror of humbug which is truly surprising. To be sure, one finds in the higher circles much unsound sentiment, a sort of flightiness of spirit, an indulgence in idle fancies, and a craving for what is unattainable, which often shows itself in what we call bombast and rodomontade. But, taking

the great mass of the people, this is only an exceptional phase of the Spanish character. Still, it is very apt to impress the foreigner, as it shows itself principally in the higher spheres of society, and gives one the idea that it is the true type of the national mind.

That greatest painter of Spanish life, Cervantes, in giving us the chivalrous "Don Quixote" and the commonplace "Sancho Panza," the idealistic starving "Rosinante" of the knight of the sorrowful figure, and the well-fed donkey of the jolly, fat squire, has embodied the sum and substance of the great national traits of his countrymen. That such a portraiture was the object of the great master in writing his inimitable and immortal work, can hardly admit of a doubt.

That the Spaniard is not worn out, he has proved by a seven years' sanguinary struggle against foreign invasion. To sustain a contest against such odds as the first Napoleon, his best generals and his best armies offered, required intense nationality, (and no people have more of this than the Spaniards,) individual self-reliance, personal courage, impulsive feeling, not obliterated by selfish and cool reflection, and last, but not least, a sturdy physical force. All these qualities the Spaniards showed in an eminent degree, and no people posessing them can really be said to have declined. Their communal institutions, having educated the people to self-government undoubtedly helped immensely in this emergency. When their national government had been driven to the extremity of the country and held its sessions at Cadiz under the fire of the enemy's cannon, each city, each town, each hamlet, became a law unto itself, with its provisional government (junta), and fed the flame of war in every section of the country.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY OF SPAIN

Ever since the death of Ferdinand VII, Spain has had a constitution more or less liberal, and a strictly parliamentary government. While the King or Queen is not responsible, the ministers are. They retire the moment they lose the majority

in either the senate or the lower house, the Cortes. The electors are numerous, because every citizen of age, paying taxes to the amount of not less than twenty dollars, is entitled to vote and to be voted for. Prior to the election, public meetings are allowed to discuss the merits of the candidates. Otherwise, the right to meet in the open air is much hampered and dependent upon the previous permission of the police. Yet the parties have found means to obviate these restrictions. National celebrations, funerals, large political dinners and other entertainments, serenades to distinguished leaders, which are of very frequent occurrence and suit the national spirit admirably, furnish opportunities for great demonstrations and much eloquent and patriotic speaking.

THE PRESS IN SPAIN

The laws of the press are, in point of theory, severe. There is no censorship before publication. But the attorney of the state has to be furnished, some hours before the papers are mailed or sold in the streets, with a copy of the edition, and, if he finds an article which he thinks inadmissible, he can order a seizure of the whole edition as a preliminary step. He must then institute a legal proceeding before a court against the proprietor of the journal, where the seizure is either sustained or pronounced illegal. The proprietor must deposit in every instance before he can commence publishing a newspaper, a sum of money varying from $2,000 to $6,000 according to the place where his paper is published, to satisfy the fines imposed for offenses of which he may be convicted.

All this looks very serious indeed. But the journalists have a very shrewd presentiment of what will invoke the ire of the prosecuting attorney. They strike off a few copies before they send in the paper for examination. If the paper is seized, they leave out the objectionable article and go to press with the rest, leaving either a blank space or filling this up with large letters announcing the seizure of the first edition, or inserting some paragraph of the constitution guaranteeing liberty of the press, or some ridiculous advertisement.

When in 1864, Don Calvo Ascencio, the proprietor and editor of the chief organ of the Progresista party, the "Iberia," died, he was indebted to the government for fines to the amount of $10,000. Within a very short time after his death the leading members of the party subscribed the whole amount of the fines. But they were not fast enough for the government. Before the fines were paid the minister of the interior informed the widow of the deceased in the most gracious terms that the Queen had been pleased to remit all dues to the relict and family of Señor Ascencio in consideration of his distinguished talents, which had made him a literary ornament of Spain. The party then proposed to donate the amount subscribed to the family; but the widow declined taking the gift, alleging that by the mental toil and labor of her patriotic husband a competency had been secured for her to live on, and that his name and reputation and the grateful remembrance of the country were to her a greater treasure that it was in the power of any party to bestow.

Speaking of the death of this journalist we may remark that his funeral was made the occasion for a monster demonstration on the part of the Progresista party. It was said that in addition to innumerable coaches, there marched in the cortège more than forty thousand members of the party. That there were as many more spectators lining the streets is beyond question. For the whole afternoon there was no possibility of crossing in a carriage from the north to the south side of the city without driving miles around, as the procession and the spectators formed a dense mass through the main streets and avenues of Madrid, and as the procession was not allowed to be broken. Some fiery Progresistas proposed to stop at the Plaza Mayor and to deliver addresses. This would have been against the law, as that would have constituted a public meeting without permission. It might have produced a collision. Gen. Prim, however, succeeded in persuading the procession to go on. The Queen had sent a deputation to the cortège, and some of the ministers also participated in the ceremonies.

The opposition of the ministry displayed an equal tact and a nice sense of honor and of chivalry in everything connected with the death of Señor Ascencio.

It would be very hard to find a parallel of noble sentiment such as Ascencio's widow displayed in our country, where gift-taking by public men, even by Presidents and their widows, unfortunately abounds.

Substantially the press is free. While towards private individuals there is always a courtesy and a delicacy shown which in other countries is sorely missed, ministers and other public functionaries and even royalty itself are exposed to the most severe and cutting attacks. Certain it is that our public men would wince under the incessant sarcasm, denunciations, maledictions and imprecations which are daily showered on the ministers and the favorites of the court. In verse and in prose they are persecuted day and night. Priests, too, furnish a most shining mark for the pellets of the Liberal press.

Of the activity of the press in the cities at least of Spain no one can have an idea who has not been a personal observer. There are published in Madrid alone daily five official government-papers containing laws passed by the legislature, the full debates of the two chambers, the decrees, ordinances and orders of the ministerial departments, the appointments, the proceedings of the courts, the exchange, public advertisements, and the like. There are in the same city thirty political journals representing the different parties published every day, and four weekly and semi-monthly. Of political journals, the "España," the "Clamor Publico," the "Diario Español," the "Contemporaneo," the "Nacion," the "Democratia," and the "Discussion," appear in two editions daily; the "Correspondencia," and the "Noticeas" in three, and the "Novedades" and the "Iberia" in four editions.

Of the "Correspondencia," which belongs by turn to each successive ministry, but gives an immense amount of news, there are sold sometimes as many as twenty thousand copies

a day, and, when the last edition is distributed often as late as ten or eleven o'clock at night by the newsboys and newsgirls, who rush out to the most public places with the most frantic cries, there is such a tumultuous throng of people trying to get hold of the wet sheets that a stranger would think that a tremendous riot was springing up. The ante-rooms and the corridors of the theatres and circuses are soon filled with the juvenile band and almost every spectator is immediately furnished with his paper. Immense numbers are sold in all the coffee-houses and other evening resorts. The fact is, the Spaniards are all, in the cities at least, inveterate politicians.

Besides the political newspapers there are printed and published in Madrid no less than ninety-three literary and scientific periodicals, appearing weekly, semi-monthly, monthly and quarterly, and some, one might say, semi-occasionally,—the satirical papers, for instance, "El Mosquito," and "El Escorpion," the names of which sufficiently indicate their tendency.

SPANISH SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The landed property of the clergy has been turned over to the State. There are a few nunneries left, most of which are connected with seminaries for young ladies. All convents for monks have long since been abolished. The clergy are paid by the State, and free schools are everywhere established, though the teachers are sorely underpaid.

The country people are not indolent, but labor very hard. Dwelling, like most people of the Latin race, in towns and villages, they have often great distances to travel to their fields, which they cultivate with poor instruments, but very carefully. No finer wheat or barley is raised in the world than in Old and New Castile, no better Indian corn than in the Vegas of Valencia, Barcelona, and, generally, in the river bottoms. As a rule all Spaniards are frugal. I have never seen a drunken man in Spain. Of course there are haunts in the suburbs of Madrid and other large cities where the peasantry, men and women, after they have sold their poultry, eggs,

milk, and vegetables, at the market places, congregate on their way home and where the native liquor aguardiente may make people boisterous and drunk; but nothing of this is seen in the city proper. There may be a great deal of vice in Madrid, but nothing of it is to be seen on the streets, neither by day nor at night. Not even the demi-monde is permitted to drive in the Prado or any other promenade.

The higher classes have, of course, the vices of their equals in other large cities of Europe, and gambling, it must be admitted, is the besetting sin of all Spaniards. What is most laudable in the Spanish character,—I mean in the middle and lower classes of the people,—is the absence of all servility. I have often thought of what I once observed at Aranjuez, and it was but one instance of the trait to which I have alluded. There had been a Besamanos at the court in honor of the birthday of the Queen's mother, Christina. We had stood nearly three hours in the throne-hall and had looked at the tiresome ceremony of handkissing. At last we were relieved. As the train to Madrid did not leave until some time afterward, we went to the gardens and sought some of the marble benches on which to rest. We were all in full uniform; so were the court people. Making use of the extra train which took us out on this occasion, many ladies, mostly young, of the *haute volée* of Madrid, had come along in their airy and elegant summer-dresses, their round Russian straw hats and tiny walking-canes. The people also came in, for in Spain all classes commingle. The peasantry, male and female, from the neighborhood in their picturesque national costumes, the soldiers of the garrison and many of the town's people filled the shady avenues. On one of the garden benches sat duchesses and countesses chatting with diplomats and officers standing before them, and girls from the country talking the same way to their friends. I closely watched a group in the midst of an open place, in the midst of which stood a fountain and around which were about a dozen long marble benches, one of which was occupied by some of the chiefs of legation. The adjoining one was filled

half with Madrid ladies of the highest rank and half with peasant girls and Spanish private soldiers. On the rim of the basin of the fountain women of the lower classes had seated themselves, and some of them from time to time, laying themselves flat on the ground, sipped the water out of the basin in the most primitive manner. Children played around all unconcerned, and private soldiers and women and girls of the people did not show the least embarrassment in the midst of generals and ambassadors. After having made the military salute to their officers, they felt perfectly at ease and behaved like gentlemen. In what other country are the poorer and less educated classes so free and so proud? Every one of these soldiers or peasants, if there is an occasion for it, speaks entirely unembarrassed with a duke or duchess, and, it is said, with the Queen,— and I believe it. And the Queen and the duchess will address them as kindly and as politely as they will their equals. However corrupt some of the higher classes may be, the real people, the marrow of the country, are good, and better, I believe, than most other people of my knowledge. This individuality, sense of independence, coupled with an intense national pride, will at all times secure to the Spanish people a certain measure of civil liberty.

THROUGH FRANCE

Indulging in these thoughts I finally fell asleep, crossing the Somma Sierra, and not waking up until we stopped for a short time at Burgos. We had just had a glimpse in the early morning of the Gothic cathedral, one of the very finest in Spain. I regretted much not to have had time to stay a day in this memorable city, and to visit at Miraflores the tomb of the Cid near Burgos. By Victoria we soon reached the foothills of the Pyrenees, and about noon we had to leave the cars, the railroad not being finished for about twelve or fifteen miles. In open omnibuses we passed through a most splendidly wooded country, over mountains with views into well-cultivated green valleys, until we came to the railway again.

These passes through the Pyrenees are grand and beautiful At San Sebastian we saw the Gulf of Biscay, passed Bayonne, and by six o'clock in the evening, passing through the desert-looking "landes," reached Bordeaux. The depot at Bordeaux is at a considerable distance from that great city. As we had to dine, and the train stopped but half an hour, we could see but little of this interesting place. Here, by paying an additional twenty francs we got into a sleeping coupé. It had no berths, but chairs that could be drawn out to the length of a short bed. But we were provided with soft pillows and soft blankets. We passed by some of the celebrated wine-producing hills, the vines not being cut as low as in Spain, but being raised over trellises or on poles as on the Rhine. During the night we went through Tours, Orleans, and quite early in the morning we found ourselves at Fontainebleau. In about an hour we landed at the Hôtel de la Paix, Rue de Capucins. My English friends did not even stop to take breakfast, but drove at once to the Northern Station for Calais. Before parting, the younger of them, (the other being apparently a sort of a governor,) handed me his card,—"R. White, of the Carlton Club," I believe the most aristocratic one in London. Of course I had to return mine. He read it over twice, thinking he had misread it. He looked somewhat embarrassed, made a slight bow, saying that he was very happy to have made my acquaintance, and left the office accompanied by his military-looking companion and his body-servant.

With the assistance of a very experienced valet-de-place I used my time at Paris very well during a stay of three days. The Louvre and the Luxembourg galleries took up the first one. The close attention I had paid in Spain to all the museums of paintings and statuary and to the principal churches, made me look with quite different eyes and with far more satisfaction on the treasures of the Paris collections, than on my former visit.

The next day I went to Versailles, where I had never been before,—going down on the right side of the Seine by Mount

Valérien and Sèvres through a most delightful country and returning by the railway on the left side. I visited first the Little and then the Great Trianon and then the Gardens and the Great Palace. At the Trianons there were many relics of the unfortunate Louis XVI and his more unfortunate and lovely Queen, Marie Antoinette. My valet, by whispering my title into the ears of the various attendants and overseers of these royal residences and slipping a respectable douceur into their hands, pretended that I had been shown a great many things which were invisible to ordinary sightseers. Of course, I have only his word for it. In the palace I must say that besides the great salons, containing large-sized pictures of all the successful French battles, I was shown through at least a dozen other rooms and salons which were of some notoriety.

The last day was devoted to the palaces of the Senate and Lower House, to a number of churches, the Palais des Beaux-Arts, the Hôtel de Cluny and the magnificent Hôtel de Ville.

At the Châtelet, which is the largest theatre in Paris and especially appropriated to spectacular performances, I saw "Uncle Tom's Cabin" represented with an almost fabulous magnificence. The scenery was a perfect illusion. The Ohio River running with heavy ice over which Eliza, the negro girl, fled, was a magnificent piece of scenic work. The pursuers rode on blooded horses and the hounds were real bloodhounds, whose deep bellowing sent a shudder through the house. The melodrama was interspersed with a number of ballets of whites, quadroons, and negroes. The negro dances were most grotesque and comical. The other nights I spent at the Opera House.

THROUGH GERMANY TO NEW YORK

By Châlons-sur-Marne, Nancy, Saverne, Strassburg, Heidelberg, I reached Frankfort on the first of August, where I joined Sophie, Augusta and Paula. As the lectures of Gustave in Heidelberg and also the quarter in Paula's ladies' seminary had not terminated, we, with the exception of Paula, went to our usual resort, Heidelberg.

On the 20th of August, after having made several excursions, we left for Hamburg. We had engaged passage on the Germania, a new steamer and then considered the best and swiftest of that line. We were to sail on the 24th. Hamburg was new to all except myself. The handsome parks and villas of the merchant-princes of Hamburg, on the banks of the Elbe, some of them having very rich conservatories and palm-houses, Nienstedten and Blankenese, the environs of the Outer Alster, the churches, museums, and exchange, the beautiful promenades and cemeteries, and the very extensive Zoological Garden were all visited and greatly enjoyed by us.

My receiving here a visit from my old Jena friend, Henry Rueder, was an agreeable surprise. After having undergone some years' imprisonment for having been a member of the Burschenschaft, he was finally admitted to the practice of law, in which he distinguished himself so much that he was appointed one of the state's attorneys of the dukedom of Oldenburg, of which he was a native. He finally reached the office of attorney general for the whole state. I believe that I have already stated that we remained in correspondence until a few years ago when he died; but it was only lately that I heard of his death.

On the day appointed we left Hamburg. The Germania was really one of the finest boats existing at that time. The company of the first and even second class was very agreeable. The boat went into the Southampton harbor, and spent a day there coaling. A Turkish steam-frigate of forty-four guns was there in the docks. Our very attentive and accommodating captain thought it might interest us to visit the Turk, as he expressed it, and so he went on board the frigate and reported that the United States minister to Spain and family would like to inspect the vessel. He brought us back an invitation in French from the vice-admiral. Perhaps there was not the same comfort, neatness and exquisite cleanliness apparent on board of the Turk as we had found in one of the magnificent steamers of the Oriental line which we had visited

just before; but still, even in that respect, she left little to be desired. The cabins of the admiral and of some of the higher officers were most luxuriously fitted up in Oriental style. Heavy Persian carpets covered the floors and the curtains and divans were of the richest silk, and there was an abundance of silver-plate in handsomely worked cases. In the vast gun-room a number of sea-cadets were squatting round an old venerable looking schoolmaster, who was reading to them, while they took down notes on little tablets. Of course, we did not understand anything; but the young fellows looked very intelligent. The vice-admiral spoke French, and showed us around with great politeness.

The weather was very fine, and the trip from Southampton to New York quick and pleasant. It was made in a little more than nine days, which was considered "Cunard time." We landed at Hoboken, on the 6th of September, and had no trouble with the customs' officers. We took up our quarters at the old Astor House. I had to go to Washington first, so Sophie and the children left for home at once.

At Sandy Hook the pilot had brought us the late New York papers. Running my eye over one of them, I read the platform of the Democratic party which had assembled at Chicago on the 20th of August, as also some of the speeches which had been made there. I immediately turned round to some of the gentlemen from New York who had been our companions, and said: "Now Mr. Lincoln's election is certain." One article of that Democratic platform had "explicitly" declared that "after four years of failure to restore the Union, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand immediate cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, so that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." General McClellan had been nominated for President, and Geo. H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLIV.

End of the War

I hastened to Washington. Messrs. Hay and Nicolay in their "Life of Lincoln" represent Mr. Lincoln as having been entirely confident of his election after his nomination by the Baltimore Convention, and to have taken no measures at all to secure his success. My experience does not agree with this statement. On the contrary, the President was extremely uneasy, not to say alarmed. Although General McClellan, in accepting the platform, had distinctly and in very excellent language repudiated the peace-article of the Democratic platform, Mr. Lincoln thought that the General was very strong with the army and that Gen. Frémont would make such a division in New York and some of the Northern States as to defeat him. He thought from what he could learn of the Cleveland Convention, which had nominated Frémont, that he would lose what he called the German element, which held the balance of power in Missouri, Wisconsin and Illinois.

I assured him that there was no danger to be expected from that element, that I personally knew most of the men who had figured prominently in the Frémont move, that they were, though perfectly honest in their wild and radical notions, men of no political sense, nor were they able to manage a campaign; that I had kept up my correspondence with my German friends in Illinois and Missouri, and although some of them had blamed him for being too conservative, they would support no one but him.

The subject came up as to whether it would be advisable for me to enter into the campaign actively while I was temporarily at home, and we both agreed it would be better not

to do so. I, however, reserved to myself the privilege, that, if I should be especially invited to address an important meeting, I would do so, to which Mr. Lincoln agreed. Regarding my own business we concluded to defer it until after the election.

THE SECOND LINCOLN CAMPAIGN

Returning by way of Cincinnati, I saw a number of the leading Germans there, and found matters as I had expected. Most of them were warmly for Lincoln; the rest, while grumbling, had decided to vote for him. It was charged that through the influence of Mr. Bates and the Blairs, efforts by the earnest Republicans to abolish slavery in Missouri by a constitutional convention had been thwarted, in consequence of which the feeling of the Germans, particularly in Missouri, was very bitter against the administration. Inasmuch, however, as General Frémont, late in September, withdrew from the canvass, (it is said on the condition that the Blair influence should be eliminated, which gained some semblance of truth from Montgomery Blair's leaving the cabinet about this time,) the discontent in Missouri lost its force, and Missouri gave a large majority for Mr. Lincoln at the November election.

At home I found everything right politically. The Union League, a secret society formed a year or so before in all the Free States, had been perfectly organized and exerted a powerful influence. It was perhaps in its inception a necessity. The Secession Democrats in the North had previously formed secret societies, and the drafts, the increase of taxation, several violent and imprudent acts by some of the Republican authorities, the slow progress in the field, had largely increased the opposition the year before and really endangered the Union cause. But although much urged I did not join the League, either then or afterwards, as I have a decided antipathy against all secret political and, indeed, against all other secret societies or lodges, as they generally fall under the control of a few cunning, designing men and become tools in their hands.

Although, having been in the army, I could have become a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, I have declined also to join that organization, fearing its being abused for party purposes by designing demagogues.

I had not been home more than a few days when I received invitations from various parts of the State to address Republican meetings. I accepted only two. I spoke at Alton, where my friends represented that the Democrats were making considerable headway, and at Chicago, where the State Central Committee Club sent me an urgent invitation that I could not refuse.

MEETINGS IN CHICAGO

The meetings at Chicago were tumultuous. The halls were crowded to overflowing. Regimental bands were playing at the opening and conclusion. Campaign glee-clubs were singing. The speakers were interrupted by uniformed clubs marching in, accompanied by brass bands. In order to make the principal meeting at Bryant's Hall still more attractive, the celebrated tragedian, James E. Murdock, was announced to make an address and recite some patriotic poetry. The music and singing, with encores, at the beginning, took up nearly an hour. The audience was noisy and excited. Before I was even introduced by the president, the cry was "Murdock, Murdock." The people had come to see a show, and evidently did not care to hear speeches. Outside the hall, in the streets, processions were marching, probably of both parties, making an infernal noise.

I felt at once that I was not the right sort of a fellow for such a crowd; and, if only because I had been introduced by the president as one of the founders of the great Republican party, as a trusted friend of Mr. Lincoln, as a distinguished statesman and as the representative of our country at the court of Spain, I could not adapt myself to the moods and demands of a crowd; even if I had wished to do so, I could not have delivered a political harangue denouncing the opposition-party as traitors and copperheads. So at

the start I told the people I should certainly disappoint them, as I would not appeal to their passions but to their reason. I shortened my speech considerably, however, as I was well aware how impatient the audience was to hear the comical songs of the Republican Glee Club and Mr. Murdock's dramatic performances. When I got through, Senator Trumbull, according to the programme, was to speak; but there was such shouting for Murdock that this gentleman had to come forward. After a very feeling introduction (I believe he had lost a son in the field) he recited some poetical pieces very finely. Being encored, he gave the scene from Hamlet where that prince makes his friends, Horatio and Marcellus, swear on his sword not to divulge what they had seen that night, and where the ghost from below utters the word "Swear." It was admirably done, though certainly it had no connection with the business of the meeting. It was getting late. Senator Trumbull was almost in the same embarrassed situation I had been in. He was no ranter, was in fact an excellent and impressive and often sarcastic debater, not disposed and not able, indeed, to stir up a promiscuous crowd on the eve of an important election. He certainly had been displeased with the behaviour of the audience and did not disguise it, for when he opened his address he said that he was well aware that in troublous times when men's minds were excited he was the most popular speaker who would add fuel to the fire and to the passions of the hearers. To add to this excitement was not right. Constitutional liberty and the striking off of the shackles of the slave were not to be supported by "hurrahs" at public meetings. These remarks had a good effect, and the cry for the song of "Little Mac" and for Murdock's oath ceased for sometime. It was near midnight when the meeting broke up—of course, with three cheers and a tiger.

The fact is that meetings held only a few days before an election affect the vote only so far as people otherwise slow and phlegmatic may be induced not to stay away from the polls. As for producing changes of opinion they are failures.

Earlier in the campaign and when great numbers have not yet taken sides,—and of this class there are more than people imagine, holding very often the balance of power,—argumentative speeches, particularly where there are joint debates, are of great value. But later in the canvass people have usually made up their minds; the meetings are all one-sided, and there is of course no chance of making converts. In the large cities particularly, meetings just before an important election are mere pageants,—one might even say public nuisances.

On the invitation of several German clubs I stayed some time longer in Chicago to address a meeting at the Turn-Hall on the North Side, where the German element prevails. But as there were nearly as many Americans present as Germans, the speeches, except the one by the president, Francis A Hoffmann, were made in English. This meeting was also a very large one and very enthusiastic, though by no means tumultuous. Some marching clubs came in, but left their music and torch-lights outside. The much noted John Wentworth, of giant stature, followed us, and made a very excellent ward speech, abusing some aldermen,—which, however was wholly inappropriate and left the meeting cold, except his "claque," which he always brought with him. Fortunately Governor Hoffmann wound up with a most eloquent and forcible speech.

Perhaps a sentence or two from my speech at the Turn-Hall will best show in what way I thought it right to address the public on this occasion, holding the position I did:

"We are now on the eve of a Presidential election whose importance alone could prevail upon me to appear as a public speaker. You cannot and will not expect of me that I should indulge in a partisan warfare. I stand here not as a party man, although I shall not disguise that my feelings are with the Republican party, of which I was a member almost from its foundation. I come to speak as an American citizen, to strengthen the faith of the Union men, to convince the wavering and to bring over to our cause such of our opponents as are misled only by misrepresentations and have been deceived by the raising of false issues."

While at Chicago, I visited Camp Douglas where some 8,000 or 10,000 rebel prisoners were confined. The barracks appeared to be clean, the men looked well, and did not seem to feel depressed. Most of them were young and able-bodied men. Of course, the discipline was strict. There was a dangerous rebel element in the city, led by men of standing and ability. At one time it was thought that there was a conspiracy to liberate the prisoners and to take possession of the town in the name of the Confederacy. The outbreak was to be on election day. On this suspicion a number of people were arrested, among whom some Confederate officers were found, still belonging to the rebel army. They were treated as spies. One was by a court-martial sentenced to be hanged; but he was, I believe, pardoned. The citizens of Illinois who had been arrested were acquitted, no sufficient proof being found of their participation in the conspiracy, if there was one.

Some two weeks after these meetings Mr. Lincoln was triumphantly elected, receiving the vote of all the Union States with the exception of Delaware, Kentucky and New Jersey. In Illinois he received thirty thousand majority, while in 1860 he had not had quite five thousand majority over all his opponents, Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell.

RESIGNS FROM THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

On the 20th of November I went to Washington. The President could not make me any certain promise of changing my mission. He wanted me in the service. He suggested, as my leave of absence was just expiring, to have it extended to the 1st of January. In the meantime he thought he might succeed in making arrangements with some of the ministers or some of the gentlemen who would be appointed next March, by which he could put me at some place more convenient for me. Mr. Seward at once made out such extension of leave, as he said in his despatch, "cheerfully." While at Washington Señor Tassara gave me a dinner at the Spanish embassy. Mr. Seward, who was in the finest spirits, took the head of the

table. All the chiefs of legation and the personnel of the Spanish mission were present. Señor Tassara being unmarried, no ladies were present. Mr. Seward told all sorts of anecdotes, and of course elicited some from the other guests. Seward seemed to be very familiar with all the diplomats, called them by their surnames, without any Mr. The session after dinner lasted until early in the morning. Champagne flowed. I walked home with Mr. Seward, who was feeling remarkably well; I had to ring the bell for him. Nothing, however, turned up in my favor between my visit to Washington and the first of December; so on the 20th of December I sent in my resignation, to take effect on the first of January. In reply Mr. Seward wrote me on January 8th, 1865:

"Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated December 28th tendering your resignation as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of her Catholic Majesty, the Queen of Spain. In acquainting you with the President's acceptance of your resignation, it affords me pleasure to add that your discharge of the arduous duties of the mission which you relinquish, has been entirely satisfactory. I am, etc., etc."

The President, when I last saw him in Washington in November, was in the best of spirits. He saw daylight, he said; told me more amusing anecdotes than he had ever done before when I was with him; alluded, however, in feeling terms to some of the gloomy and harassing periods he had passed through, and which had almost broken his heart.

PRIVATE AFFAIRS

I entered on the year 1865 as a free man. We found ourselves at once perfectly at home, and, I believe, our friends found no difference in our mode of life and in our social relations from what they formerly were. We could be comparatively far more liberal in our expenses than at Madrid, where we had to make the closest calculations to live respectably without sacrificing too much of our own money.

Very soon I was entrusted with important cases, arising from alleged infractions of our internal revenue laws, which, of course, were often violated owing to the enormous taxes laid on many manufactured articles. Confiscations had taken place, suits on bonds, criminal proceedings had been instituted in the Federal courts, and my time for nearly two years was much engrossed by attending to these cases, not only in the United States Court at Springfield, but also at Cincinnati, St. Louis and Washington City. Governor Oglesby had also appointed me to assist Mr. Isaac N. Morris of Quincy in the prosecution of a claim of the State of Illinois against the United States arising from a provision of the act of Congress enabling the Territory of Illinois to become a State, which claim was known as the two-per-cent claim and amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. This case also occupied me more or less for two or three years, and necessitated my presence in Washington City repeatedly. The business in the Belleville circuit had also largely increased. Gustave entered my law office to pursue his legal studies.

CLOSE OF THE WAR

In the first months of this year the war was drawing to a close. Sherman had marched through Georgia and taken Savannah. At the end of December General Thomas had utterly routed and defeated Hood's army at Nashville. Thomas's troops under command of General Schofield were sent from Nashville to Washington within a few days, owing to the remarkable ability of my friend Gen. Lewis B. Parsons, the head of the river and railroad transportation. Sherman had entered South Carolina and from there moved up to North Carolina to meet Schofield. Grant was encircling Richmond with his large army.

On the 4th of March Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration took place. His address on that occasion is full of sublime utterances, and is certainly a state paper which for originality and impressiveness is hardly equalled in history. On the

first day of April the fortified lines around Richmond were taken by assault or abandoned. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet left Richmond on the second of April. On the third, General Weitzel, at the head of a cavalry party, entered Richmond, a part of which was on fire. Mr. Lincoln, who had come down previously to General Grant's headquarters, quietly walked along with a few officers as an escort through burning warehouses, vessels, docks and streets to the capitol of the Confederacy.

Generals Grant and Sherman outflanked the retreating army of Lee, thus preventing its junction with the Confederate army of Joseph Johnston, and, on the ninth of April, Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House. The war was substantially ended.

This glorious news was an immense relief to the loyal people. A load of sorrow and anxiety was taken from the minds of all those who had dear ones in the army. The existence of the nation had been preserved. Glorification meetings were held all over the country. Prayers went up in all the churches. There were rejoicings and congratulations everywhere. Everybody was full of hope and happiness. What was most remarkable was the spirit of moderation and willingness to forgive shown to the conquered South by the loyal people of the North at that time. Lincoln's own benignity, his discarding all idea of vengeance, seemed to inspire the whole country. The concluding words of his inaugural address, "With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, etc.," had sunk deep into the people's heart.

LINCOLN'S DEATH

On the fifteenth of April, the day after Good Friday, I left my house for my office about eight o'clock in the morning. When I reached Main Street, I was surprised that the people were closing their stores and that the Union flag, which, after

the surrender at Appomattox, had been hoisted on all public buildings and many private ones, hung at half-mast. Some houses were already draped with black crape. "Lincoln is dead," "Lincoln has been assassinated," was heard through the streets. I hurried to the telegraph office. The last despatch announced his death at seven o'clock in the morning. He had been shot in the theatre by John Wilkes Booth a little after ten the night before. I went home at once, hardly able to keep on my feet to tell the sad news. When Sophie heard it, she grew pale, trembled and exclaimed: "That was the shot we heard last night." I now recollected the circumstance she had referred to. We were sitting in our back parlor around the center-table, some reading, others doing needle-work, when we heard the report of a gun between nine and ten o'clock. It was so loud that we supposed the gun had been fired on our back-porch, which runs along the west side of the south wing of the house. Our room had a window looking out on the porch, and I immediately rose, raised the window, but could see no person nor any smoke. I then went out on the porch and the lawn around our house. Nothing was to be seen. But as there was a close board fence some six feet high between the lawn and the street west of the house, I could not see whether there was any person in the street. At that time the street was only partly built up, and, although the house was in the city limits, it was still in a retired part of the town. It was nothing at all unusual at that time for people to fire off pistols or guns, and we paid no further attention to it and went back to our room.

Of course, there existed no connection between this incident and the terrible scene at Washington. I had tried to reason with Sophie who was the least superstitious and the most courageous of women; but I only half convinced her of the unreasonableness of her belief. And even in later years, when the subject of Lincoln's assassination came up, she would still insist that it was at least a very remarkable coincidence. Now the identity of the time was very questionable. As far as I

recollect, Wilkes fired his pistol about twenty-five minutes past ten. By the difference between Eastern and Western time it must have been about half an hour after nine in Belleville. None of us, however, could tell more than that we heard the report of a gun between nine and ten o'clock; but whether it was fifteen, twenty-five, thirty-five or fifty minutes past nine no one could recollect, as we did not look at the clock when we heard the report.

Lincoln's death was everywhere considered as a national calamity. The rebels had lost their best friend, was the general expression. It is now pretty well ascertained that Booth's act was that of an eccentric, vainglorious, and, through dissipation, half-crazed individual, that the leaders of the Rebellion had nothing to do with it. But that was not the first impression, and when the hot-headed Andrew Johnson, as President, issued a proclamation charging Jefferson Davis of Richmond and some other Confederate leaders who had been for some time in Canada with having incited and procured the assassination of President Lincoln, and offered $100,000 reward for the arrest of Jefferson Davis and $25,000 for the others, most of the loyal people believed the President's charge to be true and their feelings became greatly embittered against the vanquished South. This proclamation may be said to be the origin of the denunciations against the South, better known as the "waving of the bloody shirt," which have done such infinite mischief, so long delaying the peaceable and fraternal consolidation of the Union.

FUNERAL OF LINCOLN

After most solemn funeral rites over the corpse of the late President, performed at the Capitol at Washington, the remains were brought to Springfield. At the principal cities of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the funeral car was received by thousands, nay millions, of mourners, who cast a last look on the martyred chief. Such a funeral procession through cities draped in black, through crowds of

thousands who sobbed and wept, receiving all imaginable civil and military honors, was never seen in the world's history before and will never be seen again.

On Tuesday, the second of May, the funeral train reached Springfield in the evening. On Wednesday the remains were exposed in the hall of the House of Representatives, and visited, it was said, by at least 75,000 people from far and wide. From Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana, people had come to Springfield to see their beloved President laid to rest.

The guard of honor that accompanied the corpse from Washington, consisted of a major-general and five brigadier-generals of the army. A deputation of six senators and twelve representatives also came from Washington. The governors of ten States were present. On Thursday, the fourth of May, on a beautiful bright day, the interment took place in the Oak Ridge Cemetery. The procession was immense, partly military, partly civil.

I had been especially invited to be present by the committee of arrangements, though I should otherwise certainly not have failed to be there. Somewhat to my surprise, I learnt by the papers that I had been appointed pall-bearer. I say surprise, because of the twelve gentlemen selected I was the only one not from Springfield. The others had all been for many years his fellow-townsmen, and, with the exception of Judge Treat, had been his strong political friends in old Whig times when I was of course in decided opposition to Mr. Lincoln and his principles. Our personal relations during that time of political difference had been very friendly, however, and for some reason or other Mr. Lincoln had treated me with particular kindness and attention. This perhaps was known to the committee of arrangements. Nearly all the twelve who walked with heads uncovered on each side of the hearse from the Capitol to the grave are dead. They were Judge Stephen T. Logan, James L. Lamb, Jesse K. Dubois, Judge S. H. Treat, John Williams, Erastus Wright, J. N.

Brown, J. N. Bun, C. W. Matheny, Elijah Iles, and John Stewart. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal church made an excellent funeral address, eschewing all rhetoric,—one which in its sensible chasteness was all the more impressive.

To analyze such a highly complex character as that of Mr. Lincoln, and to give a correct portraiture of it, is a task which many have undertaken, but in which few, if any, have fully succeeded. I knew him well enough to have been able to detect certain weaknesses and defects in his character. The great and good, however, largely preponderated. Mr. Seward had said of Mr. Lincoln that he was the best man he ever knew. I should rather say he was the justest man I ever knew.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Years 1865 to 1867

In July, 1865, the revenue cases, as also the prosecution of the two-per-cent claim, made my presence in Washington necessary. I passed there nearly three weeks during a spell of continuous hot weather. Mr. Morris of Quincy, the principal agent in the State claim business, was with me. We sought to impress the President also with the justice of our claim. Before Lincoln's inauguration in 1861, I had seen Mr. Johnson at a distance only, when he was making a Union speech from the balcony of his hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. He was then very popular, being the only decided Union Senator from the South, but I did not notice him particularly, standing as I was in an enthusiastic crowd cheering him constantly. Meeting him now in the White House and conversing with him for half an hour or so, he made, I must say, a very unfavorable impression on me. He was of medium height, of rather dark complexion, and with piercing dark eyes, showing, as I thought, unrest; his features were somewhat contracted, not exactly vulgar, but ordinary; and his figure not elegant. While listening to our representations he put on an air of judicial importance which was altogether out of place. His troubles and difficulties with the Republican party were at that time only at an incipient stage. Our interview was by no means satisfactory, not as regards our business, (for of course we expected from him no committal, though we mentioned what President Lincoln had thought of the justness of the State's claims,) but on account of his personal appearance and the stiffness and coldness of his manner.

MEETING WITH GENERAL GRANT IN 1865

General Grant, at that time the chief of the army, was residing at Georgetown Heights, which were covered with a number of very fine residences. Mr. Morris, who was a strong personal friend of General Grant, and who frequently called upon him, wanted me repeatedly to go along with him and see the General. Now I was always somewhat shy in seeking interviews with distinguished men. The last time I had seen Grant in Springfield and Belleville, he was in a very subordinate position. I might say that I could then have considered myself as patronizing him. Perhaps, thought I, the General might not be particularly glad to renew our acquaintance. One morning, however, Mr. Morris came around to my lodgings in a carriage stating that I must go to see the General. He, Morris, had informed him that I was in the city and the General had told him that he would be very glad to see me. If I did not pay him a visit, Morris thought, it would be almost offensive in me. So I went to Georgetown. The General occupied a large mansion on the hills, from which there was a beautiful view over the charming environs of Washington. As we entered, General Grant was just descending the stairs, and met us in the hall. He was in full-dress uniform, just about to have his and his sons' photographs taken by an artist who had repeatedly asked him for a sitting in full-dress uniform. He had grown stouter than when I had seen him last, looked in fine health, and was in good spirits. He took us to the parlor, and introduced us to Mrs. Grant. I had not seen her before. She was plain-looking; there was nothing *distingué* about her. In this she was a true partner of the General. Yet there was something amiable in her face, and she was perfectly unaffected. The two boys, then about fifteen or sixteen years of age, were clad in a kind of uniform. They had attended an academy, I believe, in New Jersey, where, as in many other institutions, a sort of military instruction is also given.

I must say that General Grant received me very cordially,

spoke of our pleasant intercourse at Springfield, and recollected a great many little things which I had entirely forgotten. We smoked the legendary cigar, and the conversation turned upon the last spring campaign. Upon my remarking that the pursuit of Lee's army and the cutting off of his retreat, ending in his surrender at Appomattox Court House, were in my opinion the greatest exploits in our long war, he answered rather indirectly by saying: "We had a great deal of good luck. About that time the weather in Virginia is almost such that one is stuck up in the mud, and if nevertheless it comes to a fight and one wins, pursuit is out of the question. Exceptionally the roads were excellent, and we could go where we wanted to go. Two days after the surrender there was a turn in the weather, so that any movement then would have been impossible." He expressed his surprise at the sudden downfall of the Rebellion. "Indeed," he said, "I always knew that the thing must tumble down like a pile of brick, but I did not think it would happen so quickly."

I am reporting now his very words. I made a memorandum of them the same day and accidentally found it amongst my papers of that year. He was as modest as ever. He did not speak unkindly of the South,—rather the contrary. He had always been a Democrat, and, I should think, at that time had no aspirations for the Presidency. He held the highest military office for life with a large salary. He had received donations in houses and money by voluntary contribution, and had sense enough to know that he was not well qualified for the Presidency. He had no partisan feelings either way, and if the Democrats had nominated him in 1868, he would, I firmly believe, have accepted the nomination.

Indeed, I had at that time formed a most favorable opinion about General Grant. He was then as little "stuck up" as when I met him in Springfield in 1861, when I came to like him just because he did not show at all the usual self-sufficiency and arrogance of a West Pointer. Of his military genius, I had never formed the exaggerated opinion of most

of his admirers. He was cool and persistent; but while General Lee was sparing of the lives of his soldiers, Grant ultimately succeeded by large superiority in numbers and by immense sacrifices of blood.

On my return home by way of Philadelphia, I met at the depot Colonel Mather of Springfield, who had been adjutant-general of Illinois at the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion. It was in his office that Grant was first employed as an assistant. I was waiting for a train and Mather, then a colonel of artillery, was standing on the platform with some officers, who, judging from their shoulder-straps, were general officers whom he had seen off on some other train. We had not seen one another for four years, and he seemed to be very glad to meet me. He introduced me to his friends saying: "Gentlemen, this is the only man in Springfield who, at the beginning of the war, had found out that there was anything in Grant, and who said 'this man is a true soldier and will make his way.'"

I had not the slightest recollection of having said this; and rather intimated that he might be mistaken. But Mather so firmly insisted upon it in the presence of his military companions, that I finally made up my mind to believe him.

APPOINTED A TRUSTEE OF THE SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' HOME

Shortly after my return from Washington, Governor Oglesby asked me whether I would accept an appointment on the Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. The Legislature had passed a law for the erection of an asylum for the nursing and education of soldiers' orphans. It provided for a commission to select a suitable place and for a board of trustees to superintend the building of the asylum and the conducting of the establishment. It was an honorary appointment without any salary, and I, of course, accepted. My colleagues, six in number elected me president. I filled the office until the building was erected on land donated by Judge David Davis of the Supreme Court of the United States, near

Bloomington, a little to the northwest of the Normal School, and until the asylum had been fairly organized and the children, some two hundred and fifty, had been moved into it. At first we had to hire rooms in Bloomington and also one in Springfield for the reception of the orphans, and to appoint matrons and teachers. Under the law as it stood first, only full orphans were to be received, and they were to stay only till they were fourteen years of age. By several changes, half orphans were admitted and the age for staying was raised to sixteen years. It was supposed that in about fifteen years there would be no more candidates for the asylum, and the building then could be converted into some other public institution. I believe finally children of soldiers who were poor or of the poor widows of soldiers were admitted, so that it has turned out that under the name of orphans the institution has, at the end of twenty-five years, as many, if not more, inmates, than when the building was finished at the end of 1868.

A good deal of my time was spent on this business during my holding of this office. There were meetings of the whole board and still more numerous ones of the executive committee of the board, at which I also had to preside. A code of rules and regulations had to be provided, teachers appointed, building contracts made, and accounts examined and audited. No similar institution existed at that time, except one at Madison, Wisconsin. I visited three or four orphan asylums in St. Louis and Chicago, Protestant and Catholic, and inquired into their management and regulations. On a pleasure tour East with Sophie and Paula (in 1867), I spent several days at Madison, where I got very valuable information, as that institution had been in operation for a year or two. In Boston I got printed rules and regulations of several orphan retreats. Thus informed, I was able to draw up a set of rules which was approved by the board. After the public celebration of the opening of the asylum in its new place, I resigned. I claim some credit in one respect. The majority of the board, as is the common experience in this country, were for spending the

greatest part of the appropriation on a costly building with a large dome, an unnecessary thing in most buildings, and one which, on account of its requiring a very heavy foundation, increases the initial cost immensely. I succeeded by strong efforts in making them adopt the least expensive plan, which while tasteful in its simplicity, was yet solid and ample enough for all purposes. I do not think that any public building in the State has been erected at less cost.

PUBLISHES HIS REMINISCENCES OF SPAIN

While in Spain I had written a number of letters to our Mary, giving a pretty full account of our Andalusian tour, which had been published in the "Illinois Staatszeitung" in Chicago. Some of the letters to Mrs. Rosa Tittmann in St. Louis contained brief descriptions of our sea-voyage and our journey through France, Germany, Switzerland and Spain, and also of my trip to Hamburg and my stay at Kiel. Having repeatedly visited the picture-galleries at Madrid, I made extensive memoranda of those art-treasures. On some subjects, which had interested me much, such as the "Semaña Santa," "Eugenie's Visit to Madrid," the "Festival of the 'Dos de Mayo'," I had written sketches just for my own amusement. I never before had entertained the plan of collecting those stray writings and giving them to the public. I commenced doing this, however, during the end of this year in the few leisure hours business, private and public, left me. In 1866 I received a communication from Charles A. Dana, whose acquaintance I had made the previous year in Washington when I had transacted business in the War Office where he was assistant to Mr. Stanton, asking me very urgently to favor him with sketches of Spanish statesmen and with my views of the interesting events then taking place in Spain. Mr. Dana was then publishing a popular and important paper in Chicago called the "Republic." I complied with his wishes in a series of articles. While in office, I had, according to the rules laid down for ambassadors and consuls, written nothing

political for any newspaper. I was now free to say what I pleased about the court, the ministers and the statesmen of Spain. The articles above mentioned I added, translated into German, to my other material, and, after some negotiations with German publishers, my book "Aus Spanien," J. D. Sauerländer, Frankfort, 1867, left the press in the fall of 1866,—rather at an unfortunate period for the German public, inasmuch as the Prussian-Austrian war and the formation of the North-German Bund left the country in a state of fermentation which naturally withdrew attention from literary efforts having no connection with the great events which then shook all Europe. Although the reviews in the principal papers and monthly journals of my very modest little work were highly favorable,—far more so than I had the right to expect,—the sale was slow and moderate, and I do not think that the very respectable and well-known Frankfort firm which published it, made, any more than I, a fortune by it. Still, the composition of it gave me much pleasure, which I consider worth more than the pecuniary profit.

LOCAL AND PERSONAL MATTERS

At the end of September (1865) died one of my nearest friends, Henry Goedeking, of Belleville, one of the best informed, public-spirited and true-hearted men of our town, after a short illness. With entire unselfishness, having no aspiration for office, he had rendered the most valuable services to the Union cause in its darkest moments. He hastened to the battlefields where our friends had fought and fallen or been wounded, caring for their welfare or bringing them home. Liberal and social, he was full of energy and never did things by halves. His death at the end of fifty years was long and universally regretted.

In our own family an important event now took place. On the 28th of December, Augusta was married to Roderick Rombauer of St. Louis. He was then holding the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in that city. He had,

with his parents and brothers and sisters, emigrated after 1848 from Hungary, where the family, originally of German descent, had been settled for many years. They all spoke German, and had a German education. Like most immigrants, his father had bought a farm in Iowa, but soon died, and the family moved to St. Louis. Roderick, who had originally studied surveying, afterward turned his attention to the law, and studied in the office of Judge Lawrence, of Quincy, Ill., who was one of the best lawyers of Illinois, and won high renown as a Justice of the Supreme Court for many years. At the outbreak of the Rebellion, Roderick answered the call of the President and volunteered in one of the three months' Missouri regiments, where he obtained the rank of captain. Augusta's leaving us was not so much felt, as she remained near to us, and our intercourse was very little interrupted.

THE AUSTRIAN-PRUSSIAN WAR

The year 1866, so far as our family was concerned, was not very eventful, but it was a most stormy year in Europe, as well as in our own country. Schleswig-Holstein had been wrested from the Danes by Prussia and Austria combined. The strife between those powers was now as to who should finally possess it. Austria and the German Bund claimed it for the Bund under the legitimate heir of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg; Prussia wanted to annex it to herself. There was during the first three months of the year a great deal of diplomatic correspondence; also efforts were made to settle matters by a congress. It was evident that war would ensue, for Bismarck, the ruling Prussian minister, had already formed an alliance with Italy to the effect that if the war should break out, Italy should attack Austria to gain Venice, while Prussia, in case of victory, would incorporate several states of the Confederation, which would take sides with Austria. Bismarck had in the meantime duped Louis Napoleon, holding out final hopes of a cession of some German territory on the left bank of the Rhine in consideration of or as compensation for

the increase of power of Prussia, provided Napoleon would remain in a position of friendly neutrality. The neutrality of Russia was also secured by Bismarck in some way.

Austria called on the Bund to save Schleswig-Holstein from being annexed to Prussia, and a majority of the Diet voted to put the troops of the Confederation upon a war footing. Prussia declared the Bund dissolved, called on the several German states to side with Prussia in forming a new Union exclusive of Austria, under a liberal constitution with a parliament elected by universal suffrage. Some of the smaller states in the north entered at once into this Union; but Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, and all the southern states remained true to the old Bund. Prussia at once declared war, and entered Saxony, the Saxon army retiring into Bohemia, and joining the Austrians; it also invaded Hanover and Hesse-Cassel. In seven weeks the war was ended. The Austrian and Saxon armies were utterly defeated at Sadowa, and the Prussians advanced to the neighborhood of Vienna. Bavaria, Wuertemberg, Baden, Nassau, and Hesse-Darmstadt, were soon overcome by the Prussians, and in several battles their troops were defeated. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Schleswig-Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfort, were annexed to Prussia; and from the other northern states that had sided with Prussia the North-German Bund was formed. Austria, by the peace of Prague, sanctioned these changes, and ceded, through Louis Napoleon, Venice to Italy,—though Italy had not been successful in the war. Austria was left outside the rest of Germany. Napoleon, taken very much by surprise by the sudden and brilliant victories of Prussia, had accomplished but one object, the acquisition of Venice for the Italians, which was, however, a very doubtful gain for him, as it made Italy still stronger and more independent of France. The expected compensation in Germany escaped him. When Napoleon, during the peace negotiations, urged his claims to compensation by the cession of some German territory on the west of the Rhine, Bismarck informed the French minister that such a surrender was out

of the question, since the King when approached on the subject had declared "no German Dorf" shall be given up.

The boldness, statecraft, astuteness and will-power displayed by Bismarck in all transactions since the first difficulty about Schleswig-Holstein, gave him at once an enormous reputation. The war against Austria was not only in all the German states, but even in Prussia, very unpopular. The King himself was almost forced into it by his minister. The Prussian legislature had for years been in open conflict with the ministry, on account of its unconstitutional action. Bismarck himself afterwards said that, at the time the war was begun, he was the most unpopular man in all Germany. The Prussian success, not obtained without a great deal of deceptive play on the part of Bismarck, was certainly a very great stride toward the unification of Germany, and for this reason Bismarck easily received absolution for all his former sins against liberalism and for having brought about this bloody, fratricidal war.

It was but natural that the Germans in this country were much interested in these events. Many of them had relatives and friends fighting on either side in this war. At first most of them condemned Prussia, as undoubtedly the old Bund and Austria were theoretically right in sustaining the independence of Schleswig-Holstein under its hereditary duke, for the annexation to Prussia was merely to gratify her desire for enlarging her power. An alliance with a foreign power to drive Austria out of the old Bund and to make war on the other German states that adhered to the Bund seemed, not unjustly, an act of rebellion. On the other hand the old Bund had really died of inanition, like the old German Empire. Everybody, even the princes themselves, had become satisfied that it could not be reformed in a liberal sense. Prussia had proposed to surround it with a parliament elected by German suffrage. The incorporation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein into Prussia did away with five states. By the peace of Prague, Saxony and all the

northern states were consolidated with Prussia into the North-German Bund, comprising some thirty millions of people. That the southern states already in the Zollverein with the northern ones would ultimately have to join the northern ones was not an unreasonable expectation. Thus Germany would become at last a powerful united empire of some forty millions.

My correspondents from Frankfort, who felt most bitterly the loss of the independence of the old free city, and to whom I had expressed my opinion that after all the success of Prussia might turn out to have been the best thing for the union and glory of Germany, reproved me very strongly, and seemed surprised that I, a republican and a lover of popular liberty, should uphold the tyrannical policy of Bismarck. Of course, they had good reasons for mistrust. Mr. Theodore Hilgard, the very able jurist, who at all times had been a very enthusiastic friend of German unity, wrote me in November, 1866, from Heidelberg, where he now resided permanently, a highly interesting letter, from which, to show the fears felt by really patriotic men upon the condition of German affairs, I will give some extracts:

"The great revulsion which has taken place in Germany, or rather which is just beginning, will certainly attract your attention and your warmest interest in a high degree. As regards myself, I cannot entertain the sanguine and extravagant expectations which so many find in Prussia's easy victory and increase of power. For one I have a certain belief in historical justice and cannot imagine that good will come out of such a series of intrigues and acts of violence as Prussia has been guilty of. That, as his adherents now loudly proclaim, Bismarck had in view the unity and prosperity of all Germany, I can never believe. He wanted and wants now a great Prussia and nothing else. It Prussia would swallow the whole of Germany, he of course would like it still better; but he wants it to be a Prussian Germany. For the present Germany is divided into a Northern and Southern Germany. But even if this division should cease, united Germany would still be a united Prussia only, a Hohenzollern state with Bismarck and the country nobility backed by a sham parliament without con-

trolling influence and with preponderating Prussian elements, having no power behind it if it should dare oppose the power of the dictator. To resume, I do not trust the Prussian system. I wish to God I was wrong; no one would rejoice more than myself."

At the time this was written Mr. Hilgard's remarks contained a good deal of truth. Had it not been for the entirely unprovoked war with France in 1870, the alleged cause of which could not be approved even by those governments jealous of and unfriendly to Germany, and which was condemned by the moral feeling of nearly all the civilized world, the condition of things as described by Mr. Hilgard in 1866 might have continued in fact until now; and as regards the intimated weakness of the parliament, hampered as it is by the Bundesrath, a remnant of the old Frankfort Diet, that weakness still continues.

The unity of the empire we owe to the folly and rashness of France in declaring a causeless war on the North-German Bund, an event which Bismarck with all his astuteness could not have foreseen, at least not the result of it. Whether he was from the days of the first successes in France in favor of the empire is still a doubtful question. The King certainly was not. It ran counter to his feudal ideas of his hereditary right to rule by the grace of God. It was the Crown Prince Frederick who felt himself more of a German than of a Prussian, who, in connection with some of the smaller German princes, most strongly advocated the empire. The emperorship, not being inherited, but conferred by the unanimous request of the reigning princes, approved and sanctioned by the North-German Reichstag and the legislative assemblies of the independent kings and princes, who were not formerly included in the Northern Bund, could not be considered as given to William I of Prussia by the grace of God. He would have preferred to remain the King of Prussia and to have been merely the president or executive head of the German Bund. He yielded reluctantly. To express

it in a word, Bismarck made Prussia great and powerful, and incidentally Germany, under the name of the Empire.

JOHNSONIAN RECONSTRUCTION

In our own country great excitement also prevailed, and the coming elections for governors, members of Congress, members of the State Legislatures and State officers were looked upon as of the highest importance. Johnson, President after the death of Lincoln, had at first shown the greatest bitterness towards the vanquished rebels, but owing, probably, to the great influence of Seward, far his superior in ability, had very soon taken a new departure. Mr. Seward from his very nature was conservative, and apt to compromise; but he had lost his hold on the majority of the Republican Congress even while he was in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet. He was ambitious. The Presidency, to which he had come so near in 1860, was still the great prize for which he had worked so long. Johnson was equally ambitious. If they succeeded in conciliating the South and in getting all the rebel States into the Union again before election of 1868, either of them could hope with the help of the Northern Democracy to carry the election in his favor. The question of bringing the rebel States into proper relations with the Union States again naturally arose. It was a difficult problem. Johnson, instead of calling Congress together and acting by the advice of the legislature, which alone could, by the passage of proper laws, reconstruct the Union, took it into his head, of his own motion, to accomplish this object. At first the people in the various seceded States were naturally under the government of the military commanders in the different parts of the country occupied by us, who upheld order and dispensed justice, which they could do only by military tribunals. This could not last long. Johnson appointed civil governors for each State with large discretionary powers, ordered these governors to call upon all those who were either included in the general amnesty or who had been especially pardoned by him and were willing

to take the oath of loyalty to the Union, to elect members for a convention which should adopt a constitution or amend their old one in such a manner as would conform to the Federal Constitution, under which new constitution, Legislatures, membes of Congress and State officers should be elected, who should at once be treated as members of the Union just as if nothing had happened. This was done, and within a few months these resurrected States were ready to enter the Union as full-fledged members.

The President had carried out this plan without a shadow of justification by law. Yet it is possible that the people and the Congress, when the latter assembled at its regular session in December, 1865, might have overlooked these irregularities and sanctioned the experiment, as Johnson himself called the measure, if the South had behaved with the least discretion and prudence. The new constitutions in the main were not objectionable, though most of them omitted provisions guaranteeing the rights of the newly liberated slaves, now become an essential element in the State. But the new Legislatures in most of the reorganized States at once passed a series of most obnoxious laws, in some instances forbidding colored people from holding real estate and placing them otherwise under restrictions. So-called vagabond laws were passed, which soon would have placed most of the free negroes under a sort of Mexican peonage. The worst feature in this experiment was that no one was elected either to Congress, or to any other office, in these Southern States, who had not taken a most active part in the Rebellion. Moderate men had no chance, and those who had shown during the Rebellion any Union feeling, were proscribed and persecuted.

Of course, protests loud and deep arose in all the loyal States, and when Congress met it lost no time in condemning all these proceedings as wholly illegal. Johnson in his message tried to convince Congress and the people that secession had been null and void, that, consequently, after the dissolution of the Confederacy the people of the same at once re-

gained their former position, and of course all their former rights, and that there was no necessity for Congress to readmit them by proper laws. Whatever theoretical truth there might have been in this reasoning, as a matter of fact the seceded States had wholly disconnected themselves from the Union. The people had sworn fealty to a new State—the Confederacy; they had been recognized by all the foreign nations as belligerents, and they had placed a million of soldiers in the field. When we subdued them, there was not an officer in existence who derived his authority from the old Union government. Practically the former rebel States formed at this time merely a territory which for convenience' sake we might consider as divided into Territories within the old State lines. They were to be admitted again under conditions, as all Territories had been admitted, by act of Congress.

Here, then, was the conflict. Johnson, supported by many of the government officers, and, at first, also by General Grant, and of course by all Democrats, North and South, who at once gathered round Johnson, whom they had until then not only pursued with bitter hatred, but, more than that, had despised, now charged the immense majority of loyal Republicans with being enemies to the Constitution and desirous of splitting up the Union again. His friends got up what they called a Union Convention at Philadelphia, and adopted a platform, sanctioning the acts of the President and denouncing the Republicans as disturbers of the peace and as disloyal to the Union. In the fall, as the State elections approached, the President himself and Secretary Seward entered upon an electioneering campaign, setting out from Washington through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and down to St. Louis, returning by Louisville and Cincinnati to Washington. Johnson seemed to have lost all sense and discretion. His speeches were highly intemperate and vilifying. General Grant soon became sick of his company, and left early, I believe at Buffalo. Seward, of course, in his speeches was moderate and somewhat diplomatic, yet sustained by subtle reasoning John-

son's position as the only correct one. This singular Johnson campaign is known in our history as the "Swinging round the Circle."

The excitement was very great. If successful, the old Democracy would at once have taken the reins of the government again. Of course, I could not remain an idle spectator. Through the press and also at public meetings I took a strong stand against the Johnson policy.

As early as April I had written some articles in the "Chicago Tribune" and in some St. Louis papers which were favorably received by the press generally. Mr. Perry wrote me from Madrid that he had seen them copied in the "New York Tribune," and was highly pleased with them. Mr. Jehu Baker, who represented the Belleville district in Congress, in a letter dated April 16, 1866, in regard to Johnson, wrote as follows:

"Shortly after I came here, I had, in company with others, a business interview with the President. I was very unfavorably impressed. His look and presence inspired no higher confidence, such as men instinctively feel when in the presence of noble natures. On leaving him I felt sadly certain that his mind was not and could not be amenable to high reasons and just motives of conduct. His mental range is evidently low and narrow, and his sentiments essentially mean and vulgar. Such a man cannot of course be in any proper sympathy with the great Union party of this country—embracing, as it does, nine-tenths of the intellect and nearly all the moral forces of the nation.

"I saw only a part, but a very excellent extract, of your article on Johnson and Seward. Could you send me the whole of it? I should like to secure its insertion in 'Forney's Chronicle.'"

In the fall elections the Republicans were successful and Johnsonism came to a speedy end.

DOMESTIC AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Mrs. Elizabeth Kane Bissell, widow of Governor Bissell, who continued to reside at Springfield until 1863, had moved to Belleville with her two step-daughters, Josephine and Rhoda,

and the daughters of William C. Kinney, who, with his wife, a sister of Mrs. Bissell, had died some years before. Mrs. Bissell, for many years in delicate health, died in the last days of 1865 while I was in Washington City. Louise, Félicité and Lily were young ladies,—Louise about twenty, Félicité eighteen, and Lily about seventeen years; Josephine was about twenty-two, and Rhoda about twenty years of age. They had all received an excellent education, were talented, very good-looking and very amiable. My intimate friendship with the late Governor Bissell and the familiar intercourse which had existed between his daughters and my children allowed us to offer to the Misses Josephine and Rhoda our house as a home. Rhoda at the time was very ill with typhoid fever and Sophie in her letter to me at Washington expressed the greatest anxiety about her condition. . Fortunately she recovered. The two lovely girls stayed at our house until New Year's eve of 1866, when Rhoda was married to Charles W. Thomas of Belleville, a young and promising lawyer, and Josephine left our house to reside with her sister. Sophie loved them as much nearly as her own children. In October of the year 1866, Theodore, the oldest son of our Augusta, was born.

My presence in Washington in December 1866 and January 1867 was caused by the pursuit of the State claim of two per-cent for money received by the United States for the sale of public land within the State, before mentioned. My brief had been filed and the case turned over to the Treasury Department and was to be heard by the Attorney-General, Hoar, whose advice had been asked by the Treasury. In the meantime, William H. Evarts and Caleb Cushing had become interested in the case, and so it happened that we had several consultations together, which gave me an opportunity to become acquainted with two of the most distinguished lawyers of the country. Of the two, Cushing was by far the more interesting. He was a man of perhaps the largest attainments of all our public men, of vast political experience, and of quite fascinating manners. He had been a member of Congress, a minister

to China, a brigadier-general in the Mexican war, and Attorney-General of the United States under the administration of President Pierce. In 1875 he was appointed minister to Spain. He died in 1879 in his seventy-ninth year. Evarts afterwards became Secretary of State and a senator from New York.

EXTENDED PLEASURE TRIP THROUGH THE NORTH AND EAST

For two years now I had been assiduously engaged in legal business and also in setting afoot and organizing the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, so that I concluded to take some rest and recreation by a somewhat extended tour through the North and the East. In the latter part of June, 1867, Sophie, Paula, and myself went on board a St. Paul steamer at St. Louis, going as far as Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

With the exception of some fine scenery at Keokuk, Fort Madison, Burlington, Muscatine and, particularly, Davenport and Rock Island, as also at Dubuque, the banks of the Mississippi are rather monotonous. Yet the trip was very pleasant. The third evening after we left St. Louis we disembarked at Prairie du Chien. This is quite an interesting place, one of the earliest French settlements and a missionary station called originally St. Nicholas. There is still an ancient convent there and a small fort of the United States. As the present name indicates, it is situated in a vast bottom-prairie. We rambled about a good deal, observing that the place was improving rapidly owing to its being the terminus of the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railroad, lately completed, connecting the Mississippi River with Lake Michigan.

The beautiful city of Madison, half way between the Mississippi and Milwaukee, we reached next day in the afternoon. The State House was just finished, a noble building in the midst of a very fine park. I was introduced to some of the State officers. The Secretary of State made me acquainted with the law by which the Soldiers' Orphans' Home was created and organized, also gave me the first annual report of the trustees of the establishment, and accompanied me to the institution,

very pleasantly situated. It being vacation time, most of the pupils were absent, and so were the teachers. The asylum was still in its infancy; yet I obtained some valuable information.

Madison is charmingly situated between three or four lakes and was at this time considered as a sort of summer resort for Southern people. Indeed, we met there three or four families of our acquaintance from St. Louis, who stayed there for their health, particularly for that of their small children. The weather while we were there was, however, very hot, and the air, probably on account of the large sheets of water surrounding the city, was rather moist, making the temperature quite oppressive. After a stay of two days we crossed the State to Milwaukee. A very delightful place on this route is Waukesha, noted for its many mineral springs.

Milwaukee had improved immensely since I had made Frémont speeches there in 1856, on stormy autumn nights, on the surrounding hills near a huge bonfire. We were visited by Ex-Governor Salomon and his charming wife, and the Governor showed us the principal sights of this most handsome and lovely city. A nightly fête-champêtre in a pleasure-garden on the top of a hill was quite a treat to us. Milwaukee was even then known for its culture of music, and we heard some beautiful singing and instrumental music. In the midst of the general enjoyment an accident happened which might have become very serious. Fireworks were to be let off and there was quite a quantity of rockets, Roman lights, torpedoes and the like stored rather carelessly on the porch of the pavilion. Preparatory to the display, some rockets were let off and in some way one went right into the boxes where the main body of the fireworks was kept. There were hundreds of ladies, children and men seated nearby, and, of course, there was a terrible panic. A general flight ensued, some of the ladies' dresses having caught fire, but being soon extinguished. In fact, no one was seriously hurt. But for the time being it looked rather alarming.

On a beautiful moonlight night we crossed Lake Michigan over to Grand Haven at the mouth of the Grand River in Michigan, a good harbor, but at the time a rather sorry looking town on sand hills. After a short stay and a poor breakfast, we took the cars for Detroit through partly very romantic scenery. The forests of fir and pine are rapidly being cut down, and saw-mills line the rivers and smaller streams. We were surprised at finding Detroit such a large, noble and handsome city. Jefferson Avenue is even now one of the finest streets in the United States. We took a carriage and saw a good deal of the surrounding country. Senator Chandler, whose acquaintance I had made in Belleville, was out of town. From the civility he showed myself and family at a later period at Washington, he would undoubtedly have made our stay more pleasant, though we were delighted with the city.

CANADA

After a stay of two days we crossed the Detroit River to Windsor, Canada, taking the train for Toronto. There is a striking contrast at once observable. The towns and villages are solidly built up, the houses generally only one or two stories high, and the material used principally stone. The country, very level, presents no fine views. Passing through London, Belleville, and Hamilton we reached Toronto in the evening. The hotel we stopped at was very different from the palatial hotels in the States, but very comfortable. It answered the description of English inns, as we find them described in English novels. Of course, we saw all the sights, driving out several miles to the great lunatic asylum. What we admired most was the university, a building after the fashion of the ancient English colleges, surrounded by a majestic and most beautiful park. Unfortunately it was burnt down in 1890.

Toronto has some very fine residence-streets called terraces. The houses are built mostly of stone and covered with shining tin roofs. Everything is utterly English, or I should

rather say Scotch, for from the broad talk and appearance of the people, one would think that most of them were Scotch. Oatmeal served in mighty cups for breakfast was partaken of by everybody, a thing which had at that time not become fashionable in our country, except in some of the New England States.

In the evening of the second day we left Toronto on board of a large steamer for Montreal. Next morning we entered the St. Lawrence River at Kingston, a considerable place, and with a fort of great strength in olden times. The trip down the St. Lawrence, through the Thousand Islands and over the rapids near Montreal has been so often described and is so familiar to American travelers and tourists, that nothing need be said about it here. The passage of the Lachine rapids was, however, quite a different affair from that over the Rhine rapids at Bingen, of which I have spoken when I was taken by my parents down the Rhine from Mayence to Cologne.

A short time before we reached the Lachine, (having already made some less dangerous rapids,) the legendary Indian pilot was taken on board. I think that this is done rather for show. It makes the thing more interesting. The tourists are made to believe that no American pilot, however daring, would run the risk of taking a large steamer through the shooting rapids, falling within a short distance some forty feet, the channel being very small and confined by hugh rocks. When the wheel is given up to the old Indian, a sort of shudder seems to run through a great many of the ladies and timid men. I am sure the American pilot laughs internally, because he knows that he could take the steamer through as well as, if not better than, the Indian. But after the descent is made the passengers feel a kind of pride in having been exposed to peril, although it is merely apparent and was gotten up for effect. Several people left the boat above the Lachine rapids, taking the railroad, which runs around the falls there to Montreal.

Early in the evening we reached Montreal, after having passed under the great tubular Victoria Bridge which spans the St. Lawrence River, and landed at the magnificent quays of the city. The hotels were all crowded; we found, however, some good rooms at the Ottawa Hall. We met here Judge Caton and his family, and some other parties from Illinois. We were very much surprised to find Montreal so large and so fine a place, and surrounded by such beautiful scenery. In churches and other public buildings, at that time, I believe, it was superior to most of our American cities, as regards beauty and taste at least. A ride up and around that high hill, Mount Royal, from which you see the city with its glittering roofs, its splendid quays and squares, gives you a beautiful sight. The largest river on the North American continent rolls by the city, the harbor of which is crowded with steamers and sailing-vessels of all sizes. Towards the south, on the other side of this mighty body of water, the Green Mountains of Vermont are distinctly seen, while mountains also rise toward northern Canada. The weather was very hot, and we shortened our stay in order to reach the cooler summer resorts in the Green and White Mountains.

NEW ENGLAND

Thus far our journey had been delightful particularly for Sophie, for whom, as I have already remarked, water had an almost magical attraction. We had gone up the Mississippi some five hundred miles, then had crossed Lake Michigan, Lake Ontario, and had gone a hundred miles or so down the St. Lawrence.

Crossing Victoria Bridge we went to Rouse Point, and then to St. Albans, where we had our trunks searched at the U. S. custom house. Through a very fine country, generally alongside of a rapidly flowing clear stream by way of Montpelier we came in the evening to White River Junction, where we stopped over in a neat, small Yankee inn. It was a comfortable place, but the eating was dreadful. Except of course in

the larger hotels in the cities or summer resorts, cooking in New England is execrable. The ordinary Yankees do not know how to make bread. They sweeten everything with molasses; their pies are mere dough. Making coffee seemed to be an unknown art there. Liver and tripe are almost the only meats at breakfast.

White River Junction is handsomely situated. We took long walks through the valley. A ladies' seminary on a hill near the village is quite a fine structure in the midst of a large well-kept lawn. The girls were all out in the evening playing around, but most of the larger ones were promenading in the park with young gentlemen visitors and seemed to enjoy themselves very much. Paula thought it was a very great contrast to the manner in which she and the other young girls had been kept in the ladies' seminary at Frankfort. When they went out to take the air on the beautiful promenades surrounding the city, one governess marched in front and one behind, and no gentlemen, young or old, would have been permitted to come near any one of the girls.

Continuing our journey east through delightful scenery we crossed the Connecticut River and soon reached a station where we had to take other conveyances to go to the west side of the White Mountains to a rather noted summer hotel, the Crawford House. We mounted one of the splendid "Concord stages," which have room for about fifteen persons, nine inside, two with the driver, and three on deck. They are drawn by six horses, generally fine ones. We were somewhat surprised to meet here with a Spanish fashion. Though on the Spanish diligences there are, besides a conductor, who drives the wheel-horses, an assistant driver (zagal), who frequently runs alongside of the six or eight mules and horses, whipping them up, and a postilion (delantero) riding the saddle-horse in front, yet the zagal has always a handful of stones on his seat, and throws now and then a stone or two at the mule or horse, when it does not pull enough. Our driver, who drove a six-in-hand, could not well hit with his whip the

foremost horses, and, having his pockets full of pebbles, he threw them from time to time at the leaders.

It was a delightful trip. Now and then we passed through very fine timber, large pines and firs and the most beautiful graceful hemlocks. Clear brooks, indicative of nice trout, ran and sometimes rushed through these forests. The Crawford House stands in a deep valley. We found it rather too shady. The parlors were so damp that fires were made in the chimneys evenings and mornings. Many people were crowded together in the hotel who followed the tedious life usual at such fashionable summer-hotels or watering-places. The ladies dress about three times a day, sit on the verandas, hardly take a walk, and after dark go into the parlors and try to enjoy themselves by dancing. As there is always a lack of young gentlemen, the ladies often dance without male partners or sit around the wall looking at the half dozen couples who do dance. The gentlemen generally sit on the veranda smoking, or, when they go in, they play euchre or whist, or read newspapers. There is really nothing more dreary or *ennuyant* than an American summer-hotel. We did not stay in the house much, but walked for miles in the cañons, here called notches, and one evening we went up in one of the stages to Mount Willard, one of the highest peaks near the Crawford House. The road is very fine and well kept, but does not wind around and goes up almost perpendicularly. Going up, this steepness was less observable; but descending, it was frightful. Were it not that these stages are most solid, the brakes and the breeching of the horses most perfect, and the drivers very skilful, accidents would very often happen. It took us nearly an hour to go up and almost as long to go down. On the top of Mount Willard, the prospect is very delightful. On one side, the peaks of the Green and Franconia Mountains; on the other, Mounts Clinton, Franklin, and Mount Washington.

There was at that time only a bridle-path over the mountain range by which Mount Washington could be reached, and

it was represented to us as rather dangerous, and but few ladies ever took it. So we went some distance back again, and came in a roundabout way to the Glen House at the foot of Mount Washington. But it was a most delightful drive of nearly ten hours. The Glen House is another highly fashionable resort. It was full to overflowing. As the pious people here do not allow traveling on Sundays, and we had reached the hotel Saturday evening, we spent a dreadfully hot day very uncomfortably. These summer-hotels are frame buildings, and this one, being down in the valley where there was little draft, was as hot as a bake-oven. While the hundreds of guests, it being the Sabbath, kept in the house, where also in one of the large parlors religious service was held, we broke the rule and walked out into the cooler woods and rested on the banks of a very fine trout-brook for hours. In a more rational section of the country we should of course have driven up Mount Washington; but here we could not have got horses or stages to take us up, and should perhaps have been arrested and fined for violation of the Sunday laws if we had even walked up.

Early on Monday morning we made up a party to fill a stage for a visit to Mt. Washington, the highest peak of the White Mountains, some 6,500 feet above the level of the sea. The road is in very good order. It winds around the mountain so as at no place to be dangerously steep. The weather was beautiful until we came near the top. All at once there was a gathering of clouds, and before we could reach the low massive stone house, called the Summit House, where the observatory and the U. S. signal service station are kept, a terrible storm burst down upon us. We could hardly keep our legs when running to the house. The lightning was close and incessant, while the thunder was not as loud in proportion. But quickly as the storm had come, it blew over quite as quickly. When we ventured out the sun shone bright where we were, but below us, about half way down the mountain, the clouds had gathered; the storm was below us. It was quite

a novel sight to those who had never been in mountainous regions.

After awhile a general clearing up took place and we enjoyed a beautiful and extensive view. All the high peaks of the range were in sight and also those of the Franconia and the Green Mountains. Towards the south we saw a good many lakes. There is no doubt that from the Glen House at the foot of Mount Washington one has a very fine view of the nearer peaks, and that the hotel would be a delightful place, if it was not one of those huge structures having room for one thousand guests and attracting thereby what is called fashionable society which goes there to be seen and talked about, caring little, if anything, about scenery or healthful exercise. We were glad to leave it. By a most charming road alongside of rushing brooks, fine meadows and an undulating road we reached by stage after an early start the Alpine House on the Grand Trunk Railroad, where we took the cars for Portland and Boston. Stopping only a short time at the former place for refreshments, we reached Boston in the evening and took up quarters at the old Revere House on Bowdoin Square. It is an old-fashioned building, not large, but very comfortable, patronized by parties with ladies, while the Tremont House, owned by the same proprietor as the Revere, was the resort of single men and commercial travelers. There is no tinsel about the Revere, but the furniture, carpets, and curtains are of the best material, and the table excellent. It was said to be kept on the temperance plan, like the Delavan House in Albany. Indeed, there was no public bar-room. But at the meals you could have almost any kind of wine, or beer,—in fact, any kind of liquor usually found in large hotels. When we went through the corridors in the morning for breakfast we found before many doors empty champagne and other bottles set out, testifying to late suppers and convivial gatherings. We met here some friends from the West and also our old Valencia acquaintance, ex-Consul Kent and his daughter.

To us from the old country, Boston, the old part of it, has quite a charm. It has individuality. The houses are not rows of buildings of a dull, uniform style. The streets are not very wide and some of them are quite crooked and hilly. In the very heart of the city at the foot of the State House are the celebrated Commons, a very large rolling park, with woods and lawns and lakes. Of course we saw all the ordinary sights, Bunker Hill Monument, at Charleston on the other side of the Charles River, Faneuil Hall, the Athenaeum, which contained some very valuable pictures of old and new masters and some excellent sculpture, the splendid Public Library, and the State House. We made an excursion to Cambridge, where Harvard is located with all its various halls, lecture-rooms, and chapels, some of which are very ancient and quaint. Not far off is one of the finest burial places in the world, Mount Auburn. We remained there several hours. Kept by the Boston Horticultural Society, it presents a park and garden of the most attractive variety; but as the resting-place of many of the choicest spirits of America, orators, statesmen, authors, and scholars, it has charms superior to mere parks, however beautiful they may be.

An excursion around the harbor of Boston, which we had meditated, was spoilt by a heavy rain, which set in on the third day of our stay in Boston.

I must say of this city that I felt while there as living in a higher sphere than anywhere else. A hundred noble names rushed on my memory. The many academies of arts, the innumerable halls devoted to science, music and public instruction, the various extensive libraries, the many charitable institutions, do certainly entitle this city to be called the Athens of America. There is an English flavor about it; but it is of the finest kind and does not at all extinguish the intense Americanism of its native population. I am speaking of Boston as I found it in 1867. Owing to various reasons it is now frequently asserted that the character of the people has changed unfavorably, and that the glory of old Boston

as the intellectual and spiritual metropolis of the United States is in danger of fading away. I cannot believe that these fears are well grounded. The foundations of moral and intellectual excellence are there laid firmly and deeply. No outward circumstances are likely to destroy them.

Newport was our next resting place. The Ocean House, where we stopped, was another of those huge caravansaries said to be able to accommodate about a thousand guests. It was crowded and was as uncomfortable as possible. The same dull dreariness prevailed there as in other fashionable summer-resorts: promenading on the large verandas; changing of dresses; flirtations; and attempts at dancing in the large parlors on hot evenings; weariness visible in almost every face. We stayed but very little in the house. We walked early in the mornings and late in the evenings through the long and beautiful avenues, alongside of which innumerable elegant and costly villas belonging to the millionaires of New York and other large cities present a most lovely sight. In the middle of the day we made longer excursions, amongst which the drive to Fort Adams, one of the strongest forts of the country, protecting the entrance to Narragansett Bay and the harbor of Newport, was the most enjoyable.

We were admitted into the interior court. Its big guns seemed to make the place impregnable, at that time at least. From curiosity, we also went sea-bathing at one of the nearest beaches. In one respect we were disappointed. The bath-houses, that is, where you dress and undress for the bath, were so many miserable wooden shanties with hardly any accommodations. Of course, we had not provided ourselves with nice bathing costumes. So we had to hire them. They consist of a pair of coarse linen trousers and a short blouse of the same material. Ladies were furnished with wide-brimmed straw hats, which were tied fast under the chin. When, after making our toilettes, we issued from our shanties, we hardly recognized one another. We marched out on the sandy beach to some posts which indicated the line where it was

safe to go. When the surf came rolling in and we turned round so as to face the shore, we were swept off our legs, but soon recovered our position. It was delightful. After encountering about a dozen of such sweepings we went back, presenting a sorry sight; for we were covered with strings of sea-tang. There were several hundred in the water with us, but we saw no elegant bathing-costumes. Nobody looked well. Only the feet were exposed and they were covered with sand and sea-tang. It is quite different now that the French bathing-costumes have been introduced.

The old town of Newport is quite interesting. It shows history. Its great commercial glory of the last century has departed. It is yet a lively place with a fine harbor, and it calls back the memories of remarkable events in our colonial history and the Revolutionary War. To live during the summer season in one of those princely villas, which reminded us of those on the banks of the Elbe at Hamburg, must be indeed delightful; but how the people can spend weeks at the Ocean House, or similar establishments, I cannot comprehend.

From Newport we went up the bay to Providence. It is a most charming trip. Steaming up the Narragansett Bay, we passed numerous summer retreats and bathing establishments, of which Rocky Point was one of the most beautiful, landing at the old city of Providence about evening. The hotels, none of the best, were all crowded. The celebrated trotting races were in full blast. The landlord warned us to look out and bolt our doors well, as he said that on this occasion the city was always full of gamblers, burglars, and pickpockets. For several hours we rambled through the streets and found them very lively. As in Boston, ladies and young girls in great numbers, without any male escorts, promenaded about, did shopping by candle-light or attended auctions, which were well attended. Parts of the city are very fine. It is an interesting place.

Next day by way of New Haven, which we saw only from the cars, but which appeared quite a flourishing and hand-

somely built city, we reached New York, where we found excellent quarters at the Everett House on Union Square, then kept on the European plan. The three days in New York we passed principally in the different art-museums. A large exhibition, where some of the principal amateurs of the fine arts had contributed their best paintings of ancient and modern masters, most imported from abroad, was a rare treat for us. In company with our excellent friend Frederick Kapp, we visited Central Park and other interesting places, and passed a pleasant evening at his house. He had then concluded to return to Germany for good. He became naturalized again in Prussia, and was several times elected to the German Parliament, attaching himself to the most liberal wing of that body. He visited, however, the United States once or twice before he died, being cut off prematurely by a treacherous disease while in the full vigor of intellect and apparently of body.

After a short stay at West Point to decorate with flowers the grave of Theodore, we went straight home to Belleville after an absence of five weeks.

CONFLICT BETWEEN CONGRESS AND JOHNSON

The country was about this time greatly agitated, owing to the conflict between Congress and the President, Andrew Johnson. Quite early in the year a resolution had been introduced in the Lower House of Congress to inquire into the propriety of impeaching the President; a committee of inquiry was appointed and reported in favor of impeaching the President, but the House rejected the report and nothing further was then done. In March following the House passed an act regarding the tenure of office of Federal officers, which, if not of doubtful constitutionality, was of doubtful expediency. Johnson wanted to get rid of Stanton, the Secretary of War, originally appointed by President Lincoln during his first term. He suspended him and appointed General Grant Secretary of War *ad interim*. This created great excitement

in the Republican ranks, which, with some of his intemperate speeches, and his contention that the tenure of office act was unconstitutional and not binding upon him, raised again the question of impeachment, and it was generally and loudly demanded by the public press that Congress at its next session (December 1867) should impeach him.

While I at that time, from information I had gathered from speeches in Congress and newspaper articles, was fully convinced of Johnson's liability to impeachment, I had some doubt about the expediency of the measure, as Johnson's term was drawing to a close and as much time would be wasted in the proceedings. It was, however, in the next year that the impeachment question became for a time the all-absorbing one, which I discussed in the press as well as at public meetings.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Years 1868 to 1870

The year 1868 being a Presidential year, and one in which in our State the general elections for Governor and other State officers, as also for Presidential electors, was to take place, promised of course to be a very lively one. After my resignation from the Spanish mission in 1865 I had determined, while still intent to take a deep interest in our political affairs, to withdraw from public life so far at least as not to apply for any office whatever. I had very soon after my return from Spain entered upon a rather extensive and lucrative practice and deemed it my duty to my family to devote my time to accumulating a modest competency. Office-holding is about the poorest way to financial success, unless one uses office for dishonest purposes or is satisfied with offices which frequently yield very large incomes but are not congenial to men of higher aspirations. I well recollected what Mr. Seward told me once when I complained of the insufficient salaries our foreign ministers were getting. "Sir," said he, "don't you know that outside the President there are no *respectable* offices in this country which pay anything like an adequate salary? We have to work for the honor of the thing."

As early as 1866 I was urged to become a candidate for Congress. Mr. Jehu Baker, a man of considerable information, of a strong mind and rather extraordinary oratorical powers, had represented the district for the last two years, but met with great opposition to his reëlection. He had no elements of popularity about him, was eccentric, and in his behavior to others more repulsive than attractive. But I refused. Mr. Baker was returned again. In 1868 the opposi-

tion to him was still stronger. Mr. John B. Hay was a candidate for the Republican nomination. But before he became such he called upon me, stating that if I desired to become a candidate, he would not be one, and would cheerfully support me. I again positively declined. Mr. Hay was nominated over Mr. Baker and was elected. As we had a decided majority in our Congressional district, I should undoubtedly have been elected.

Our Gustave had pursued his legal studies in my office ever since the fall of 1864 and was admitted to the bar a year afterwards. I thought it best to let him stand on his own legs at first, and he commenced practicing for himself for several years before I formed a partnership with him. He succeeded very well and on the last day of December, 1868, he was married to Mary Félicité Kinney, a daughter of William C. Kinney, and commenced house-keeping. We went into partnership in the law business. A short time afterwards, Louise Kinney, her sister, married Gen. G. W. Smith, of Chicago, who had been State Treasurer from 1866 to 1868, and who became a distinguished member of the Chicago bar.

GENERAL SHERMAN

In January at a dinner-party of Col. James L. D. Morrison at his country seat Glen Addie, I made the acquaintance, or rather renewed it, as it turned out, of Gen. William T. Sherman. In conversation with him I found that he was well acquainted with Belleville and the surrounding country. Somewhat surprised, I asked him how he came to this knowledge, and he told me that in 1837 he had been an assistant engineer in surveying the contemplated railroad from Mt. Carmel to Alton under our Internal Improvement Law; that Governor Kinney was the Commissioner of Internal Improvement in this part of the State, and kept his office at Belleville, and that he frequently called there, had seen Mr. Shields, secretary of Governor Kinney, and his partner in the office, and had frequent conversations with him. I told him that I was

that partner, but should not have recognized him, as little as he had recognized me. Thirty years had worked a considerable difference in our appearance. The General was a very singular looking personage, his face was as sharp as a razor and spreckled. His figure was lithe and thin. He was full of vivacity, and quite mercurial. There was not the slightest trace of dignity about him. The dinner lasted until about eleven o'clock at night. There were present Mrs. Morrison, some young and very interesting ladies from St. Louis, of French descent, like Mrs. Morrison herself. A dance was proposed. We went into one of the parlors. One of the ladies played the piano. No young men were there and the General, Colonel Morrison and myself had to do the dancing, —the fourth couple in the quadrille being made up by two of the girls. It was amusing to see the General perform, according to the antiquated fashion, with high steps and bold jumps. Colonel Morrison and myself did some waltzing with the girls. The General tried his hand at that also, but made a thorough failure of it. The whole thing was ridiculous, for the gentlemen were all of mature age and the girls young and lovely. But the General was delighted, for he fell to kissing the girls, who, of course, could not refuse this pleasure to the renowned general. Upon the whole, we had a jolly time, and some of us followed the General's example.

I had arranged for the following day a dinner at my house to the Belleville bar, to which Colonel Morrison had been invited. Finding General Sherman such a jovial fellow, I begged him to accept an invitation from me to my dinner party. He accepted at once. But Morrison came alone, with an excuse from the General that he did not feel well enough, and was to take the first train to St. Louis without stopping at Belleville. I met the General but once afterwards, a few years ago, at the unveiling of Frank Blair's statue in Forest Park in St. Louis, where he and I had to make impromptu speeches, not on the programme.

STATE POLITICS IN 1868

Quite early in the year the question as to who should be nominated for Governor by the Republican party was agitated. General Logan had been spoken of, but he was a candidate for Congress for the State at large, and at once declared that he would not run for Governor. So did General Palmer, who assigned family and business reasons for declining a nomination. Stephen A. Hurlbut was willing to accept the nomination. Jesse Dubois was working very hard for it. So did Mr. Moulton, who had been in Congress several times. Mr. Corwin of Peru was also spoken of. Robert G. Ingersoll, then Attorney-General, also entered the list with great vigor. Palmer, for whom I was, would have been the only formidable candidate for the nomination; he having declined, the field was comparatively clear for me. But I did not feel disposed to change the determination I had come to, after settling down in Belleville again. Without any suggestion of mine, or without any previous consultation with me, the "Illinois Staatszeitung" in a very strong article put my name forward as a candidate. That paper was then principally owned by A. C. Hesing, a leading Republican politician, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Central Committee, a man of unbounded energy, with a strong following of Germans and Americans. It was edited by Hermann Raster, a very able and very forcible writer. The paper was a real power in the Northwest. The Republican German press in Illinois fell in at once. Numerous letters from leading men in Chicago, Quincy, Bloomington, Freeport, and Springfield assured me of their counties in the nominating convention. The "Chicago Tribune" and the "Evening Journal," though not committing themselves fully, spoke favorably of my candidacy. General Hurlbut addressed me at once, suggesting very kindly to me what he thought: "I would do better," he wrote, "for Attorney-General." He believed it to be the best office of the two for a man of any distinction in the profession with the great opportunities for business at Springfield. Mr.

Moulton also wrote me to support him, if I was not a candidate. I relieved the anxiety of all the candidates by publicly and absolutely declining to be in the field for nomination.

When the Republican State Convention met on the sixth of May at Peoria, none of the candidates seemed to have strength enough to get the nomination, nor could they form a combination. Neither Palmer nor I were present. The convention fell back upon Palmer. He was telegraphed to, but still declined. Nevertheless, the Convention nominated him, and so forced him to accept the nomination.

All at once I received a telegram from Mr. Hesing from Peoria, to the effect that if I would accept I could be nominated for Attorney-General by acclamation. I positively declined. Col. John Dougherty of Union was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, Ed. Rummel of Peoria for Secretary of State, Bates for Treasurer, Lippincott for Auditor, Bateman for Superintendent of Common Schools. With the exception of Palmer and Bateman it was a very weak ticket; but our majority was so large in the State that a nomination was tantamount to an election.

The Convention also recommended General Grant for President and very much to my surprise, I might say to my dissatisfaction, the convention, without asking me beforehand, appointed me with General Hurlbut, an elector-at-large for General Grant. It is of course expected for the two electors for the whole State to canvass the State. So I was drawn into the turmoil of the campaign, holding a position, though very honorable, yet without significance. Besides, while I was personally rather fond of Grant, while I gave him due credit for his military capacities and knew him to be by no means an extremist in politics, I had very serious doubts as to his fitness for a civil administration.

My friend Shields, who, after the war, had retired to a small farm in Missouri near Carrollton, living quietly with his wife and children there in limited circumstances, and whom I had not met during the war, nor after it, now opened a cor-

respondence with me. He being still a strong Democrat in spite of having been a major-general in the Union army, was very desirous that I should run for Governor. "For," wrote he, "as a radical is to be Governor, I would rather have you than any other man in the State."

His first letters were rather despondent, but very genial and sympathetic. But shortly afterwards he was, as he said, without any effort of his, taken up by the Congressional Convention of his district and nominated for Congress. I may here anticipate and state that he was elected by a majority of many thousands; but his election was contested and the Republican Congress gave his seat to his opponent, contending that many voters had failed to take the new test oath, and that the Republicans had been scared from the polls. It was of course a party decision.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1868

The campaign commenced, however, only after Grant had been nominated at Chicago in the latter part of May. The Democrats had nominated Governor Seymour of New York for President and Frank Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. In point of talents and statesemanship, Horatio Seymour was undoubtedly superior to the Republican nominee. His private character was also of the highest order. But so soon after the war the Northern people were not disposed to vote for men, who, though Union men, had been conservatives and were for a more liberal treatment of the reconstructed States than most of the Republican leaders. Besides, the platform of the Democrats was not only radical, but almost revolutionary in declaring the reconstruction laws not binding, claiming the immediate unconditional admission of all the Southern States that had not complied with the terms of the reconstruction laws. It also favored the payment of the national debt with greenbacks. Several of the most distinguished Democrats at once repudiated it.

Outside of Belleville and vicinity, I confined my public

speaking to such places as I was especially invited to. One of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings took place at Quincy. It was held at night in the great exposition building. The speaker's stand was near the back wall which bordered on an alley. Several large windows opened upon that alley. While I was addressing the meeting the report of a shot was heard. Firing off pistols or letting off fireworks when a political meeting was going on was quite a common thing, so I went on without any interruption. But almost immediately a commotion in one of the upper galleries right opposite the stage was perceived, and it was soon made known that a young man sitting there had been grazed by a bullet in the neck. For a few minutes there was a great deal of excitement. People ran into the alley, but saw nobody. As the hurt of the young man was very slight, the people quieted down, and I proceeded with my speech. I did not think it politic to notice the incident. There was always in Quincy for some reason or another a very bitter feeling between the political parties, and it was quite likely that some furious Democrat had intended to shoot a Republican speaker. Yet it was not certain. It might have been the work of a fool to disturb the meeting. Any insinuation of mine that it was a deliberate attempt at assassination on the part of the Democrats might have aroused the passion of the audience, and as a good many Democrats were present a row might have ensued.

Being afraid that sensational reports of the affair, exaggerated of course, might reach Belleville, I at once sent a despatch to Sophie that I had not been shot at and was quite well. Nevertheless, she felt much anxiety on my account, thinking that similar attempts might be made, and still believing that the shot had been aimed at me.

While at Quincy, my friend Isaac N. Morris, who, though a Democrat, was a great personal friend of General Grant and was supporting him strongly for the Presidency, because, as he said, Grant was really as much of a Democrat as he himself, showed me a letter of General Grant asking Mr. Morris

to communicate with me and get me to go to Galena and make a speech in his favor. He stated the county was all right, but Galena had always been a stronghold of Democracy, and although he was certain of his election and his county was certain, yet he would feel mortified if he was beaten in his own town. If I consented to come up, I should give him fair notice, and he would get up a good meeting for me. Galena at that time had a considerable German population, and they were mostly Democrats. That, I presume, was the reason that Grant wanted me there.

From Quincy I went to Warsaw opposite Keokuk to address a mass-meeting, accompanied by Doctor Stahl of Quincy, an eminent physician who had been, like myself, a strong Democrat, but had joined the Republican party on the slavery extension question. He took a great interest in politics, though he never sought any office nor figured in conventions or caucuses. Warsaw I found to be quite a lively place, and what interested me most was that many of its citizens and farmers in the neighborhood had very extensively cultivated the grape vine. There were at that time more large vineyards around Warsaw than at any other place in Illinois. I found the Concord and Catawba vines as good as those of the Ohio vineyards.

We made an excursion to Nauvoo, about fifteen miles north of Warsaw. The large temple built by the Mormons had been nearly destroyed by fire in 1848. To judge by the ruins, it must have been of most ungainly architecture, a ridiculous effort at what they believed to be the Temple of Solomon. Nauvoo is handsomely situated on a gentle rise from which you have a fine view of the Mississippi River many miles up and down. The population then was mostly German, and the principal product was wine. A large area was covered with vineyards. Two German firms had gone into the wine-producing business on a large scale.

We visited one establishment with its very extensive cellars, all rock, containing a large number of huge tuns. A

large stone building contained the presses and bottling rooms. Joining the very fine residence was, besides a large flower and vegetable garden, an experimental vineyard of about a quarter of an acre, where no less than twenty-four different kinds of grapes were cultivated. We tasted some white Concord wine of a superior quality, and some Delaware made from the choicest and noblest American grape, which I thought equal, if not superior, to the best white Spanish wines. It was not as strong as the pure natural sherry, but more deliciously flavored. It resembled most the Spanish Amontillado.

While the site of Nauvoo is attractive enough, yet it was a poor selection by the Mormons in a business point of view. It is distant from the Mississippi about half a mile, the ground separating it from the river being low and flat, and liable to be frequently overflowed. There is no harbor, hardly a good landing place. In 1850 under Cabot, Nauvoo was selected for the Icarian community. But it soon broke up. I was told, however, that some of the Icarians were still living there.

According to my promise, I went to Galena at the time previously appointed. Mr. Carey, an intimate friend of General Grant, and a committee received me at the depot. Carey and his wife occupied the handsome residence which the people of Galena had presented to the General, and he informed me that the General had been called away that morning to St. Louis by a despatch from General Sherman and wished to be excused, but had put his house at my disposal.

We had two meetings at Galena, which the papers pronounced as very successful, but which I found rather dull and cold. The local feeling for some reason was not favorable to the General. Yet he got a majority in the town at the ensuing election. Of course, I had to go to Chicago at a later period to attend to several mass meetings. I met the General there, who expressed himself as very much gratified with my having gone to Galena, and was indeed most cordial. I visited Rockford, Aurora, Freeport, Bloomington, Springfield, and Alton, perhaps some other places, in order to discharge the

duties that had been cast upon me by having been appointed an elector. The Grant electoral ticket was of course successful in November, for he not only obtained the votes of all the Northern States with the exception of New York, New Jersey and Oregon, but also those of North and South Carolina, Alabama and Florida, which at that time were under the control of the colored people, most of the whites being still disfranchised.

Compared with the Presidential campaigns of 1856, 1860 and 1864, the one of this year was dull and tame. The election of Grant seemed to be a foregone conclusion, and after Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, though by small majorities, had gone for the Republicans in the State elections in October, the campaign was merely formally kept up, in Illinois at least.

When the Illinois electoral college met in December at Springfield, I was elected presiding officer of the same. The ballots were of course all for General Grant and General Hurlbut. One of the electors was appointed to carry the vote of Illinois to Washington. One of the drawbacks of this office is that the electors, and particularly the presiding officer who signs the certificate of election, being considered as entitled to great favor with the new President, are overwhelmed with all sorts of applications on the part of candidates for the innumerable offices within the patronage of that officer. I had a good share of such applications, which often are very embarrassing. It is hard many times to distinguish between friends seeking the same office. It is unpleasant to refuse applications when the applicant in your opinion is unfit for it. Yet is has to be done. During the first half of General Grant's administration I was very much troubled with all sorts of requests to use my influence with the President or heads of departments in favor of the seekers for office. If a private person like myself was harassed in this manner, what must the members of the cabinet and of Congress suffer whose influence is a hundred times greater than that of a

private citizen, though he may have a friend in the highest office!

BENJAMIN BUTLER

During the campaign Gen. Butler paid Belleville a visit and addressed a large meeting in the garden of the city park. He was received by the Republican County Committee and escorted to the Belleville House, where at once the corridors and parlors were crowded with people anxious to be introduced to the General.

Even before the war of the Rebellion, Butler's name and fame had spread over the country. Struggling in his youth with poverty, by great efforts he had acquired a collegiate education, had studied law and had become one of the ablest lawyers in Massachusetts, where he had finally settled himself. A shrewd and most thoroughgoing Democrat, he had become a leader of that party in New England. He was, however, defeated when he ran for Governor by the Republican candidate, Banks, who got the votes of the Know Nothing party, then quite strong in Massachusetts. Butler was emphatically a Northern man with Southern principles. In the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860 he voted some forty times for Jefferson Davis for Presidential candidate. And at the adjourned convention of Democrats at Baltimore he voted for Breckenridge, who was nominated by the Southern wing of the Democracy in opposition to Douglas, the nominee of the Northern Democracy. Nevertheless, when the war broke out he at once offered his services to the Governor of Massachusetts and came down first to the relief of Washington at the head of three regiments. His seizure of Annapolis and the bold *coup de main* by which he possessed himself of Baltimore, saving Maryland for the Union, procured him his appointment by President Lincoln as major-general of volunteers. His exploits at New Orleans, where he put down the rebel population with an iron hand and administered the affairs of that city with the greatest ability, are too well known to be mentioned. He also, like Frémont, refused to deliver

fugitive slaves to their former masters, treating the fugitives as contraband of war. His resolute and perhaps not often strictly legal conduct in fighting the secessionists created him a great opposition amongst conservative Republicans, and he was relieved from the command of the army operating in Louisiana. But he soon afterward obtained command of the army called the Army of the James River, operating in conjunction with the Potomac Army against Richmond.

The Confederates of course looked upon him as the very personification of Northern fanaticism and tyranny, and he became the special mark of their invectives and maledictions. If I am not mistaken he was formally outlawed by some resolution of the Confederate Congress or executive proclamation, and some Southern patriots had set a price upon his head. Take it altogether, at the time he came to Belleville, he was surely one of the most remarkable and attractive men in the country. When I say attractive, I have no reference to his outward appearance. Although above medium height, his corpulency made him appear stumpy. The lid of one of his eyes had relaxed and partly covered it, which gave him a sort of sleepy look. But the moment he spoke one could see at once that he was wide awake. His voice was melodious, his conversation fascinating, and his manners, while quite familiar, were those of an elegant gentleman. After the reception, which he held for about an hour, he and his secretary and one or two gentlemen who had accompanied him to Belleville, the members of the Republican County Committee and some prominent citizens we had invited, sat down to a well prepared dinner. We had some of the best Rhine wine at the table, and Butler, who was a connoisseur, inquired of the landlord whether he had some of that same brand in stock and would sell him a couple of boxes. Being answered in the affirmative, he at once ordered his secretary to buy them and direct the sending of them to St. Louis.

The notice of his coming was so short that his audience consisted principally of the people of Belleville and its neigh-

borhood. It was, however, very numerous and very enthusiastic, and, what was not very frequent in Belleville, a large part of the audience were ladies. I, as chairman of the county committee, had been charged to introduce the General. In one respect he disappointed many of his hearers. They expected a rampant, radical, vindictive speech, passionately delivered. But the very reverse was the case. He spoke in a cool and considerate manner, using the most elegant language, handling the issues of the campaign very fairly but forcibly, indulging sometimes in humorous but not offensive remarks. As to General Grant, our candidate, he said nothing. He had, indeed, no reason to love him. Grant had treated him very badly while they operated together near Richmond. While I doubt that his speech in a large promiscuous crowd, particularly such as are found in large cities, would have had much effect, it was listened to with the greatest satisfaction by the rather discriminating Belleville audience, and was cheeringly applauded. When he left the stage, many ladies thronged around him offering him bouquets, and several of them who had been introduced to him were anxious to shake hands and to speak with him.

GRANT'S CABINET

The day after the inauguration of General Grant, March 5th, 1869, he announced his cabinet: E. B. Washburne of Illinois, Secretary of State; the noted millionaire of New York, A. T. Stewart, Secretary of the Treasury; General Cox of Ohio, Interior; General Schofield, War; John A. Cresswell of Maryland, Postmaster-General; E. R. Hoar, Attorney-General. Though much surprise was expressed, the Senate confirmed all the nominations.

Now Mr. Washburne had been a most efficient member of Congress for five or six years, and had rendered most valuable service in guarding the Treasury against rings, jobs and corrupt lobbies, by which vigilance he had acquired the sobriquet of the "Watch Dog of the Treasury." He was thor-

oughly honest, and an exalted Union man. He had really introduced General Grant to the authorities in Springfield, though Grant had been a Democrat and had never voted the Republican ticket. He had, after Grant had become colonel of a regiment, taken a particular interest in him, had taken up his defense after General Grant's great blunder at Belmont, and felt proud of the latter's great success at Fort Donelson. And when Grant was charged by Halleck with disobedience of orders and with utter neglect in reporting to headquarters and was about to be superseded by General Smith, Washburne intervened in Grant's favor with the President and left Grant in quasi-command until Halleck appeared on the field after Shiloh.

It is a psychological fact that one who has done a favor for another is apt to heap additional favors upon him. Upon every occasion Washburne championed Grant by moving resolutions of thanks, by introducing bills to raise his rank to that of a full general, which, I believe, was only once bestowed for a short time upon General Washington. It was, therefore, generally expected that Washburne would have a seat in the cabinet, most likely that of the Interior, for which he was so well qualified. But Washburne had never been on the Committee of Foreign Relations. He never seemed to care about foreign affairs, and never took any part in discussing them. He had an honest face, but very rough features, and looked very uncouth. As his principal business would have been with the foreign ministers, the language of no one of whom, except the English minister, he understood, and with whom he would have to discuss important matters in polished diplomatic style, this appointment created quite a sensation. But it soon appeared that this appointment was not meant in earnest. Washburne resigned a week afterwards and took the mission to France. In the meantime, however, he had the benefit of the patronage of the office, which was very considerable and which was used by him to some extent. France was not well pleased with seeing the mission given to him;

for, in 1867, when a bill was before Congress to make an appropriation for commissioners to be sent by us to the great International Exhibition at Paris, Washburne had opposed it in a rather offensive speech, in which he said that it was folly for us to try to compete with the French in articles of industry, and that they were masters in producing trifling articles, and other gimcracks, which the world could not "beat."

It must be said, however, that Washburne, assisted by most accomplished secretaries of legation, succeeded very well in France, and in the Franco-German war, when Bismarck placed the Germans in France under his protection, acted with great industry and vigor to shield them against the persecution and oppression of the French authorities and the French populace. He also acted a noble and manly part during the siege of Paris, and particularly while Paris was in the cruel hands of the communists. He gained thus great popularity, and deservedly so, amongst the German-Americans. In supplying Washburne's place by Mr. Hamilton Fish, of New York, a wise, prudent, and very accomplished gentleman, President Grant made some amends for his first rather queer appointments.

But to A. T. Stewart there were serious objections. One may be a very successful dry-goods merchant and yet a very poor minister of finance. Besides, it turned out, that he was disqualified by an old law that expressly provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should never be interested in any commercial pursuit. And here, now, right at the start, germinated an opposition to General Grant in the ranks of Republican Senators and members of Congress, for instead of withdrawing the nomination when this law was brought to his notice, Grant sent a message to Congress asking it to exempt by a joint resolution Mr. Stewart from the operation of the statute in question. Senator Sumner and others spoke pretty sharply against the proposition, which of course failed, and General Grant at once took his defeat in very bad part and

considered those who opposed it as his enemies. It was evident that the entire merit of Stewart in the President's eye was that he was the principal contributor to a large amount of money donated to General Grant on account of his military services. There was nothing wrong, perhaps, in making such donations to the successful chief of the army, but it was surely indelicate to reward such generosity by bestowing high office on the donors, particularly when they had no known qualifications for them.

The same objection applied to Mr. Borie, a rich wholesale liquor-merchant in Philadelphia, who had contributed to buying a large house in Philadelphia for General Grant.

General Schofield did not accept the office tendered him, or soon resigned, and his place was filled by General Rawlins, who had been a young lawyer in Galena when the war broke out, — an ardent Democrat, whom General Grant had employed on his staff and had finally made his chief of staff. He certainly was an able young man and nothing could be urged against his character; yet as there were a number of able commanders of noble reputation to choose from, this appointment was also not very much approved. It was evident that General Grant was more inclined to favor his personal friends than to look to the general interests of the country. General Cox and Mr. Hoar, men greatly esteemed and well known to the people, very soon resigned also, and in their places men were appointed who had not even the confidence of their own party, such as G. M. Robertson of New Jersey and Columbus Delano of Ohio. A great many other high appointments also met with great disapprobation, as they could generally be traced to personal friendship and to services rendered to the President.

But still these mistakes were, if not overlooked, ascribed to inexperience in civil affairs, or to a laudable desire to stand by one's friends. The rush for offices was really alarming, and there was so much pressure brought to bear on the President that it was not to be wondered at if improper ap-

pointments were sometimes made. A gentleman from Springfield had been an applicant for an office, — I believe, in the revenue service. He had been an efficient member of the party from the beginning, and was an excellent business man well qualified for the office. Upon his instance I had given him a general recommendation. He went to Washington well fortified with petitions in his favor. On the 9th of March I received the following letter from him: "I received your note with enclosed recommendation in due time; but there is such a throng of applicants for office (I am told over 1,500 from Illinois alone) that it will be utterly impossible for me to succeed in my enterprise with all the good papers and recommendations I hold from State officers, members of the Legislature and from almost all the prominent men of Illinois, because I have not the brass. Thanking you," etc. My friend was probably not aware that nine-tenths of the gentlemen who signed his papers had in all probability also signed the petitions of three or four applicants for the same office. For the good of the country it would be much to be desired to have more people dare to say "no" when they ought to.

In June of this year the building of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Normal was completed and made ready for the reception of the orphans heretofore entertained at two different localities, Bloomington and Springfield. The opening of the institution was celebrated with proper ceremonies. The trustees were of course present. Governor Oglesby in the name of the State took possession of the building and made an appropriate speech. The children, several hundred in number, looked remarkably well. Having assisted to the best of my ability in starting the institution, I resigned my place on the board, thereby gaining a good deal of leisure, which I devoted in part to literary studies.

PRESIDENTIAL DIFFICULTIES

Early in the session of Congress the friends of the President introduced a bill to repeal the tenure of office act. It

passed the House without any trouble, but met with considerable opposition in the Senate from some of the Republican members. It was charged that the Senate was not willing to lose its grip on the President's power of removal, and wished to retain the patronage which it could exercise by forcing the President to follow its dictation as to who should be appointed. But on the other hand it was manifest that the unconditional repeal of the act was a confession that the law was of doubtful constitutionality and propriety and only adopted to deprive Johnson of the power of removal of officers (which all his predecessors had exercised from the beginning), because he differed from Congress in the reconstruction-policy. The repeal involved a vindication of Johnson's views of the unconstitutionality of the law, and of his course when he made an effort to bring the law before the Supreme Court for final interpretation. General Grant took the opposition of the Senate in high dudgeon, and widened the gap already existing between him and some of the Republican leaders. Finally, in a conference between the two Houses, the law was so modified as to allow the President to suspend officers during the vacation of Congress and in the meantime to appoint substitutes, and if afterward the Senate disapproved of the suspension the substitute had to leave and the President had to make a new appointment, whilst the suspended officer was not reinstated. This modification really amounted to nothing, as the old officer remained removed. It was really an absurd law; but it was still claimed as a victory by the Senate over the President.

While much prejudice had grown up against the President, principally on account of the many removals and appointments made by him, which, however, was produced mostly by disappointed office-seekers and soon passed away, the President was justly very much applauded by all those who cared for the fair reputation of the country and who believed honesty to be the best policy, for the firm, and at the time rather unpopular stand he took on the financial question.

As even then the revenue was surpassing expenses, he recommended a reduction of the taxes, strict economy, an early return to redeeming the currency in specie and the payment of our national debt in coin, except when otherwise provided.

THE CUBAN INSURRECTION OF 1868

His policy as to the great insurrection in Cuba which had broken out in the fall of 1868, and which had excited the greatest sympathy with the insurgents and indignation against the tyranny of Spain, was very conservative. Some of the South American Republics had already acknowledged the insurgent government in Cuba as belligerent; some had even recognized the independence of Cuba from Spain. An immense pressure was brought to bear upon the administration to do the same thing. Almost the entire press was for recognition of some sort. But we had shortly before filled the world with our complaint about the premature action of the European powers in recognizing the Confederates as belligerents and we were then actually pressing our claim against Great Britain on account of such recognition and assistance rendered to the belligerents, so that to have recognized the Cubans as belligerents would have placed us in a very embarrassing position.

I was somewhat interested in this Cuban matter. I had learned that President Grant was at first very much inclined to recommend to Congress the recognition of the Cuban revolutionists as belligerents, that he was reported to have stated that Spain had treated us badly during our civil war, and that she ought to be punished by retaliation. To disabuse his mind in that respect I prepared an extended memorial, in which I suggested to him that the present government of Spain, (the Bourbon dynasty having been upset, and the Queen being in exile,) consisted of our very best friends during the war; that the regent Serrano, who had been for some time minister of foreign affairs under Isabella's government, had been very favorably inclined to our cause; that Prim, who

was now prime minister was very well known to have been the fast friend of the Union and had been so considered by President Lincoln and the Republican press when Prim was in the United States; that the other members of the government, Emilio Castelar, Olozaga, Salmeron, had been distinguished members, the first of the Democratic, the others of the Progresista party, which had advocated in and out of the Cortes the Union cause. I stated that Spain's neutrality had been most benevolent as far as the Union was concerned, while the Confederates loudly complained that they were not treated on an equal footing; that Spain had been driven into recognizing the Confederates as belligerents by England and France, and that she had constantly resisted the efforts of Louis Napoleon to join him in recognizing their independence. I referred President Grant to the diplomatic correspondence between Mr. Seward and the United States minister at Madrid, which shows that our State Department repeatedly expressed its great satisfaction with the conduct of Spain. Of course, I did not fail to point out the inconsistency of recognizing the early belligerency of the revolutionary government, when we had made so much ado about the conduct of the European powers in respect to ourselves, and that while we were negotiating with England about the Alabama claims, it would be equally inopportune to imitate her by a premature recognition of the Cuban revolutionists. This memorial was handed to the President by Senator Trumbull, and he promised to examine it. In the conversation with Mr. Trumbull, while he repeated that Spain had treated us badly, the President remarked however that he would uphold the neutrality laws. These laws nevertheless, had been badly violated before this and continued to be so violated.

I had also written to Senator Schurz regarding this Cuban affair, as he had been for a time minister to Spain during our war, and stated my views on the matter. He wrote me on the 28th of May (1869) as follows:

"As to the conduct of the Spanish government during

the war, I agree with you perfectly. I mentioned the matter to Fish (Secretary of State) before I left Washington, but I shall write to him again about it. Fish is a cautious and reliable man and I think the government will act with prudent moderation. The only thing I fear with regard to this matter is the influence of Rawlins (Secretary of War) who has some filibustering propensities. I am confident that Grant himself is inclined to keep out of trouble."

I do not pretend to say that my suggestions to the President exercised any influence in this matter, but I thought it my duty to advance them, as I was in as good a position to know the facts as almost any other person.

CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT

On the 14th of September, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Alexander von Humboldt was celebrated, one might say, all over the civilized world, and very extensively in the United States. Most of these ceremonies were initiated by the Germans, but they were participated in by many Americans. In some of the larger cities the movement for celebrations originated with Americans. Belleville, which had so enthusiastically solemnized the centenary birthday of Schiller just about ten years before, did not fail to remember Humboldt. Of course no such general interest was felt for the great scientist as for the beloved national poet. Yet was the celebration worthy of the occasion. Our musical societies opened and closed the festival very appropriately. A more than life-sized bronzed plaster bust of the hero of the day, crowned with laurel leaves, stood on a pedestal behind the speaker's tribune, and the whole hall had been most beautifully decorated by the ladies of Belleville. I had been pressed again into service to make a German speech. I really found it quite a difficult task. A mere dry recital of his life and explorations would not do, nor any detailed reference to his great services in almost every branch of the physical sciences. Most of the people had not enough preparatory knowledge to appreciate the worth of his labors. I myself was by no means well prepared to go into scientific details; for my education had

fallen in a period when, outside of mathematics, hardly any branch of the physical sciences was taught in our schools or colleges. The ancient classics, history, and, at Frankfort, the modern languages overshadowed all other studies. As after our great civil war and the wars in Crimea, Italy and the Prussian-Austrian war, the worship of military heroes was the order of the day, I thought it would be well to point out that "Peace has its victories no less than war" in the following lines, translated from the German:

"And here let us pause for a moment and let us consider what pure love of science, nay, what enthusiasm is required to undergo the dangers of such exploring expeditions. While the soldier is seldom threatened by death in more than one form, the scientific tourist in unknown and uncivilized regions is surrounded by a whole troop of dangers, the more to be dreaded as they are hardly to be foreseen, and as there are not sufficient means to protect himself against them. The deeply imbedded hot river valleys of tropical countries oppress the lungs and threaten suffocation. The exhalations of a gigantic vegetation originate miasmas, producing deadly fevers. Panthers, cougars, snakes, and insects, whose bites are mortal, pursue the wanderer on the land and on the waters. Not less dangerous are to him the untamed human inhabitants of the wilderness. Rushing torrents draw his lonely boat into destruction. And when he ascends, on giddy paths, across yawning chasms, the highest peaks of the Cordilleras or the Himalayas, the rarefied air presses the blood from the eyes and mouth, and compels him, in order to save himself, to seek as fast as possible a denser atmosphere. Immeasurable and indescribable are the sufferings and the torments of such explorers, and only the most lofty natures can bear them, and such as are inspired by a glowing zeal for science."

I surprised and interested my hearers very much by my reference to Humboldt's liberal political views and the frankness with which he expressed them to the king and court at Berlin, and to his continuous efforts in favor of victims of political persecution. This side of Humboldt's character had not been generally known before the last publication of Humboldt's correspondence with Varnhagen Von Ense and the diaries of the last named writer.

Judge Wm. H. Snyder also delivered a very extended and very able speech on this occasion, which was very well received and contributed largely to his election as a member of the constitutional convention at the coming November election.

DR. HERMANN VON HOLST

In September I had the pleasure of a visit from Dr. Hermann Von Holst, who had come to the United States a year or two before and was then engaged as the assistant editor of the "German-American Conversations-Lexicon" then published by Dr. Alexander Schem in New York, and was also examining the libraries and archives at Washington preparatory to his great task, the writing of the "Constitutional History of the United States." He had already published some historical essays in Germany which had created much attention. After a residence of some years in this country he returned to Germany and became professor of history at the University of Freiburg and for a time was called to the new University at Strassburg to fill the chair of history there, but returned to Freiburg again. He then commenced publishing his great works on American political history, which were translated into English and at once gained him a reputation as one of the most searching, profound and indefatigable of historical writers. There is a freshness and originality about his writings which reminds one very often of Mommsen, and a realistic frankness quite equal to Carlyle's. His style is forcible and impressive, but often too trenchant. His faults are too much dogmatism, and at times a subtlety of reasoning carried to excess. To the series of "American Statesmen" he has contributed the "Life of Calhoun," perhaps one of the best of the series, probably on account of the intellectual similarity of the two men. Some time ago, an American literary man, himself an able writer and critic, observed to me that it was rather astonishing that the best biographies of American statesmen in the whole series were written by foreign-born authors, Von Holst and Carl Schurz (whose "Life of

Henry Clay'' has been universally pronounced to be admirable).

BUSINESS AND DOMESTIC MATTERS

Late in the year professional business had called me to Washington. General Rawlins, Grant's Minister of War, not long before had died, universally regretted, for he was a noble, high-minded, modest and able young man. His place had not been filled. It struck me that my friend, General Palmer of Illinois, would be the right man for the place. My friend Mr. Morris, of Quincy, was of the same opinion. So we went to the President and strongly recommended the Governor. While General Grant admitted at once the qualifications of Palmer for the office, he remained uncommitted, but promised to consider our suggestion. Before I left Washington I prepared a memorial for the President, setting forth more fully the great propriety in every respect of Palmer's appointment and handed it to the President, telling him at the same time that Palmer knew nothing about my action.

Grant did not follow our advice but appointed General Belknap, who brought himself and to some extent General Grant into disgrace by selling for cash posts of Indian traders, for which he was impeached and found guilty, but acquitted by the Senate, for the sole reason that he had resigned his office the moment the House had prepared articles of impeachment against him. Grant was severely blamed for accepting his resignation, thereby allowing him to escape, through a pretended lack of jurisdiction.

In this year, to her first born, Theodore, who had grown to be quite a large child, our Augusta added another fine boy, who was named Edgar, the Rombauer family being fond of romantic names.

THE SANTO DOMINGO AFFAIR

In the beginning of 1870 the President found himself again in disaccord with the Senate, and some Republican Senators incurred his lasting displeasure. It appeared that in

July General Grant had sent General Babcock, one of his special friends, to Santo Domingo, where some American citizens, mostly adventurers, who pretended to have claims against the Santo Domingo Company or were in possession of large grants or privileges which they could not turn to profitable use, had started a movement for the annexation of that island to the United States. Babcock was to look into the matter and to ascertain whether Buenaventura Baez, the then President of the black republic, was willing to consent to this annexation. Babcock reported favorably, and about the end of the year, through the instrumentality of our commercial agent there, which was to give a sort of diplomatic character to the transaction, a treaty for annexation was entered into, including a perpetual lease of the bay of Samana. I believe it was never ascertained whether the Secretary of State knew about this transaction before the treaty was signed by the President and Senator Baez. The latter had no trouble in getting his people to vote for the annexation, just as they had voted ten years before to be annexed to Spain and then rose in rebellion and harassed Spain almost to death, until in 1865 she voluntarily gave up the job. Grant in a special message strongly recommended the treaty, painting its advantages in most glowing colors; but it at once met with decided opposition, not because the acquisition of this tropical country, with its negro population of 300,000 people, was not desirable, but on account of the singular way in which the treaty had been negotiated, raising a suspicion that it was altogether the speculation of private persons. The reputation of General Babcock was none of the best, and that of President Baez decidedly bad. The North had always been opposed to acquiring negro territory, and the South after slavery was abolished, naturally felt no interest in such annexations, but, like many Republicans, were decidedly disinclined to add a number of colored votes to those already brought into existence by the passage of the fifteenth amendment.

The treaty hung fire. Carl Schurz, who was somewhat

familiar while minister to Spain with the annexation of Santo Domingo to Spain and the disastrous result of it to that country, moved the rejection of the treaty in an executive session of the Senate. From the speeches there made by him and others, it was evident that his motion would have prevailed, and so General Grant entered into a negotiation for an additional article to the convention which should make it more palatable, and sent it on the 30th of May with a special message highly recommending the adoption of the whole treaty. Nevertheless, the treaty was rejected by the Senate. Later efforts by the President, pursued with unparalleled tenacity, proved unavailing, and the scheme in 1871 was entirely abandoned. Baez's government was shortly afterwards overthrown, and it became clear to everybody that the President had made a great mistake. While the treaty was unapproved by the Senate and without any authority from Congress, he had ordered men-of-war to Hayti, the French-speaking part of the island, because it was reported that Hayti, which of course disliked to have us as close neighbors, was trying to incite the Dominicans to pronounce against Baez and upset his plans of annexation.

The speeches made in executive session, it was said, were extremely severe, reflecting upon the President and his advisers in the scheme and censuring his administration generally. Those strictures were not confined to the opposition. The breach between the President and some of the most distinguished Senators was thus considerably widened.

In the fall of 1863, while my family was still in Switzerland, I had put up at my old hotel, the Fonda de los Principes in the Puerta del Sol. When I went to luncheon the first morning, I was, as usual, placed by the steward at the head of the table, and there was placed next to me a very bright mulatto, elegantly dressed. In the evening at dinner he occupied the same place. The next day some casual conversation sprang up between us. He spoke French very fluently and some English, and I discovered that he was a man of excel-

lent education and finished manners. On rising from the table he handtd me his card, "Brigadier-General Buenaventura Baez." His life had been a very stormy one. Quite young he had been elected president of Santo Domingo, but when Santana became president he was banished and passed several years in New York, was in 1856 again elected president, but was upset again by Santana and went to Spain, from where he returned to Santo Domingo and was elected president for the third time; banished again, he made himself president in 1867, and kept himself in power until 1871. In 1873, I believe, he was again deposed by some revolution. When Santana sold his country to Spain, Baez was implicated in that transaction and had come to Spain to assist her in holding possession of the country then in revolt. On account of his services he had been made a titular Spanish general of division. By those who knew him well he was represented as a most astute and accomplished politician, but wholly unprincipled. During the six weeks I had him as my neighbor I found him very interesting company. He seemed to know all our public men, at least by reputation, and had a deep insight into our political and social life.

That with my knowledge of what Spain had experienced in Santo Domingo, where it lost some twenty-five thousand men by disease alone, not to speak of many millions of dollars, and of the character of Señor Baez, I did not look favorably on the annexation business, which was certainly not free from some very corrupt dealings, was natural; and whatever information I possessed I took occasion to comunicate to my friends in the Senate.

VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN 1870

In May 1870 business called me to Washington again. I was accompanied by Sophie and Paula. After a most pleasant stay of a few days in Cincinnati, we reached Washington by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad through the mountains and the charming valleys of the Cumberland and Shenandoah,

and stopped at the Ebbitt House, an annex to Willard's Hotel. Gustavus A. Finkelnburg and his wife, a sister of Judge Rombauer, showed us the greatest attention. Finkelnburg was member of Congress from Missouri and had already obtained a high standing in the House on account of his ability as a lawyer, his happy faculty of expressing himself with the greatest clearness, and his honesty and modesty. To Sophie and Paula the capital with all its splendor was new, and interested and pleased them very much. Of course they attended some sittings of the House and the Senate. They were surprised by the beautiful surroundings of Washington, the view of which from the capitol is really grand. All the public buildings were visited and also Georgetown with its picturesque cemetery, Arlington Heights, with the innumerable graves of soldiers,—the weather all the time being most delightful. One morning we went out some four or five miles to the Soldiers' Home, in the midst of a very fine park. The dwelling of the superintendent, it will be recollected, was, during the hot summer months, often an abode of Mr. Lincoln while he was President. On returning, Mr. and Mrs. Finkelnburg being of the party, we were met by two gentlemen in a buggy drawn by the lines by a fast trotter at the top of his speed. The team passed us at a furious rate but still I recognized one of the gentlemen as President Grant. When I mentioned this, Mr. Finkelnburg, who is short-sighted, thought I must be mistaken. The ladies also could not believe that the President would drive in that way. But our coachman confirmed my statement, saying that he knew the President very well, and that this sort of driving was habitual with him.

We of course were called upon by our cousin Julius Hilgard and his wife. Julius was then first assistant superintendent of the coast survey, and we spent one day at his house. I had not visited the White House yet. When we were one day stepping out of our hotel, some time after dinner to pay a visit to Commander Breese of the navy, the son of Judge Breese, we found General Grant right before the hotel

talking to some gentlemen, all smoking. I did not think it was a good time to address him, as I should have to introduce Sophie and Paula to him on the street; but while passing by he recognized me and called me by name. So I turned round, and we shook hands, and I of course presented my family to him. He told them that they must come and see Mrs. Grant, who would be glad, etc. We went to the General's afternoon reception, which took place on a certain day of the week. Mrs. Grant was in the beautiful conservatory and was assisted by Mrs. Fish, a very fine and noble-looking matron. She was quite a contrast to plain Mrs. Grant.

We also visited Mt. Vernon. It was a balmy day and the trip on the steamer enchanting. The location of the home of Washington is very fine. The ancient dwelling-house, the tomb and the park, appeared to us however not so well kept up as they ought to have been. No one can visit the place and look on the relics reminding one of the great man who lived and died here, without deep emotion.

While meeting with many members of Congress and other friends I could not help perceiving that among the Republicans a spirit of opposition to the President was springing up, and that, while perfect honesty was accorded to the President himself, some of his special friends and associates and even members of his cabinet were strongly suspected of corruption. It was also urged that he considered every opposition to his favorite measures, however well grounded it might be, as a personal offense which he took every means to resent.

After a short stay of about a week we returned home by way of Philadelphia and Chicago.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Very soon affairs in Europe attracted universal attention, particularly with the German-Americans. France had been reorganizing her army on a large scale, borrowing some features from the Prussian system. Ever since the war of

Prussia against Austria in 1866 and the organizing of the North German Bund, France had become very uneasy. The Bund comprised all the German states north of the Main, contained some thirty millions of people, and without calling upon the reserves could bring to the field in time of war nearly half a million of soldiers.

The opposition in the French legislative body became bolder and stronger in numbers. In spite of some liberal concessions the Emperor had made from time to time, his prestige was waning. His ill success in Mexico, his humiliating retreat from that country owing to threatening admonitions from the United States, had added to the discontent spreading everywhere through France. Even in the vote of the plebiscite that was given in favor of certain liberal measures and of his dynasty, (forty thousand votes in the army and navy having been given against them, and millions of voters having abstained from voting,) close observers saw the coming danger. It was a singular mistake of Mr. Washburne, when after this plebiscite of May he reported to this government that Napoleon's dynasty stood never firmer than at the present time. The French opposition-press did not fail to charge that Napoleon had failed to prevent the partial union of Germany, nay, had contributed to it, thus abandoning the traditional policy of France to keep her neighbors, Italy and Germany, divided and thereby powerless. "Revenge for Sadowa" became the war-cry. France must be compensated by taking from Germany some provinces west of the Rhine. Only a war could save Napoleon's dynasty, was the advice of most of the Emperor's counsellors, and, it was said, also of the Empress Eugenie.

After General Prim and the regent Serrano had offered the crown of Spain to several princes, they finally persuaded Leopold, a prince of Hohenzollern who belonged to a distant branch of the house of Hohenzollern in South Germany, which had remained Catholic, and who was more nearly related to the Beauharnais and thereby to Napoleon, the son of Hortense

Beauharnais, than he was to the Prussian line of the Hohenzollerns, to accept the crown of Spain. France immediately protested, called upon Spain to withdraw the nomination and upon Prussia to forbid Leopold to accept. The Prussian minister of foreign affairs answered that his government had nothing to do with the matter, had not been consulted by anybody about it, and had not received any official notice of it. Thereupon M. Benedetti, who was absent from Berlin, where he was the ambassador of France, was at once ordered to call upon the King of Prussia who was at the watering-place of Ems, and to make the demand made by France at Berlin. The King told Benedetti what his secretary of legation had been told in Berlin, and of course refused the demand. While Benedetti, the ambassador, was still arguing with the King, Leopold (undoubtedly under the advice of the King) withdrew his candidacy, and all sensible men thought this was an end of the matter. But not so the hot-headed minister of the Emperor. Not satisfied with a diplomatic victory over Spain and Prussia, he made the further most extraordinary demand that the King of Prussia should declare that he would never thereafter support the candidacy of Prince Leopold, if he should renew it. This the King refused to do, whereupon Louis Napoleon, who has since often declared that he was utterly opposed to the war, finally yielded to his cabinet, and on the 15th of July sent a declaration of war to Berlin.

After the war had taken an unfavorable turn for France, and Napoleon's dynasty was overthrown, September 6th, at Paris, the Emperor was made the national scapegoat, and it was contended, and is still contended in France, that the French people were entirely innocent of the war. But the French people were represented by their assembly, and that almost unanimously declared for war. The opposition, to be sure, asked for delay, wanted to see the diplomatic correspondence. M. Thiers, who was one of the strongest opponents of the imperial government, did not oppose a war

generally, but thought that France was not yet quite ready and that this Spanish incident was not a sufficiently good pretext to make war upon. But it must be recollected, that the opposition to the Emperor,—Thiers most prominently and also Jules Favre and Gambetta,—had all along bitterly blamed him for having suffered the North German Bund to be constituted without France's receiving compensation. They had all along goaded the Emperor to rectify, as they called it, the natural frontiers of France by taking the German provinces west of the Rhine. When war was declared, all France echoed the cry, "On to Berlin, On to Berlin!" It was falsely proclaimed in the Chamber by the minister of foreign affairs that the King of Prussia had insulted M. Benedetti at Ems in declining to converse further on the most outrageous proposition that he should write to the Emperor to the effect that he would not at any subsequent time support the renewal of Prince Leopold's candidacy. M. Benedetti, in publishing after the war the negotiations with the King at Ems, not only denied that he was offensively treated but said that the King had been not only courteous but cordial.

PRO-GERMAN MASS-MEETINGS IN 1870

The moment the declaration of war became known here, the Germans all over the United States assembled in enthusiastic mass-meetings expressing their sympathy with their Fatherland, denouncing the imperial government for its outrageous breach of the peace and appointing committees to raise means for the support of the wounded and the families of the dead. An immense meeting was to be held in St. Louis, and Belleville of course did not lag behind. On the 23rd of July the large hall of the city park was crowded to suffocation by the Germans of Belleville and neighborhood. George Bunsen presided, and a committee was appointed to prepare resolutions. The chairman had explained the object of the meeting and some speeches had been made, before I entered the hall. For some reason or another I had been delayed. But I was

immediately called upon to address the meeting. I cannot but confess that I felt a great anxiety about the future of our old Fatherland. In the war of 1866 it is true the Prussian army had met with almost unparalleled success. Its valor and the superior strategy of its generals had been incontestably established. But Austria had had a great part of her army in Italy, and the northern army was inferior in numbers to the Prussian. The needle-gun was far better that the Austrian muzzle-loader, and, besides, Benedek and Gablenz perhaps excepted, the Austrian army had no able commanders. The whole war had lasted only six weeks. From the reports of the military authorities of France she had, on paper at least, an army of 500,000 to 600,000 men ready to take the field immediately, "ready to the last gaiter button," as the minister of war stated in the Legislative Assembly. The French army had been in the wars of the Crimea, Italy, China, Mexico, and part of it constantly fought in Algiers. Its officers and non-commissioned officers were certainly inured in war, as were very many of the soldiers, owing to its system of reënlisting war veterans. The chasse-pot gun was undoubtedly superior to the needle-gun in rapid firing and in carrying farther, and the mitrailleuse, in proper places, formidable. When the first news of the war came it was by no means certain whether Austria would not grab at the opportunity of taking revenge for Sadowa and Italy not fly to the assistance of France. Whether the South German states would be of much assistance was also doubtful, as their military organization had shown itself very indifferent in the war of 1866. In most of the German meetings it was taken for granted that the French would be badly beaten. I could not indulge in this optimistic view, and so I said at the opening of my speech:

"We cannot but feel, my German fellow citizens, that Germany has a hard road to travel, (einen schweren Gang zu thun,) as Luther said when on his way to Worms. France for two hundred years has been a compact power. Louis XI, Richelieu, Louis XIV, succeeded in breaking down the influence of the feudal aristocracy, in subjecting provincialism to

the idea of a great and splendid common country, and in filling the minds of the people with a national pride and a national vanity. A centralization of administration reaching from the capital to the smallest municipality, no matter whether the government has been a monarchy or a republic, gives to this people, as regards other countries, an elastic power which makes it with its natural love for glory and its martial bravery an enemy not very easy to conquer.

"If we look coolly at the condition of our old beloved country, it becomes our most holy duty to contribute as much as we can to strengthen our brethren at home in their heavy struggle. The expression of our sympathy is undoubtedly tending to heighten the courage and the spirit of sacrifice, as every show of sympathy from Europe for our Union in our time of severe trial encouraged and strengthened us."

After referring to the ceaseless preparations for war made by imperial France since Sadowa, the reorganization of her armies, the immense increase of her marine, the provisioning and arming of all her eastern fortresses, I continued:

"Tiger-like the French government is ready to spring on unguarded Prussia. I say 'on Prussia,' for Napoleon erroneously thinks he can separate her from the rest of Germany, and Prussia alone could not resist the power of France. Only as a German power resting on German national sentiment and carried by it, can and must Prussia be victorious. Germany only can achieve the task which suddenly has devolved upon her after a bloody, but victorious combat, to secure a durable peace to Europe, to vindicate to the German element its place in the world's history and to erect to the liberty of the nations an imperishable altar.

"When we stand here, we who are blown together from every region of Germany—

From the Oder, Neckar, Weser, Main,
From the Elbe and from Father Rhine—

and loudly proclaim our sympathy for the people of our birth, which, with all its weaknesses, which no one knows better than we who have long lived away from it and have had an opportunity of comparisons with other nations, is yet the most humane, the most just, the most genial and noble of all peoples; when we collect means for the support of the wounded, the widows and orphans of the dead, we fulfill only a holy duty. Taking sides with the cause which is just and the one

which promises freedom and independence, we act in the spirit of our republican fatherland.

"Let then our most ardent wishes be for the victory of the Germans, and I would address to them with slight alterations the words of the enthusiastic poet who exhaled his young heroic life on the battlefield fighting against French tyranny and who did not in vain dedicate his lyre and sword to the independence of Germany:

" 'So betet dass die alte Kraft erwache,
Dass ihr dasteht, das alte Volk des Siegs;—
Die Maertyrer der heil'gen deutschen Sache,
O, ruft sie an—die Genien der Rache
Als gute Engel des geretchen Kriegs!
Die Manen Schills umschweben eure Fahnen,
Und Scharnhorsts Geist voran dem kuehnen Zug;
Und all ihr Heldenschatten der Germanen—
Mit euch, mit euch und eures Banners Flug!' "

At the conclusion of the speech the committee reported a set of appropriate resolutions, amongst which I will mention only one, to show how early the Germans everywhere claimed the reannexation of Alsace and Lorraine:

"The declaration of war against the King of Prussia is a declaration of war against the whole German nation and can only be atoned for by a restitution of the German provinces of France to a united Germany as the issue of a victorious combat."

By another resolution a financial committee was appointed to collect money for the support of the invalids and their widows and orphans.

With three rousing cheers for a great, strong, united and free Germany the meeting broke up.

I had been charged to convey our resolutions to Baron Gerolt, minister of the North German Bund at Washington to be sent by him to Bismarck, the Chancellor of the Bund. I enclosed the resolutions in the following letter (translated):

"To His Excellency, Baron Von Gerolt, Washington City:

"I presume that you are collecting material in order to be able to report to your government regarding the public opinion prevailing in the United States on the war which has

broken out between France and Prussia, or, properly speaking, between France and Germany. I enclose therefore a short notice of a meeting of the Germans of Belleville which perhaps differs from innumerable similar meetings in one respect, that it was composed almost entirely of Southern Germans or of Germans from the provinces lately annexed to Prussia. All its officers and all members of the committee were non-Prussians with but one exception. A considerable number of those present at the meeting fought in 1849 in the Palatinate and Baden against Prussian troops.

"With the greatest esteem,

"Gustave Koerner."

Baron Gerolt, under date of July 29th, responded as follows:

"Esteemed Sir: I thank you most sincerely for your kind transmission of the resolutions adopted by the German citizens of Belleville in favor of a united Germany in the war against France and toward assisting the wounded and those who need support. It will be a matter of great joy to me to convey, together with many other demonstrations of sympathy with their old fatherland, the resolutions which you have sent me to the government of the North German Bund. Please accept the assurance of my highest regard.

"The Minister of the North German Bund,

"J. Gerolt."

Within a few weeks the citizens of Belleville and the county had contributed about $2,000, ($1,600 of which were raised by a bazaar arranged by the ladies of Belleville,) which sum was placed in the hands of the German consul at St. Louis. How much was raised in the United States could not well be ascertained, as the moneys were not all sent to the Central Committee at Berlin which had been appointed there to receive donations, but to other similar committees existing in some of the larger cities of Germany, north and south. Some estimated the sum sent from the United States at more than a million of dollars, others at only half a million. It is safe to say that at least $600,000 were contributed. Another very remarkable proof of the enthusiasm of the Germans in foreign countries was the promptness with which all who still owed mili-

tary service to the different German states, as being either on furlough or as being in the reserve or in the Landwehr, returned to Germany; from all parts of the United States, from South America, from Australia, not to speak of the states of Europe, they hastened back to put themselves in line.

NEWS FROM THE BATTLE OF SEDAN

I must say that I felt very uneasy the first two weeks. I was hardly able to attend to my business. On the 2d of August, a division of Frossard's corps had passed the German frontier near Forbach and attacked Saarbrücken, which was vigorously defended by one battalion of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry and a section of artillery, which were all the German troops in the place. Napoleon himself was present with his boy Louis. The German troops of course could not withstand a division for any great length of time, and retired in good order. But Napoleon's dispatch to Eugenie claimed a great victory, stating also that "Lulu" had received his baptism of fire and had very coolly picked up some of the enemy's balls during the fight. As the details were not then known, this news was somewhat alarming. But the Germans had gained the frontier with the utmost celerity, and the news was received that the southern army under the Crown Prince Frederick had crossed the French lines near Weissenburg, that the first and second armies had reached Saarbrücken, and that great battles were expected within a few days. We were still in the greatest suspense.

On Sunday morning, the 7th of August, I had left Belleville before the St. Louis mail had come in, to attend the funeral of Mrs. Reuss, wife of Dr. Reuss, my old and esteemed friend. On arriving at his residence some seven miles from Belleville, I found a large assembly of friends and relatives, some from St. Louis. The occasion did not permit of any general conversation. We spoke of the great loss our friend had sustained in losing his amiable wife. Very soon after my arrival we followed the coffin to the family burying-ground,

not very far from the house. The funeral over, I went back, and finding Mr. Robert Barth, the consul of the North German Bund at St. Louis, near me, I remarked to him how anxious I was to hear from the seat of war. "What!" exclaimed Mr. Barth, "you have not heard the news yet? We beat them yesterday at Woerth and at Saarbrücken most terribly. Both the French armies are in full retreat, the one toward Metz, the other we do not know where, for it was nearly annihilated. I have got the morning papers at the house, where you will see very full despatches from London, Berlin, Bremen and Strassburg."

Now I felt relieved, or, to express it more forcibly in German, "Ein Stein fiel mir vom Herzen." Returning to Belleville, we found the streets full of people, all rejoicing, singing, and embracing one another without distinction of party or creed.

The news continued favorable. Of course, we all felt deeply for the immense losses of the Germans before and around Metz; but victory is a great consoler. "Unser Fritz" had reached the neighborhood of Châlons, only about one hundred and twenty-five miles from Paris, and a part of the army of Frederick Charles had marched towards Verdun. The camp of Châlons, where the rest of MacMahon's army from the battlefield of Woerth had been joined by three army corps and some ten thousand men of the "Garde-Mobile," had however been deserted and burnt up, and the Mobiles, having been found a useless, turbulent crowd of Parisian gamins, had been sent back. MacMahon, against all expectations, instead of being ordered to Paris, had been sent to the northeast to join Bazaine, who was hemmed in at Metz. The army of the Crown Prince in forced marches turned back in the same direction, and his junction with the German army which had been marching toward Verdun led to the great battle of Sedan and the capitulation of all that was left of MacMahon's army.

The news reached us in the evening of the 3d of September

when the ladies' bazaar was in full operation. Everybody went to the hall where the fair was being held. There was tumultuous rejoicing. Rhine wine and champagne flowed in streams. All thought peace was near. All over the country the Sedan victory and the prospect of peace were celebrated by the Germans. On invitation I attended one festival at Chicago, which was a grand affair. I also visited one at St. Louis. There being still a considerable and wealthy population of French and their descendants in St. Louis, a French bazaar had been opened for the benefit of the French sufferers. It was very tastefully arranged and well patronized. When I visited it, there were as many Germans there as French. I was very glad to see the Germans contribute to relieve misfortune even among their enemies.

The victory of Sedan, the capture of the great army of Mac Mahon, including the Emperor himself, at once caused the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty and the setting up of a republic by a street-crowd and the establishment of a provisional government called the Government of National Defense. That government, denouncing the war as brought about by the Emperor, entered into negotiations of peace, on the basis, however, that, in the words of Jules Favre, who managed the foreign affairs, France should not cede one inch of territory, nor should a stone of a fortress be touched. Of course this basis could not be adopted and Paris was besieged and other provinces of France occupied by German troops.

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

Hitherto all the leading papers of the Union except some few under control of Irish editors or under the influence of the Irish vote had heartily espoused the German cause. The war was considered so iniquitous on the part of France that the moral feeling of the great mass of the American people was necessarily against France. The fact also that Bismarck, as chancellor of the North German Bund, had entrusted the protection of German citizens in France, many thousands in

number in Paris alone, to the minister of the United States,—a circumstance which Mr. Bancroft in his despatch signalized as a great honor to our republic and which raised the prestige of our country in Europe,—may have contributed to the general good feeling for Germany. Besides, France had not admitted any American officers or even correspondents to its armies as observers, while the German military authorities received General Sheridan, General Burnside and the representatives of our great New York papers, and had treated them with marked attention.

But that France had become a republic over night, and had been rather prematurely recognized as such by Mr. Washburne, who on that account received a tremendous ovation in Paris, on which occasion he indulged in some high-flown phrases, worked here like a charm in favor of France. The Germans, it was said, had made war only on Napoleon, and as he was deposed, the Germans ought only to exact payment for their war-expense and leave at once for home.

Victor Hugo issued one of his bombastic manifestos to the German people, asking them to withdraw from France. They had obtained their object, he wrote, in relieving France and the world from the corrupt usurper, Louis Napoleon. All people were brethren and should not desire to destroy one another by war. The gratitude and admiration of the civilized world would be bestowed upon his German brethren, if they would now leave France to enjoy the blessings of a republic, and that admiration would be sufficient reward for their victories. The eloquent and gushing enthusiast, Wendell Phillips, took up the cue, and declared that if the Germans would not adopt Victor Hugo's views, "they would incur the loathing and contempt of both continents. France," he continued, "was dragooned into the war by Napoleon, and it was only a seeming war she waged." Another time he called unto heaven "to destroy the German armies by pestilence, leaving neither peasant nor prince living to tell the tale at Berlin."

The Irish papers that had heretofore advocated the French cause of course attacked the Germans with increased vigor; but now even some of those journals that had all along been the warmest friends of Germany began to waver and to fall into the vagaries of Wendell Phillips and other visionaries. I thought it my duty to try to stem this current, and addressed an open letter to the "Chicago Tribune," criticizing Phillips's harangues very severely, charging him with no bad motives, but only with a gross ignorance of historical facts. I alluded to the constant wars of France against Germany for centuries,—all of them wars of aggression and conquest,—pointed out that both Thiers and Victor Hugo for more than twenty years back had been incessant shriekers for the Rhine frontier; that the whole French Legislature with only two or three exceptions had voted for the present war; that M. Thiers, who had opposed it, "because France was not quite ready yet," was almost mobbed by the people when he left the Legislative halls. I pointed out that the assertions of Wendell Phillips and others that the French people hated the war and were not identified with it and not responsible for it, were unfounded and contradicted by sensible Frenchmen themselves. I gave extracts from the leading French papers in the United States, the "Courier des États Unis" of New York, where that paper, on the 20th of September, commenting on the circular of M. Jules Favre to the ministers of France in foreign countries, had expressed itself thus:

"When M. Favre says that France has not voted for the war, he must feel the weakness of his position. France has voted for the war, because the National Assembly voted for it, and not only the majority, but the minority,—the Left. Yes, the whole Chamber, with such few exceptions as made the vote almost unanimous, voted for it. M. Favre is not well inspired, when he makes France decline the responsibility of the war, thinking thereby to make the foreign powers better disposed towards us. The Republic should decline the responsibility for the fault committed by the Empire in declaring war before we were ready, but she should avow openly that the war itself was in the opinion of France undertaken as a re-

venge for Waterloo and Sadowa. This is a want of dignity which we dislike very much to see."

"In a preceding number," I continued in my letter, "the same paper speaks in a double-leaded article as follows:

"We have always protested against separating the people from the government, and we will not play the spaniel to the Germans in order to get a more favorable peace. Now we have said that the war against Germany was a national war; that the whole of France engaged in it. We have been in favor of the undertaking, and we have to accept the responsibility."

I quoted from a pamphlet of Edmond About, a celebrated French writer, entitled "A New Map of France and Prussia," published a few years before, wherein he claimed that France must have the German provinces west of the Rhine, for otherwise "France could never be the foremost power in the world."

Mr. Wendell Phillips also charged in his speech that the King of Prussia was opposed to having a republic established in France, ignoring the fact that he as well as Bismarck had publicly declared that France should be left free to choose its own government, only that they wanted to have some government to conclude peace with, and peace was in fact finally concluded with Republican France.

I pointed to our own embarrassment in the war with Mexico, where at the end of it we had to import and set up the exiled Santa Anna to make a peace with, by which peace we had as an indemnity for the past and security for the future annexed a territory as large as the whole of Europe, Russia excluded. As Mr. Phillips had also most virulently attacked the Germans for supposed barbarities in their warfare, based exclusively on lying French despatches, I quoted an article from the same Mr. About, in a Parisian newspaper, written by him before the catastrophe of Sedan, which was headed "Sacred Indignation," in which the following choice passage occurs: "Now we know with what set of scoundrels we have to do. We did not intend anything very bad against the German race (only to rob them of their territory and let

loose the savage Turcos and Kabyles on their wives and children). It is their fault now that we have become their enemies and that France can save civilization only by a total destruction of this Teutonic vermin. By the 1st of January, 1871, Europe must be purged of all the Hohenzollern, from all the country noblemen, from all the helmet-bearing Jesuits. We must have on our eastern frontier a Germany cut into slices, reined and muzzled for a century to come." "In these last lines," I said in my letter, "the policy of all statesmen from Richelieu down to Thiers, and the instinctive feeling of every Frenchman down to the most ignorant peasant is briefly and clearly expressed."

I had the satisfaction by this and similar publications to arrest to some extent the insane twaddle of Mr. Phillips and some of his sympathizing cranks. The article which was quite long and went into historical details was copied into many papers, and I received letters of approbation from many American sources. One very distinguished lawyer wrote me, amongst many other things, that he had been very much inclined towards the view expressed by Mr. Phillips, but that after reading my letter he had at once changed his opinion.

CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

In November, elections took place in all the States. In most of them the Republicans prevailed, but there was a perceptible falling off in the Republican vote and a considerable increase of the Democratic. Grant's administration had given no general satisfaction amongst his own party. His acceptance of large gifts while President, the appointment of numerous members of his and his wife's family, some of whom were wholly unqualified for the offices bestowed upon them, his waging a relentless war against those Republican members of Congress who had opposed some of his favorite measures, and the half-enforced resignation of some of the very best members of his cabinet had created deep dissatisfaction, which, if it did not engender an open split in the party, yet created

a sort of indifference with many, which had a fatal effect upon the vote. Even in the Belleville Congressional district and in the strong Legislative district of St. Clair the fight was a hard one for the member of Congress and the members of the Legislature. Our Gustave, then just of the constitutional age, made a very vigorous canvass for the House of Representatives, and was elected.

On the members of the Legislature devolved the election of a Senator of the United States. There were at first three candidates of military renown in the field, all ex-major-generals of the Union army,—John A. Logan, Richard Oglesby and John M. Palmer. The latter, however, had not offered himself as a candidate, but was brought out by a number of his friends. He was then Governor and had two years yet to serve. He at once declined to be a candidate, assigning very properly as a reason that the people had elected him their Governor for four years and that he had accepted the office not as a stepping-stone for the Senatorship, and that he was in duty bound to serve out his term.

Since the war most all important offices all over the Union, whether by election or appointment, had been given to the military men, often on account of their service in the army alone without regard to qualification for civil offices. Just then a sort of reaction had set in, and there was a desire manifest in some parts of the State to break this practice. Besides, Logan as well as Oglesby had taken time by the forelock. They had both perambulated the State, making stump speeches before all the county conventions to get the nominees for the Legislature instructed to vote for them for the Senatorship. This was quite a novel practice and disliked by a good many. To Logan there seemed to be a particular objection. He was then a member for the State at large of the lower house of Congress and his term was not out. If elected Senator, a special election would have been necessary, involving much expense, and a great many Republicans could not overlook the fact that he was a rather recent convert to Republicanism

and that he had been one of the most violent, dyed-in-the-wool, radical Democrats, not to say secessionists. He had now become as radical a Republican, just when a great many Republicans had adopted moderate and conservative views and were in favor of closing the gulf between the North and the South.

It was owing to the circumstances mentioned that my name began to be referred to in connection with the Senatorship. The German press, foremost of all the "Illinois Staatszeitung," at once, not only in Illinois but also in the neighboring States, most strenuously advocated my candidacy. Even some of the leading American journals, in Chicago, the "Tribune" for one, without committing themselves, spoke very favorably of my qualifications for the office. Numerous letters from influential Republicans all over the State encouraged me to become a candidate. It was one of the greatest mistakes in my life not to have at once declined being considered in the field. It was contrary to the course I had pursued since my return from the Spanish mission. I did not declare myself a candidate, did not attend any of the county conventions, made no speeches, stayed at home and even prevented the convention in my own county from instructing their candidates for the Legislature to vote for me. After the November election, however, I was induced simply to address the Republican members-elect in a few lines, asking their support if they thought I deserved it. This was done, owing to the pressure of my friends, who calculated that the contest between Logan and Oglesby would be a close and bitter one, and that if I obtained enough votes to hold the balance of power, I should have an excellent chance of getting elected, as I was the second choice of most members. My own delegation from St. Clair was of course for me, and some ten or twelve other members-elect reported themselves pledged for me.

General Logan was at that time commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Union soldiers which sprang into existence some time after the war was over. Its object was at the outset a beneficiary one for

the support of destitute soldiers. It clothed itself with the charm of half secrecy, after the fashion of lodges, and became soon very numerous. It adopted certain rites of reception and various ceremonies and pass-words. Its constitution declared that politics would be entirely excluded. It became, however, very soon apparent that the institution was to be converted into a sort of mutual officers' insurance company. General Logan worked the machine admirably for his own benefit. Though Oglesby was also a member of the Grand Army, he had far less influence with the "boys in blue" than the commander-in-chief.

Even before the Legislature met I became aware that General Logan had more members pledged to him than General Oglesby, yet not enough to be certain of getting a majority on the first ballot. Enough members were uncommitted to leave the election uncertain. I suggested to Oglesby that I should withdraw; but he counted nearly all the uninstructed members as for himself or for me, and begged me as an old friend of his to remain in the field. If I should hold the balance of power and neither he nor Logan should control enough to obtain an absolute majority in the caucus, he was certain that his friends, who were bitterly opposed to Logan, would go over to me. I disliked very much this sort of a game, but I liked Oglesby. He had always shown great attachment to me, and as he had been willing to give me almost any office while he had been Governor, I felt under some obligations to him. My friends also preferred Oglesby and would on my suggestion have voted for him.

After the Legislature met I went to Springfield. I was soon satisfied that Logan would get a majority over us both, but Oglesby and his friends assured me that he was nearly as strong as Logan. I did not believe it, nor did Gustave, who had excellent judgment on all such matters. Perhaps, when the Legislature first met, Oglesby had a chance. But Logan had left his seat in Congress, had taken possession of two large rooms on the ground floor opposite the bar of the princi-

pal hotel, crowded constantly with his friends and admirers, and extended great hospitality. Mrs. Logan held her court in one of the ladies' parlors, and carried on the campaign for her husband most vigorously.

Mrs. Logan at the time was a lady of stout proportions. Her features were not regularly beautiful, but her hair was of the blackness of a raven, and her eyes were dark and flashing. She was full of vivacity, and in volubility of tongue she was the equal of the General himself. There is no doubt that there was some fascination about her. To a close observer she appeared rather provincial and lacking the perfume of refinement. She had some considerable knowledge of men however, and played very boldly on the vanity of people; many of the rural members of our Legislature, after calling on her, left thinking that they were much bigger men than they thought themselves before they entered her presence. I have not the least doubt that she made considerable inroads on Oglesby's friends. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Logan has become a kind patron saint of the Grand Army of the Republic. After her death I should not be surprised if she were canonized as such, like Santa Barbara, who in all Catholic countries is considered the patroness of the heavy artillery. Mrs. Logan is in the habit of attending the great camp-fires of the army, meets with distinguished ovations, and is put on the speaker's platform. She continues to dabble largely in politics, and is present at the Republican National Conventions, trying her hand, though thus far unsuccessfully, at nominating politicians of her own choice for President. My opportunities were too limited to judge of her intellectual capacities. But be her gifts what they may, a dashing female worker in politics ought not to be approved, much less admired.

Shortly before the caucus was held I was anxious to withdraw. But Oglesby insisted that I had promised him to remain in the field. As I expected, Oglesby had greatly miscalculated his strength, and Logan got an absolute majority

over him and myself. As I had given up all hope long before, I felt not a bit disappointed and mortified, and had no complaint to make, and made none.

SALE OF ARMS TO FRANCE

The evident violation of neutrality on the part of General Grant's administration in selling government arms to France aroused a deep feeling of indignation among the Germans. Of course, France had a right to buy arms from our manufacturers and to ship them home at the risk of being taken by the German navy as contraband of war. But according to positive statutes on the subject, no government arms were permitted to be sold except when condemned by a proper board of officers as useless; and even then they could not be directly sold by our government to belligerent governments. Of course, these sales were ostensibly made to private persons acting as agents for France; but the arms were taken directly from our arsenal to French vessels. Arms just delivered from our factory of arms at Springfield to be distributed to our soldiers were sold to France. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy, had just ordered ten thousand rifles of a new pattern for the use of our marine troops, but these were on his order at once sold to a neighbor of his, who shipped them to France, and received a commission of twenty thousand dollars. Whole batteries with harness and all necessary equipment without any condemnation were purchased from the government, and, in order to prepare the necessary ammunition for the muskets, rifles and guns, the government kept men at work day and night, the needs of France being very pressing. When at a later period a board of inquiry was instituted in France, and an account asked of the war expenses from the Government of the National Defense, it appeared in evidence that nearly a quarter of a million francs had been paid in the United States for bribing officers of the Army and Navy Departments to permit this nefarious traffic. Bismarck was well aware of this breach of neutrality, but still did not officially complain. He is said

to have jocularly remarked that it would not be long before the Germans would have the benefit of these purchases.

The Germans here remonstrated for months against this traffic, but in vain. Finally strong deputations went to Washington, called upon President Grant, and got him to promise to stop the sales. He pretended that he had not known that these sales were made to France. But no one believed this. The leading French paper in New York had rather exultingly advertised every cargo of arms that left that port, and the whole press for months had openly spoken about it, and had generally condemned it. That Belknap and Robeson were bribed to violate the law was generally believed, and in Washington boldly and loudly asserted. When later on Belknap was found guilty of having sold offices in the Indian Territory and was impeached, the truth of the charge that he was concerned in the arms traffic was no longer doubted by anybody.

Considering that at the time Germany had trusted to the friendly feeling of the United States to the degree that Germans in France were placed under the protection of our government, this breach of neutrality was indeed most odious, and was so denounced by Senator Sumner and others in open Senate. It is no wonder that from that time on a great many German Republicans became alienated from Grant's administration and were utterly opposed to electing him President for a second term.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Years 1871 and 1872

The Illinois Legislature met in January 1871. It was an important session. Some articles of the new constitution required a number of laws to be enacted, to carry out the constitution. Among these was a general municipal law, under which all cities and villages could organize themselves, securing a uniformity which would do away with the innumerable city and village charters; a general railroad law for the incorporation of railroads; also a law to establish a Railroad and Warehouse Commission, which was to exercise supervision and, in many cases, jurisdiction over these corporations. Besides that, a commission had been appointed to revise the statute laws of the State, which reported its work, which was to be passed on by the Legislature. The revised statutes were of course referred to the Committee on Judiciary in both Houses, which had to examine them carefully, and alter or amend them, and it was on the recommendation of those committees that the two Houses enacted them. Gustave was on the Judiciary Committee of the House, and also on the Committee on Municipal Organizations; he made an excellent record as a lawyer and speaker, and made a host of warm friends.

APPOINTED ON THE RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSION

The railroad and warehouse law was passed that session, and went into force the first of July. Governor Palmer of his own free will and without any solicitation on my part appointed me one of the commissioners. My colleagues were Richard P. Morgan, of Bloomington, a civil engineer of con-

siderable reputation who had been assistant and chief engineer in building the Chicago and Alton Railroad, and David Hammond, a farmer of Cook County, who had no special qualifications for the office, but who was a man of very excellent judgment, and had been president of the board of supervisors and sheriff of Cook County at one time. I was elected president. In the Railroad Commission we had but one appointment to make, a secretary; but in the Warehouse and Elevator Commission a number of officers, auditors, registrars, inspectors and clerks were to be appointed, and as these places were comparatively well paid, we had of course a hard time with the many applicants.

The office of commissioner was really of no sort of financial benefit to me. The salary was three thousand five hundred dollars, but the law required that no one connected with any railroad as an employee should be appointed. Being at that time the regular attorney for one railroad and assistant attorney for another, I had to give up these employments. Our regular meetings were once every month, and we soon had to have as many special ones. The office was a very responsible one. The corporations on one side and the shippers and farming public on the other, watched us with an eagle eye. In no State except Massachusetts did at that time a railroad commission exist like the one established by the Illinois law. In a few States a State Engineer, or State Auditor had been charged with a kind of supervision over railroad corporations. As for a board of commissioners for warehouses and elevators we had no precedent. I immediately set myself in correspondence with Charles F. Adams, Jr., president of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, who at once furnished me with his reports, and with valuable information generally, and with whom I corresponded during my holding of the office. I also procured very valuable publications issued in Belgium and France, on railroad tariffs, and upon the legislation of both countries regarding their interference with the tariff of passengers and of freight.

As it had become my duty to start the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Normal, it now devolved upon my associates and myself to organize the Railroad and Warehouse Commission,—a most delicate and responsible task, considering that nearly all the principal railroads and the owners of warehouses, as advised by their attorneys, declared the law to be unconstitutional, and in all their reports, which they nevertheless made, protested against our action, and reserved their rights. But we soon overruled most of their objections, and were sustained by the highest courts in all cases, except one, which we ourselves had indicated as being of very doubtful constitutionality. On my suggestion the law was amended by subsequent legislation and the present Interstate Commerce Law passed by Congress is almost a literal copy of the present Illinois Railroad Law, and was introduced by one of the Illinois Senators. The same important questions which have arisen under the federal law, and which we as commissioners under the Illinois law had to deal with, (as for instance, what is just or unjust discrimination; what justifies or does not justify exceptions to the general rule; pooling and combinations; long and short hauls,) had to be investigated and decided by us, and were by the federal commissioners generally decided the same as we had decided them.

From the nature of our work, as I was the only lawyer on the board, most of it fell on me, and from the time of the appointment, in July, 1871, until my resignation in January, 1873, my time was very considerably taken up with the duties of my office. It would be tedious to go into particulars. If anyone should be interested to know more about my action in this important business, he might refer to the reports of the commission made to the Legislature in 1871 and 1872.

FEELING AGAINST GENERAL GRANT

The dissatisfaction with the administration of General Grant was increasing. On the 20th day of January, 1871, G.

A. Finkelnburg, a very decided Republican, wrote me, amongst other things:

"You will know by this time that the sale of arms has been stopped. I think, however, that I shall introduce a resolution, such as you indicate, to-morrow, with a view to getting at the facts, and fixing the political responsibility where it belongs. . . . Political movements here are dull. The President is developing a quarrelsome feature in his character, and is persistent in his dislikes. Already Sumner, Fenton (Senator from New York), Cox, of Ohio, Schurz and Forney of Pennsylvania, are counted among his personal enemies. How much more of this he can stand without losing his availability in 1872, I will not venture to predict."

Charles Francis Adams, our former minister to England, and his sons had given signs of dissatisfaction with the Republican party and its recent policy towards the South and with its several leaders, such as Senators Morton, Wilson and Chandler. Senators Trumbull and Grimes became restive, so did Cassius M. Clay, Governor Blair of Michigan, and Horace Greeley of the "New York Tribune," hitherto the chief organ of the Republican party.

DEATH OF SHARON TYNDALE

On the 29th of April I received a despatch from Harlow, the Secretary of State, that Sharon Tyndale had been murdered on that morning. Letters from his son Troilus gave me the details. In order to take the earliest train of the Chicago and Alton to East St. Louis, Mr. Tyndale had to leave his house a little after three o'clock a. m. He intended to visit Belleville, where he had some business. He took papers and maps with him, and kissed his wife goodbye. Not long afterwards he was found dead not far from his house, having been shot through the temple. His pocketbook was gone, but his watch had not been taken. Of course we were all much distressed by this sad news. His daughter Emma was then living at Belleville; her husband, Louis Westermann, immediately started for Springfield. To many there appeared to be a mystery about it. The pocketbook might have been taken to

avert the suspicion of a revengeful murder. At the same time the idea of suicide, from all the circumstances, could not for a moment be entertained. It was started probably by some insurance agent, as his life had been insured for a considerable amount. He had the day before taken out an accident insurance policy also for a large amount. But that had been his constant practice heretofore. Large rewards for the detection of the murderer were offered, but not the slightest trace could ever be found. Tyndale was a man of the most decided and resolute character, radical and obstinate in his views and high-tempered. A severe bruise on the back of his head gave room to suppose that he was first stunned by a blow from a slung-shot before he received the revolver wound. He was a tall, very strong man, and he had the courage of a lion.

His remains were sent down to Belleville where Sophie's cousin, Molly Hilgard, his first wife, had been buried. Under the auspices of the Free Masons, and with the attendance of an immense crowd, he was consigned to the grave. Upon the urgent wish of Emma and his other relatives, I extemporized a few really deep-felt words before the coffin was let down. By a codicil of his will he had appointed me executor of his will and guardian of his minor child, Hector. The codicil, however, had not been signed by witnesses, and consequently was of no effect. As Springfield was his domicile and Mrs. Tyndale resided there, and his property was also at Springfield, the office would have been one of great trouble to me, and so I felt really relieved when one of the most respectable citizens of Springfield, Mr. Black, was appointed guardian of Hector, and Mrs. Tyndale administratrix, to which office the law entitled her.

While we were still mourning over Tyndale's loss we were on the other hand much pleased a few days afterwards by the marriage of our dear young friend and cousin, Edward Tittmann, at St. Louis, with Mina D'Oench, and we had of course to attend the wedding, Mr. D'Oench being also an old and worthy friend of ours.

CELEBRATION OVER THE PEACE OF FRANKFORT

The final conclusion of the Peace of Frankfort between France and Germany was celebrated by the Germans all over the United States with great *éclat*. The festival at New York was reported to have been the most beautiful and imposing ever witnessed there. I attended the one at Chicago upon the invitation of the arrangement committee, and was to have made the English speech at Ogden Park. The whole city seemed to be out. The procession covered miles. The military development of the Germans was the principal group represented. After a detachment of the mounted police marched about fifty stout big fellows, clad after the fashion in which Tacitus described the Germans of his time. Another party followed, of steel-clad knights of the time of the Crusades. The next section represented the "Landsknechte" of the time of the Reformation. Then came the Thirty Years' War soldiers of Tilly and Wallenstein; and after them the Prussian grenadiers of the Seven Years' War. The Luetzower free corps, and the Prussian Landwehr of the war of Liberation, and a squadron of Uhlans of the late war concluded the military procession. Kaiser Wilhelm and Moltke, the first really almost a perfect likeness, occupied a carriage, while the Crown Prince and Bismarck were on horseback. Besides this there were some half dozen fancy groups on floats, most beautifully arrayed, in which some of the handsomest German ladies figured. The Turners, the Saengers and the numerous German lodges and a vast array of trade-exhibitions closed the procession. The mayor, the city council, the judges and officers of the courts, from a platform on the court house, reviewed the parade and then got into carriages and followed the procession into the parks.

The weather had been warm and clear in the morning but before half the column had reached the parks, a heavy thunderstorm arose and the rain came down in torrents, and, of course, speaking in the open air was out of the question. The people dispersed in every direction to seek shelter. Dur-

ing a short cessation of the rain some short speeches were made, but the festival was broken up. As the procession, however, had been so successful, no one felt disappointed and I was really glad to be relieved from delivering a speech to an assembled multitude, which, after having marched six or seven miles in a hot sun, would hardly have been in a mood to listen patiently to a string of orations.

On this day I was introduced to General Sheridan. Before the procession came to the court house, a luncheon was served for the city and other authorities, the speakers and specially invited guests. It was a jovial meeting and Sheridan was in fine spirits. He had been at the King's headquarters at Gravelotte, and spoke in high terms of the German troops and the cordial treatment he met with on the part of Bismarck and all the officers he had come in contact with.

Sheridan was of low stature, and rather too corpulent. His face was red, and he looked more like London Punch than a hero. He was a hail-fellow-well-met. It was a singular fact that the three most distinguished generals in the War of the Secession, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, were, as respects appearance, men, who, standing in a crowd, would never have been singled out as military or any other sort of heroes.

THE CHICAGO FIRE

Those who on that balmy May morning saw Chicago, the principal streets of which were decked out with flags, banners, and wreaths, and were thronged by a joyous multitude, had happily no foresight of the dire calamity which was to overtake the Queen of the West a few months later. On the evening of the 9th of October a despatch was received at Belleville that a great fire had broken out in the southwestern part of the city. Being well acquainted with the topography of the place, I felt no particular anxiety, as that part of the city was then not very much built up and was separated from the southeastern part by the south branch of the Chicago River. Later in the evening the news came that owing to large lumber yards on

both sides of that branch, the fire had swept over the branch, and that the very heart of the city where the court house, the Exchange, the large hotels and great business houses were situated, was enveloped in flames. Yet the northern part, being on the other side of the Chicago River, containing also fine residences and innumerable business houses, appeared to be safe. But this was not to be. In fact it suffered more than all the rest of the city. Many thousands of people in the cold wintry nights had no shelter but tents which were sent from the United States stores; other thousands crowded into the houses of that portion of the city which had escaped the fire. Others again who had some ready means left and went into the neighboring towns and villages. The richest men had not money to buy bread. The banks were all burnt out, and the safes and vaults were buried under the debris, and it took weeks before those which had not been destroyed were made accessible.

The loss in houses and personal estate was estimated at some $400,000,000. Nearly all the State insurance companies were able to pay but a small percentage of the losses, and most of them went into bankruptcy. I also suffered some, for I had $2,500 of stock in the oldest and best reputed insurance company in the State, the Alton Mutual Insurance Company, lately converted in part into a stock company; of course the stock was lost, which I had to regret the more as it had paid dividends as high as 15 percent, and there was a large surplus capital which was also swallowed up. But this was trifling. General Smith, a brother-in-law of Gustave, lost all his personal property; besides, I had many other friends at the place who were beggared.

The gloom which overspread the country was somewhat brightened by the general practical sympathy not only of our own proverbially generous people, but also of those who dwelt in foreign lands. The many railroads entering into Chicago could hardly furnish cars enough for the transport of the provisions and the clothing sent from all parts of the States. Many

millions of dollars were donated and as many more advanced on easy terms, to enable the energetic people of Chicago to commence rebuilding, and to resume business.

As one instance, amongst a thousand, of how prompt and how efficient our people are to help themselves and others, I may mention what was done in our little city of Belleville. While Chicago was still burning, the day after the fire had commenced, a meeting was held, a finance and a relief committee were organized, and the same evening by express one thousand dollars in money was sent to the mayor of Chicago and within a few days followed several car-loads of flour, baked bread, all kinds of provisions, blankets, warm clothing and furniture. Our thousand dollars must have happened to be the very first money contributed from outside, for Mayor Mason sent on the 11th of October a despatch, thanking the people for the remittance, and closing with the words, "God bless the people of Belleville." Some three thousand dollars in all were within a short time sent to the Mayor from our city. Governor Palmer at once called a special session of the Legislature for the enactment of laws made necessary by the destruction of public records, and for other measures of relief. The building in which our warehouse office was kept was burnt down. Fortunately our officers were on the alert and saved all the valuable books and records. If the warehouse receipts, representing many millions of property, had not been secured, it would have thrown the commercial houses into confusion and great losses would have ensued.

DEATH OF ERNST DECKER

In December we suffered a great loss in the death of our nephew, Ernst Decker. One of the earliest volunteers in the three months' regiments, he enlisted in Frank Blair's regiment for three years; and when that regiment was turned into a heavy artillery regiment, he resigned and became a captain in the 43d Illinois. But serious sickness compelled him to leave the service. He recovered so far as to be able to

resume his legal profession, was very successful, became a partner of the firm of Krum and Harding, then in high repute, and was fast making his mark as a lawyer at the St. Louis bar, when he fell a victim to heart disease, which he had probably contracted while in the service. He was buried at the family churchyard close to the old Engelmann farm. The resolutions on the occasion of his death passed by the St. Louis bar were most honorable to his memory, and a large deputation of its members attended his funeral. He was one of the noblest and purest young men I ever knew.

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

At the beginning of the Presidential year it was but natural that the opponents of the Grant administration, and consequently of his reëlection, should take steps to organize, in order to prevent his nomination by the Republican party. The Democrats of course would have their own candidate, but as three or four of the Southern States were still under the régime of the carpet-baggers and the negro vote, they had no earthly chance of success.

For the dissatisfied Republicans two ways were open: either to present a strong Republican candidate whose nomination would be likely to be adopted by the friends of Grant and the legion of office-holders, through fear of defeat; or to present a candidate of highly conservative character whom the Democrats, for want of a better, would freely support. Open opposition by leading Republicans had already appeared. General Grant had persecuted with a great deal of bitterness Senator Sumner of Massachusetts and Senator Schurz of Missouri, solely on account of their opposition to his annexation scheme of Santo Domingo. All their friends who had held federal offices had been removed. They were no longer consulted about appointments. The government organs abused them most bitterly. Neither of them were men to submit quietly to such a course. Senator Sumner did not confine himself to showing the weakness of the policy of annexing

Santo Domingo, but in open Senate denounced the methods by which the treaty of annexation had been negotiated and obtained, as highly irregular, and the sending of vessels of war to menace Hayti, as wholly unconstitutional. Carl Schurz, as early as July of the last year, had arraigned in a public speech at Chicago, the administration, not only on the Santo Domingo intrigue, but on its conduct generally, its abuse of patronage, its muzzling the press by showering lucrative appointments on proprietors and editors and on its nepotism, and had strongly advocated a reform of the civil service. This speech created much sensation. In Missouri particularly, Republican reform meetings had been held at many places, and it was in that State that the opponents of Grant's administration came to be known as the Liberal Republicans.

In January, 1872, the Liberal Republicans of Missouri held a mass-meeting and adopted a set of resolutions which advised a general amnesty to the South,—for the one issued under Johnson still left hundreds of thousands of Southerners disfranchised, while the white federal officers and carpet-baggers, through the colored Legislatures, ruled the Southern States and ruined them by running them into mountains of debt for railroads and other improvements which were never made, while the money raised by bonds was mostly stolen. They also recommended reconciliation with the South, and reduction of the high tariff which had been imposed during the war. These resolutions also denounced the abuse of Presidential patronage and advocated a reform of the civil service, and, as a step toward it, the one-term principle. They pronounced in favor of self-government and the largest individual liberty. The convention proposed a meeting of all Liberal Republicans in the United States, to be held in May at Cincinnati, and appointed an executive committee, whose chairman was Colonel Grosvenor.

How widespread the discontent with the administration was, was shown by the hearty approval the action of the Missouri Convention met with in nearly all of the Northern

States. Some of the leading and most influential journals at once pronounced themselves in favor of the Missouri platform, and fortified its principles by arguments and in general strongly declared themselves against a renomination of General Grant for the Presidency. Among them were the "New York Tribune," edited by Horace Greeley, the "Philadelphia Press," edited by Forney, the "New York Evening Post," edited by William Cullen Bryant, the "Springfield Republican," the most influential Republican paper in Massachusetts, the "New York Nation," the "Chicago Tribune," the leading Republican paper in the Northwest, and the "Missouri Democrat," edited by Grosvenor. The German Republican press was also unanimous in its support of the Liberal Republican party.

If anywhere, it was in Illinois that the Missouri organization of Liberal Republicans found almost enthusiastic approbation. Some time in March an address by them was directed to Colonel Grosvenor, chairman of the executive committee of the Missouri Liberal Convention, which may be here inserted as an important and interesting document:

"Sir: We, Republicans of Illinois, wish to express our concurrence in the principles lately set forth by the Liberal Republicans of Missouri. We make this departure from the ordinary methods of party action, from a deep conviction that the organization to which we belong is under the control of those who will use it chiefly for personal purposes, and obstructs a free expression of opinion on the important matters which the gentlemen whom you represent have laid before the people of the United States. We believe that the time has come when the political offenses of the past should be pardoned, that all citizens should be protected in the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution; that federal taxes should be imposed for revenue, and so adjusted as to make the burdens on the industry of the country as light as possible; that a reform of the civil service should be such as to relieve political action from public official patronage; that the right of local self-government, the foundation of American freedom, should be reasserted, and the encroachments of the federal power checked. And we also believe that at this time a special duty

rests with the people to do away with corruption in office, with the hope that the movement begun in Missouri will spread through all the States and influence every political party. We accept the invitation to meet in a national mass convention in the city of Cincinnati, on the first Wednesday of May, and we invite all Republicans who agree with us to coöperate in our action.

"And for the purpose of securing a fair representation of the State of Illinois on the floor of said convention, we would suggest that the citizens of Illinois present at Cincinnati select a due proportion of their number to represent this State in that body."

This address was signed by Jesse K. Dubois, ex-State Auditor; O. M. Hatch, ex-Secretary of State; Gen. John Cook; William Jayne; B. F. Fox; G. W. Chatterton; William L. Gross; William Butler, ex-State Treasurer; Col. Speed Butler; O. H. Minor, ex-State Auditor. These gentlemen were all of Springfield and had been intimate friends of Abraham Lincoln. It was further signed by the following Springfield people: Eugene L. Gross, Isaac Keys, H. N. Alden, John McConnel, S. P. Townsend, Daniel T. Litler, N. Nolte, Charles Hermann, and G. A. Meyer. This address was sent to me and my friends to sign. I signed it, so did Gustave, as a member of the Legislature. It was also signed by Horace White, chief editor of the "Chicago Tribune," and by Frederick Hecker.

It was not long before Governor Palmer, Joseph Medill of the "Chicago Tribune," Ed. Rummel, Secretary of State, General Lippincott, State Auditor, N. Bateman, Superintendent of Public Schools, Washington Bushnell, Attorney-General of Illinois, ex-Lieutenant Governor Bross, A. Babcock, chairman of the State Central Committee, and many others of the leading public men of Illinois, amongst them Gen. George W. Smith, of Chicago, declared themselves in favor of this movement. Meetings were held in a great many counties which adopted the Missouri platform. One was held in Belleville on the 23d of April which appointed delegates to Cincinnati.

At first very few of the leaders of this movement had any idea of making nominations for President and Vice-President at this convention. I myself was in the beginning very much opposed to it. The general idea was to organize the Liberal party, recommend State conventions to assemble that should appoint regular delegates to a national convention, to be held after the administration Republicans had held theirs. In all probability, the regulars, as they called themselves, would be terrified, and not nominate Grant, but some distinguished man of reformatory tendencies; and they had several such amongst them. The Liberals might then endorse the regular nominee. But as it became manifest that the Cincinnati Convention would be very numerously attended, and by very many prominent Republicans, some of whom were amongst the founders of the Republican party, the idea of making no nominations was soon given up. Of course there were amongst that new party elements that looked more to personal advancement than to the regeneration of the party. No party is clear of selfish intruders, and one newly forming is very likely to have such selfish allies.

On March 9th, 1872, Senator Trumbull wrote to me from Washington:

"Politically things are very much mixed here but I am beginning to see daylight. The Cincinnati Convention will be an important gathering. So much I consider as certain. The best elements of the Republican party, from nearly all the states will be represented. Within the next three weeks you will see a very formidable movement in New York and other Eastern States favoring the Cincinnati Convention. The movement will be distinctly Republican. The result will be two Republican candidates will be run for President, of which Grant will be one, unless the Cincinnati meeting makes it apparent that he cannot be elected. The Democrats are injuring Davis by committing themselves to him in advance. The Liberal Republicans must first name the candidate and not have him dictated by the Democrats. I expect the reform movement to sweep the country, and if it takes the shape I anticipate I shall give it my hearty support. I have written you fully because I knew I could do so

safely. A time has come to reform the Republican organization, and I believe it can be done without turning the country over to the Democrats."

JUDGE DAVID DAVIS

Trumbull mentioned in his letter David Davis, a native of Maryland, of a distinguished family and a cousin of the eloquent politician, Winter Davis, of Maryland. Davis had received a classical education; had moved to Illinois in 1835, settled in Bloomington, and after practicing law for some time, was elected circuit judge, filling that office until he was appointed by President Lincoln, in 1862, one of the judges of the Supreme Court. He was much less distinguished for profound legal learning than for his remarkably good common sense. He seemed to look through a case at once and to seize the main points. Brushing away all technicalities and sometimes even the law, he seldom failed to do equity, which has been defined to be "the highest justice in the particular case." He reminded me of some physicians whom I have known, who, not very eminent in the theory of their profession, hardly ever failed in their diagnosis of the patient's disease, and were in consequence quite successful. He had become very popular both with the members of the bar and the people of the circuit, for besides being a good judge he was a most affable gentleman. I thought that at times he carried his courtesy a little too far. Once while I was attending the United States Court at Springfield, when he presided as one of the supreme judges of the court, he invited me to dine with him at the St. Nicholas. Addressing one of the colored waiters he said, "Hand me the bill of fare, if you please." This was before the passage of the fifteenth amendment.

Davis was of a genial disposition, fond of hearing a good story, and a very fine conversationalist. His features were very pleasant; he was light-haired and of a very fair complexion. He would have been considered tall, had it not been for his enormous corpulency. He must have weighed

nearly three hundred pounds. Yet his hands and feet were small and delicate, and he was in spite of his heaviness rather attractive. In his own private business he was quite a matter-of-fact man,—realistic, as one would say nowadays,—for by judicious investments in land and Chicago lots he had accumulated a large fortune, indeed about this time was considered one of the richest men of Illinois, outside of Chicago. He loved and admired Lincoln, and Lincoln was, I believe, more intimate with him than with any other man. When Lincoln reached the Presidency, and particularly after his death, many persons, amongst them his historians, claimed to have enjoyed Lincoln's warm friendship and to have exercised some influence over him. Lincoln was kind, just, and, very often, too indulgent to his friends, but those persons for whom he really entertained strong feelings of friendship could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Judge Davis, however, to my certain knowledge was one of them.

In politics, Judge Davis had been a thoroughgoing Whig of the old school. Henry Clay was his model statesman. A United States national bank, protective tariff, and vast internal improvements,—such were the measures he upheld with great tenacity. While strongly opposing Democracy he equally condemned abolitionism. Although a Southerner, he treated colored people much more kindly than most Northerners do; but I doubt very much whether, had he had a vote on the question, he would have voted for the fifteenth amendment, giving the ballot to a million of people just out of slavery. When the Whig party was about breaking up, Davis inclined somewhat to the Native American party, but very soon and probably under the influence of Lincoln sought refuge in the Republican party, belonging to the most conservative wing.

SO-CALLED LABOR CONVENTION

On the 22d of February, a meeting had taken place at Columbus, Ohio, pretending to be a convention of the laboring men of the country. They adopted a platform in which they

denounced the present national bank system and advocated paper money, to be issued directly to the people, according to its wants. They declared for the taxation of our bonds, for no land grants to railroads, for tariff for revenue only, for the abolition of Chinese labor, for the abolition of the contract-system in all penitentiaries and reformatory schools; for a law compelling all cities and towns to employ laborers only eight hours; and for the fixing by the government of charges for railroad and telegraph service. The money to prosecute war was to be assessed and collected from the wealthy only. There was to be civil service and only one Presidential term; a general amnesty was to be granted, and all the States restored to all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Some of the resolutions, such as that against the national banks, and the taxing of government bonds, were quite acceptable to the old Bourbon Democracy, while the idea of issuing an unlimited amount of irredeemable paper by the government, suited the Granger party. A revenue-tariff, the one term, civil service, the general amnesty and restoration of the States formerly in rebellion to their rights, were taken from the platform of the Liberal Republicans of Missouri. The balance of the resolutions had exclusive reference to the demands of the laborers employed in manufactories, or in the transportation-service.

The strangest thing, however, this convention did, was to nominate the aforesaid Judge David Davis, of the Supreme Court, as their candidate for President. It was indeed by many considered as a huge joke for the labor party to select a millionaire as their standard-bearer, who, from what was known of his politics, must have considered most of the principles enunciated on that platform as downright heresies. Judge Davis accepted the nomination in a few laconic and oracular words, written to a committee of the convention which had informed him of the nomination. "Be pleased to thank the convention for the high honor it has bestowed upon me. The Chief Magistracy ought not to be sought or declined."

He did not commit himself in the least to the principles of the party platform. After the Liberal Republicans and the Grant Republicans had made their nominations, he withdrew from the race. This movement had the effect, however, of bringing Judge Davis's name before the people in connection with the next Presidency, and gave his friends a certain groundwork to urge his claims in other party conventions. Another somewhat surprising circumstance was that the Democratic leaders in Congress seemed to take him up as a Presidential candidate quite cheerfully. He was personally very popular in Washington City. Everybody liked him on account of his courtesy and amiability. But he was a high-tariff man, sound on all questions of currency, and highly conservative in every respect. He was, it is true, a very moderate Republican. As a judge he had on various occasions set his face against arbitrary arrests by the military in States not in rebellion, and had discharged prisoners arrested by provost-marshals, under the Habeas Corpus Act, and had strongly condemned the holding of court martials in Northern States. It was on this account alone that the Democrats could support him with any degree of consistency.

PROGRESS OF THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

A call upon Illinois Republicans to attend the Cincinnati Convention, already numerously signed, was sent to me by Horace White of Chicago; I and many other Republicans affixed our signatures to it. Mr. White informed me that he was sure the call would be signed by S. W. Moulton, John H. Bryant, brother of William Cullen Bryant, the poet and journalist, D. S. Hammond, Burton C. Cook, H. E. Dummer, Lawrence Weldon, R. M. Hough, D. L. Phillips, A. C. Babcock, and John H. Fell; all which gentlemen had been among the great leaders of the original Republican party in Illinois.

In view of the course Col. Fred Hecker pursued at a later period, it may be interesting to know that no one went into this Liberal Republican movement more enthusiastically

than he. In a letter of his, on the 10th of March, he wrote me, alluding to the Grant administration:

"If we go on this way a few years longer, the Republic will be destroyed in less than fifty years. Shall we, who shall soon be called by the bugleman to retire, put our hands in our laps. I shall do what I can according to my feeble power. We ought to call a mass meeting in St. Clair to appoint delegates to the convention. Will you not issue a pronunciamento, as Stallo has already done? I will do it by all means. But you, being the senior, (Hecker was but one year younger than I was,) ought to have the precedence. You are calmer, more diplomatic. You can at once set my name to it. You are entitled to the preference, for my wildcat and guerrilla nature, that submits to no discipline, is good only for the masses."

In a later letter he informed me that he had made Liberal Republican speeches in Kansas City and Chicago.

On the 23d of March a mass meeting of Liberal Republicans was held at Belleville; the Missouri resolutions were adopted and twenty-five delegates elected, with the general understanding that if a nomination was to be made, our delegates should vote for Lyman Trumbull. Early in April a monster Republican mass-meeting was held in New York; Carl Schurz addressed it in a most masterly style. A great many of the leading Republicans of New York were present. Trumbull did not desire to pose as a candidate, although of course if nominated he said he would accept. On the 10th of April he wrote me: "I am in earnest in this movement, believe it can be made a success, and I am willing to abide by the action of the Liberal Republican Convention, so its nomination falls upon any good Liberal Republican."

On the 27th of April Senator Trumbull expressed himself in the same way. In addition he said:

"I think the nominee for President will be taken from Illinois, unless the rivalry between the friends of various candidates from that State prevents it. I trust such feelings will be suppressed as far as possible. I do not desire to be nominated as the result of any combinations or arrangements between rival interests, nor unless there is a general feeling,

not manufactured for the occasion, in my behalf. My relations are pleasant with all the gentlemen whose names have been suggested. I think the labor reform and tariff interests of Pennsylvania, McClure and others, will be for Davis, and an effort will be made to draw New York in with them and thus control the nomination. Judges Fithian, Waldo Hutchings, and Selden are also important men in New York, and all but Selden in the Greeley interests. Godkin of the Nation, D. A. Wells, and others of that class will also be in Cincinnati and will probably favor Adams; they are not for Davis. I trust the convention may go off well and be a success."

It must be stated that Governor Palmer's name had lately been much mentioned in connection with the nomination, so that there were really three gentlemen from Illinois before the Convention. As Grant was the most probable candidate of the old administration party, there seemed to be some propriety in taking the Liberal Republican candidate from Illinois, for State pride often induces indifferent persons and even opponents to vote for a man from their own State.

The friends of Judge Davis, under the lead of Weldon, Leonard Swett and Jesse B. Fell of Bloomington, Wirt Dexter, an eminent lawyer, and Long John Wentworth from Chicago, had been very busy. They organized meetings in the central and northern parts of the State, which appointed numerous delegates instructed for Judge Davis; besides this they called on the friends of the Judge to repair to Cincinnati to swell the crowd. Free passage was given to anyone who would go, without much reference to his party relations. As Davis was the choice of the Democrats, it was said that of the five hundred Davis men gathered at Cincinnati nearly one-half were Democrats. Dr. Jayne of Springfield, brother-in-law of Judge Trumbull, and a leading Republican, gave me early notice of the efforts Judge Davis's friends were making to procure his nomination. "They will take a great many people from McClean, De Witt and Logan Counties. Yourself with the right men from St. Clair will be able to speak

for Illinois so authoritatively that delegations from other States will be governed by your opinion; I regard Senator Trumbull's nomination to be more in your hands than in those of any other one man. He will have from Springfield some well known and able friends." Missouri was supposed to support its Governor, Gratz Brown, a native of Kentucky and a relative of the Blairs. Gratz Brown had received a thorough education, was indeed a man of thought, but rather too much given to abstract speculations, and running to extremes; he might be called erratic. He had represented Missouri in the United States Senate and had been elected Governor in 1869 by the Liberal Republicans. No doubt, at the outbreak of the Civil War, he had by word and deed rendered eminent services to the Union party, and strongly helped to keep Missouri in the Union. But take it all in all he was no safe guide, and his habits regarding temperance were not above reproach.

Governor Palmer of Illinois had also a great many friends in Illinois, and some of the delegates from that State were for his nomination,—which was also an untoward circumstance, for Illinois could not hope to obtain the candidates while its delegation was divided. The Governor was well qualified, and I should have cheerfully supported him. But on inquiry it was found that Trumbull would have the support on the very first ballot of some of the Eastern and Western States. Trumbull's reputation, (he having been for nearly eighteen years in the Senate, and at the head of one of the most important committees, that of the Judiciary,) was far more national than Palmer's.

On the morning of the day before the convention, I arrived at Cincinnati, and was at once taken to Judge Stallo's residence on the hills, where I already found Carl Schurz of Washington, Frederick Hecker of St. Clair, and Caspar Butz of Chicago.

CASPAR BUTZ

The latter was a native of Westphalia, had a superior school education, entered a mercantile house, and after a full

apprenticeship became a leading clerk and commercial traveler, in which capacity he frequently visited England, France and even Algiers; from early youth he was fond of literature, and, like his prototype, Freiligrath, delighted in translating from French and English poets. He soon contributed original poetry to various literary journals, and when the revolution broke out in 1849, he became the editor of a strong Democratic paper. He participated in the rising of Rhenish Prussia, and only avoided imprisonment by rapid flight to London. Shortly afterwards he came to the United States and settled in Chicago, engaged in mercantile business, but still pursued literature. He was a contributor to some of the leading German journals. In 1854 when the slavery question came to be agitated, he entered with his whole soul into politics, and as he was as able a speaker as writer, his services as a Republican orator were much in request in the political campaigns of 1856, 1858 and 1860. In 1856 he was elected a member of the Legislature, and in 1859 clerk of the Superior Court of Chicago. From 1864 to 1865 he edited very ably a popular scientific and literary monthly review "Die Monatshefte." In 1870 he was appointed one of the penitentiary commissioners at Joliet, a very responsible office, in which he served with great distinction. He filled several other offices in Chicago, but some years before his death he moved to Iowa devoting his time to literary labors, and publishing a collection of his poems. Some of his verses, particularly such as had reference to important events, are hardly inferior, if at all, to the best of Freiligrath's. Most all of them are pervaded by an ardent love of liberty and a deep hatred of tyranny. The lofty, ideal style of Schiller was his model. He sent me at one time a drama in five acts "Florian Geyer," a well-known character in the cruel German Peasant War, asking my judgment and full criticism. I examined it with a great deal of attention, and found a great many excellent passages, but on the whole it was too modern and sentimental, and I suggested very free alterations and more simplicity of

motives. He took my judgment in excellent part, but I do not believe he published the drama. He was a thoroughly honest and true man, a genial companion, and of very great talents. As a politician he was somewhat unpractical, and apt to go to extremes. He was one of the principal opponents to Mr. Lincoln's second nomination, because he was not radical enough. Fred Hecker, up to the Cincinnati convention, was his political ideal. Take it all in all, he might have said of himself as Heinrich Heine once did. "Where the best names are called, mine will be too," as applied to the German-Americans of the last fifty years:

"Wo man die besten Namen nennt,
Wird auch der meine genannt."

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION

Judge Stallo was one of the principal promoters of the Re-union and Reform party which had called a convention or a conference for the same day as that of the Liberal Republican Convention. The members were principally from Ohio, belonging to both parties, and had amongst them some very distinguished citizens. Their meetings were to take place at Mozart Hall, while the Republicans were to meet at the Exposition Building, which had room for about ten thousand people.

At Stallo's, we came into connection with some of the most prominent Republicans, discussed the programme to be adopted by the Convention, and at once reached the most difficult question, the tariff. While the Mozart Hall people agreed with us on all points shadowed forth by the Liberals, they insisted on a very decided expression on tariff reform in the direction of free trade. Now this was thought to be imprudent. A large wing of the Liberal Republicans consisted of former Whigs. The two largest delegations, one from New York, which had been gotten up, it was claimed unjustly, for the benefit of Horace Greeley, and the Pennsylvania delegations would never vote for such a plank, but

would rather insist on one in favor of protection. I may at once state what became of the Mozart Hall party. They met at various times during the Liberal Convention, listened to most excellent speeches and awaited the result of that Convention. If the Liberal platform and its nominee were in favor of a declaration against protection, they would enter our ranks, if not, not. That the main object of the Liberal revolt was to make an end of the personal régime of Grant, to purify the administration from the alleged corruptions, and to close the gulf of hatred between the North and the South, and that the tariff question might as well have been deferred to a more propitious time, did not seem to have made an impression upon them. The upshot was that after Greeley's nomination, part of them became the supporters of General Grant, calling him the lesser evil, while another part joined the Liberals, and as an organization vanished into thin air.

Going down town in the afternoon to the Burnett House, I found its rotunda, and the parlors and reading-rooms crowded with people, and met some very familiar faces, mostly Democrats. Nearly the entire Democratic delegation of the House of Representatives from Illinois and Indiana, and many other States had come over from Washington, and their talk was Davis, Davis. In the evening short addresses were made, mostly by Democrats in his favor, and were largely cheered. I took my friend, William R. Morrison, on one side, and told him that if this thing was allowed to go on, it would surely defeat Judge Davis's nomination; even if nominated he could not be elected; he might get a larger percentage of the Democrats than any other nominee, but would not get half the Liberals, for the charge would at once be made that his candidacy was dictated to the Liberals by the Democrats. I remarked to him that this looked more like the opening of a Democratic than a Republican convention. Morrison agreed with me, but said it would be hard to keep "those fellows" quiet. The Republican friends of Davis, he said, kept them

here. That very same evening the Davis men held a meeting, largely attended also by Democrats and Kentuckians who had come across the river, in which a great deal of enthusiasm was manufactured for Judge Davis.

Early all the delegates met separately in order to designate those who should represent the States in the convention, since there were from many States far more delegates than were allowed to each State, according to the usual rule. Not to disappoint too many, the number of delegates was doubled for each State, and those States that had not enough delegates present were allowed to give the full vote of their States. Of course there was at one time considerable trouble in the Illinois delegation. Davis had several hundreds of men claiming to be delegates; but the Trumbull men had most of them regular certificates from their county conventions, while the Davis men were generally self-appointed or elected from towns and villages at their regular meetings. Illinois being entitled to forty-two delegates, twenty-one were given to the Davis men and twenty-one to the Trumbull men. I was elected chairman of the delegation to announce the votes. The Trumbull men were Horace White, Chicago; Gen. George W. Smith, Chicago; Francis Lackner and Caspar Butz, Chicago; Winfield S. Wilkinson, Whiteside County; John Bryant, Princeton; Captain Keyes and Col. Speed Butler, Springfield; Gen. J. H. Elliott and General Dilger, Chicago; Attorney-General Washington Bushnell, La Salle; D. L. Phillips, Springfield; William Haddock, Effingham County; L. M. Babcock, Iroquois County; Edward B. Pierce, Perry County; Major Orendorff, O. H. Minor and Jesse K. Dubois, of Springfield; and Gen. William C. Kueffner, Col. Frederick Hecker, Gustavus A. Koerner and myself from St. Clair County. The principal delegates of Davis were Leonard Swett, John Wentworth, and Wirt Dexter from Chicago, Jesse Fell and L. Weldon from Bloomington.

About ten o'clock in the morning, on the 2d of May, the convention met in the immense and beautifully decorated hall,

and though nothing but the ordinary routine of business was to be transacted, the galleries were crowded to the utmost, a very large proportion of the spectators being ladies. Since the introduction of national conventions to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, it had become gradually the fashion to secure the largest houses for their meetings. In consequence, the audiences became a great deal larger than the conventions, and very often exercised a great influence upon the deliberations of the convention. It is almost impossible to keep order in an assemblage of ten thousand people, and so these meetings, which ought to be strictly deliberative, are now tumultuous and often uproarious. Were if not for stenography, it is very doubtful whether anybody would ever know what is really transacted, or what motions are carried or defeated. A few speakers only have power enough to make themselves understood to more than one-third of the crowd. Deliberations are banished into the darkness of private rooms. The convention is split into half a dozen caucuses, and trading and "deals" are made in secrecy. What appears in the convention are the cut and dried bargains of comparatively few leaders, very often not members of the convention. It would be a vast improvement if the national party committees could select a room large enough to seat about a thousand delegates, a large representation of the press, and a few hundred specators, specially admitted.

Colonel Grosvenor, the chairman of the committee that had called the convention, read the call, and proposed Stanley Matthews of Ohio as temporary chairman, which proposition was approved, and that very distinguished jurist took the chair. Matthews was a rather slender man, with a highly intellectual face. Without the least nervousness he took hold of the gavel, and at once brought the house to order by his gentle and dignified bearing. The usual resolution for the appointment of a committee of rules, organization and platform was adopted, and the meeting was adjourned until three o'clock in the afternoon. I must not forget to say that

Matthews made a brief but very chaste and effective speech opening the convention. Stanley Matthews, who was a determined opponent of a protective tariff, being dissatisfied with the nomination that was afterwards made, retired from the party; at a later period he made his peace with it however, and was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court by a Republican President and Senate, and held this office until his death.

It would be too long a story to follow up all the proceedings of this convention which lasted three days. Carl Schurz was made permanent president and made an excellent speech, shadowing forth the programme which ought to be adopted. A motion was then made to go at once into the nomination of candidates, which, however, was vigorously opposed by some members. General Cochrane, of New York, had moved to lay the resolution on the table, but afterwords withdrew it, and several speeches were made in favor of the motion to nominate. I then rose and renewed the motion of General Cochrane, insisting upon the utter impropriety of nominating candidates before we had agreed upon the principles which we desired to prevail in the national councils. I declined to withdraw my motion, and it was adopted by a large majority. In the evening session, the committee on platform not yet having reported, various resolutions were proposed, but were, under the rules, referred to the platform committee. One, however, under a suspension of rules, introduced by Stanley Matthews, was discussed at large and with much feeling. It declared that a protective tariff was unjust, and it was supported by him in a most able and vigorous speech; but no vote was taken on it and it was also referred.

The evening before, Frank Blair and Gratz Brown had arrived, and, finding out that the latter had no chance for the nomination for President, struck a bargain with the friends of Greeley to the effect that they should support him for the Vice-Presidency.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The next morning the platform was presented. The following were its principles: First, it recognized the equality of all men before the law, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political. Secondly, it opposed any reopening of the question settled by the last three amendments to the constitution. Thirdly, it declared for universal amnesty; fourthly, for local self-government, impartial suffrage, and maintenance of the writ of habeas corpus; and fifthly for civil service reform, and but one Presidential term. The sixth resolution was as follows: "We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not necessarily interfere with the industry of the people and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there is in our midst an honest but irreconcilable difference of opinion with regard to the systems of free trade and protection, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation." "Seventhly, the public credit must be maintained and we denounce repudiation in every form or guise. Eighthly, the speedy return to specie payment is demanded by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government. Ninthly, we remember with grattitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism. Tenthly, we are opposed to all further grants of land to railroads or other corporations; the public domain ought to be held sacred to actual settlers. Eleventhly, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate friendship and peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonor-

able to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong."

The convention adopted the platform by a unanimous and enthusiastic vote.

It was not only highly approved by the new party, but a great many of its opponents declared it to be perfectly loyal, sound on the question of currency and the public debts, and expressed in the most pregnant, pure and chaste language. Fault was found only with the tariff article; and yet, when closely examined, it certainly was not in favor of high protection. If the last clause had been left out, (which was interjected by the friends of Greeley,) it was entirely unexceptionable. It was indeed a declaration in the direction of a revenue tariff. No man of sense could advise at once a return to the moderate tariff before the war, after the people's business had for ten years been carried on under an excessively high tariff, and had adjusted itself to it. And even this much condemned clause was an honest declaration of the existing state of things. Up to this time it had been impossible to make the question of a low or high tariff, a strict party question; there had always been many Southern Whigs voting with the Democrats on the tariff question, while many Democrats in New England and Pennsylvania could not be induced to vote for a low tariff, but voted according to the interests of the districts they represented.

THE VOTING

Now the voting commenced. The galleries and a great part of the aisles of the great building were crowded with spectators; one-half perhaps being ladies. It was a hot day, and the ladies kept their fans in constant motion. The men moved about, and even the whispering of the audience filled the air as with the sound of surging waters. It reminded one much of the noise in the Spanish Plaza de Toro when a bull-fight was going on.

Wirt Dexter very shrewdly moved, that, to save time, no nomination should be supported by speeches, however

brief, and his motion was adopted,—for just at this moment everybody, particularly the audience, who had come for the fun of the thing, was anxious for the fray to commence. It would have been very hard for any Davis man to say anything in favor of his candidate, except by alluding to his liberal decisions on the bench, which of course would have been highly improper. I had prepared a brief speech in favor of Trumbull, which I flattered myself would have had some effect on the convention.

On the first ballot, 714 votes were given, of which Charles Francis Adams received 203, Horace Greeley 160, Lyman Trumbull 110, Davis 92, Gratz Brown, 95, Governor Curtin 62, and Chief Justice Chase 2. Brown's vote came from Missouri by instruction, and he received some scattering votes from other States. Upon the result being announced, he in a neat speech thanked his friends of the convention for their generous support and withdrew his name, stating at the same time that his choice was the man who could get the largest Republican vote, and that that man was Horace Greeley. From the ladies' galleries there came shouts of applause, and waving of handkerchiefs and fans, for Greeley was a "woman's rights" man; but in the convention itself there were many loud and long-continued hisses, and when, before the vote had been officially announced by the president, the chairman of the Missouri delegation rose and asked to have the vote of his State changed, giving it solid for Lyman Trumbull, the house shook with applause. It was now at once seen what the bargain was, and how it had apparently failed. Some of the Trumbull men knew almost all the delegates from Missouri, and had already secured their vote for Trumbull for their second choice. Brown had sold the Missouri vote to Greeley, but he could not deliver it.

Before the second ballot the names of Curtin and Chase were also withdrawn, and Pennsylvania, which had voted before for Curtin, gave at once a great part of its vote to Greeley. On the second ballot Adams received 143 votes,

Trumbull 148, Davis 75, and Greeley 245 votes. Illinois had given on both ballots 21 for Trumbull and 21 for Greeley. On the third ballot the vote stood, Adams 264, Trumbull 146, Davis 44, Greeley 258. There was another tremendous cheer from the ladies' gallery for Greeley. The fourth ballot was substantially the same as the third. The fifth ballot was: Adams 309, Trumbull 94, Davis 30, Greeley 258. Now here was the time for the Trumbull men to act. The fight was evidently now between Adams and Greeley; and on behalf of our delegation I asked leave for it to withdraw for a few minutes for consultation. We went into a sort of annex. I urged the delegation with all my power, as Trumbull had no chance, to drop him and to unite upon Adams, saying that Greeley's nomination would drive thousands of Liberals from our ranks. I was supported by Horace White and other prominent delegates. Messrs. Swett and Dexter, being considerably hurt by our opposition to their favorite Judge Davis, refused to fall in. I proposed a vote, and although twenty-eight votes went for Adams as against fourteen for Greeley, the Davis men would not be bound by the vote, and upon returning to the convention I announced the vote accordingly amidst tremendous applause. But it was too late. If we had been able to make the announcement ten minutes sooner, it might have changed the result. But while we were out the voting had been going on, and Pennsylvania had changed her previous vote for Greeley. Other States also changed in favor of Greeley. One of the Davis men now had the effrontery to get up and announce also a change of the whole Illinois delegation for Greeley. I mounted the platform at once, and as chairman of the delegation proclaimed that this was not the case, and that we had cast twenty-eight votes for Adams as before.

GREELEY NOMINATED

This way of changing votes before the voting is through is a very bad practice, and, if I had been president, (and the presidency had been offered to me informally, but I had de-

clined it because it would have obstructed my working for Judge Trumbull's nomination,) I should not have allowed it, and Greeley would never have been nominated. It took the clerks a long time to make out the final vote, as great confusion was caused by this changing of votes while the roll was being called. It was at last announced: Greeley 358, and Adams 187. A motion to make the nomination unanimous did not carry, and as there was a large number of nays the president decided the motion was lost. The galleries were not slow in applauding, but on the floor there were curses loud and deep.

A motion was now made to go into the nomination for Vice-President. I had already, before the voting for the Presidential candidates, been asked by a great many delegates whether, if Mr. Adams was nominated, Mr. Trumbull would be a candidate for Vice-President. I had put myself in communication with Judge Trumbull at Washington, and he had left everything to my judgment. If Adams had been nominated, I should have had no objection to Trumbull's nomination for the second place. Before calling the roll on the nomination for Vice-President, General Burnett, of Ohio, desired to know whether Senator Trumbull would accept the nomination. I, being still on the platform, stated that I was authorized to say that he would under no circumstance accept it. I took that responsibility, as at that time I considered the nomination of Greeley as the death-blow to the Liberal movement. General Burnett announced that General Cox was also not before the convention and would not accept. Cassius M. Clay made the same announcement for himself. Nevertheless on the first ballot Trumbull got 156 votes. Whereupon I again distinctly stated that Trumbull would not accept. Being somewhat excited, I remarked in a very low tone "a man cannot swim with a millstone around his neck." Still some reporter snatched up this remark, and it figured in the papers as a statement made by me from the president's stand.

The delegates from Pennsylvania proposed that Gratz

Brown, who had received 257 votes for Vice-President, should be nominated by acclamation, which motion, however, was drowned by cries of "no." The utmost confusion now prevailed; in fact the convention had now become a burlesque; and many members immediately left in disgust. Some one nominated General Palmer, but his son positively stated that he would not accept. The Illinois delegation voted 21 for Julian of Indiana, and the Davis delegation 21 for Brown. It being manifest that most of the Greeley men would now vote for Brown, no one of the Adams or Trumbull men cared any further about the Convention, and Gratz Brown received a majority over Julian and was declared duly nominated under great confusion and in the absence of at least one-third of the members.

IMPRESSIONS OF GREELEY'S NOMINATION

Hecker had left after Greeley's nomination. Butz had also disappeared. Schurz was detained in making up the record with the secretaries. I wended my way to Stallo's house in a sort of perplexed state of mind. As may be imagined, Judge Stallo was grievously disappointed. Free trade was his hobby, and civil reform. Butz and Hecker had quarreled. Butz thought Greeley might do. Hecker called Greeley a water-bibber, and a crank generally. Dinner was ready, and most excellent Rhine wine freely circulated. I took a sort of humorous view of the situation: Greeley represented the water, Brown the whiskey, and so there was a stand off, I thought. We finally drowned our sorrows in the generous Marcobrunner. While thus engaged, Schurz entered the room. He said nothing but at once sat down before the grand piano, which was open, and played Chopin's funeral march, then joined us and we had quite a jovial time. We were in that kind of mood which the Germans call "Galgenhumor." In the evening a great many friends came in. The general agreement was that we should try our best for the success of the ticket, upon the principle of choosing the lesser evil. Only Hecker seemed to be offish; he left the same evening for home.

Going back to Belleville our car was boarded at several stations by Liberal Republicans for brief interviews, and, what was rather surprising, too, by some very radical Democrats. They all expressed their great approbation of the platform and satisfaction with the nominations. And I may here at once say that at first the Democrats seemed to be better pleased with the result of the convention than the Liberal Republicans. Anything to beat Grant, was their war-cry.

On my return home I received letters from various parts of the State, urging me to become a candidate for Governor on the Liberal Republican ticket. As on former occasions, I positively declined. I recommended Senator Trumbull or Governor Palmer. When a county convention was held in St. Clair to elect delegates to a Liberal Republican State convention, to be held at Springfield on the 26th of June, and the delegates were about being instructed to vote for my nomination, I prevented this step. I was, however, appointed one of the delegates.

CONVENTION OF THE GRANT REPUBLICANS

In the meantime the Grant Republicans held their National Convention at Philadelphia on the 5th of June. As it was largely attended by office-holders, it was very enthusiastic and spectacular. General Grant and Henry Wilson were nominated and a platform adopted, which, after a full-blown glorification of the deeds of the old party, contained half a dozen paragraphs almost literally copied from the Cincinnati platform, with some vague expressions of sympathy with laboring men and the rights of women. Protection was recommended as leading to an increase of wages. The speeches made on the occasion were most fulsome panegyrics of Grant, and bitter denunciations of the Liberal Republicans.

Yet it was manifest that the Republicans were very much alarmed. That the great mass of the Democrats and their press generally warmly supported the Cincinnati nominee, had been a great surprise. The Cincinnati platform, adopted

on the second of May, had declared for a general amnesty, and on the 22d of May the Republican Congress in all haste had passed what might be called a general amnesty bill, excepting only persons who had been either members of the Congress of the United States or heads of departments, or ministers to foreign states, or judicial and military officers of the United States at the time of secession, and even these could be pardoned, if they specially applied for it. This was done to curry favor with the Southern Democrats. This step was undoubtedly a result of our convention.

DISSAFFECTION IN THE OPPOSITION

But there was also trouble brewing within the ranks of the opposition to Grant. On the 6th of June, I received a confidential letter, dated June 6, 1872, of the following tenor:

"The undersigned desire to have a conference of gentlemen who are opposed to the present administration and its continuance in office and deem it necessary that all the elements of the opposition should be united for a common effort at the coming Presidential election. They respectfully invite you to meet a number of gentlemen belonging to the different branches of the opposition at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, on June 20th, at 2:00 p. m., for the purpose of consultation and to take such actions as the situation of things may require. Your attention is respectfully drawn to the fact that this invitation is strictly personal to yourself and a prompt reply is earnestly requested, addressed to Henry D. Lloyd, Secretary of the Committee, P. O. Box 2201.

Signed: Carl Schurz, Jacob D. Cox, William Cullen Bryant, Horace White, Oswald Ottendorfer, David A. Wells, Jacob Brinkerhoff.

Surely these were distinguished names. The object, I had learned, was to make an effort to induce Greeley and Brown to withdraw and to call a new convention. Carl Schurz, in a private letter, was very anxious that I should attend the conference. But I thought that it was too late and in every way dangerous. We should have to invite the Democrats as well to this new convention, and no one could tell what the result might be. The Anti-Grant Republicans might

be in a minority. They were willing to accept the assistance of the Democrats, but unwilling to act a secondary part to the Democrats. About one hundred very prominent gentlemen of both parties, mostly strong advocates of free trade, met at New York; but after anxious deliberations they thought it impracticable to call a new convention. A part, however, dissented, amongst them being W. C. Bryant, Judge Stallo, and Carl Daenzer, the able editor of the Democratic "Anzeiger des Westens," who undertook to nominate General Groesbeck of Ohio, a Democrat, and one of the most popular and deserving of men, for President, and L. Olmstead, of New York, the celebrated civil-engineer, landscape-architect, and a very able writer on many subjects, for Vice-President. Both however, subsequently declined.

STATE CONVENTION OF 1872

On the 26th of June both the Liberal Republican and Democratic State conventions met at Springfield, Ill., the former at the State House and the latter at the Opera House, each convention containing some six hundred members. Governor Palmer presided over the Liberals, and James C. Allen, a great favorite of the Democrats, whom they had run for Governor before the war, over the Democratic convention. Both parties were represented by their most prominent men. I may mention some of them. Among the Liberals were Palmer, Trumbull, Judge Otis (member of Congress), John Wentworth, Leonard Swett, ex-Supreme Judge Walter B. Scates, Horace White, General Lieb, O. M. Haines, Gen. G. W. Smith, Caspar Butz, A. Orendorff, H. P. Buxton, William C. Kueffner, George Schneider of Chicago, and A. W. Fuller of Boone. Among the Democrats were General McClernand, Jas. L. Allen, James Robinson, William C. Springer, John R. Doolittle, Jr., Scott Wyke, Judge Vandeventer, Judge William H. Snyder, John H. Oberly, O. B. Ficklin, James L. D. Morrison, William A. C. Sparks, William R. Morrison, Melville W. Fuller (afterward Chief Justice of the United States),

J. R. Eden, Gen. Jesse J. Phillips, Gen. Charles Black, Aaron Shaw, A. M. Craig, Thomas E. Merritt, Carter H. Harrison, and Bernhard Arnzen. Nearly all the persons named had been or were members of Congress, or of the Illinois Legislature, or of the various constitutional conventions. Both conventions appointed a committee of conference for the purpose of proposing candidates for the State offices and the State Central Committee. Each one endorsed the Cincinnati platform; the Liberals with some additional resolutions.

There seemed to be very little trouble when the committees met as to the nomination of State officers. The governship by agreement was to be given to the Liberals. I had begged my friends on both committees to support Trumbull; but when he learned he might be nominated, he went personally before the committees, observing that if the Liberal Presidential and Legislative ticket succeeded in Illinois, he would prefer if the people were willing, to remain in the Senate another term. As to the governorship, he would not like to go before the people on false pretences; he positively declined. I still insisted upon his nomination, for while the State might go for the Liberal Presidential and State ticket, yet the Legislature I considered as impossible to carry. One half of the senators, mostly Republicans, held over, and the Republicans had so laid out the Legislative districts as to secure for them a majority of members, although the popular vote might be largely against them. Governor Palmer, also positively declined. He was very tired of his office; he had a hopelessly invalided wife and son, which prevented him from making the government house a place for receptions. Besides, no governor had ever been nominated a second time. The one-term principle seemed to be the accepted doctrine in Illinois.

NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR

I passed some very anxious hours. I almost hated to be nominated. But there was a constant rush to the Governor's private room, to which I had retired. Particularly

my German friends, members of the convention, were urging me most strongly to accept. Greeley was unpopular with the Germans, but I might carry him on my shoulders, they asserted. While the conference committees were at work in the afternoon, the conventions were in session and listened to speeches and adjourned for the reports of the committees at eight o'clock p. m. The Democratic conference committee first reported the ticket with my name at the head of it, and it was rather enthusiastically and unanimously adopted. When the Liberal conference reported the same ticket there was some dissension. Some one moved to place the name of Trumbull instead of mine at the head of the ticket, and I was just rising to second the motion when a messenger came from the Democratic convention, announcing that it had unanimously approved of the report of their committee. There was tremendous shouting, and the motion to amend their report was voted down. I was called upon to make a speech. I had a great mind to decline, but at the same time another messenger came from the Opera House inviting our convention to come over and have a joint jubilee meeting. Of course the house broke up at once to hurry over to the Opera House. The crowd in the streets had got wind of this meeting. The house was nearly filled with the members of the Democratic Convention before we reached it; men and ladies had rushed into it and had filled it from top to bottom. With the utmost exertions Palmer and myself were almost carried by friends across the auditorium and hoisted to the stage. There stood the stately form of Allen, the presiding officer, surrounded by the vice-presidents and secretaries, and when we appeared Palmer and he joined hands under the most thundering cheering of the crowd. "Let us forget the things over which we have quarreled," exclaimed Allen, and Palmer replied, "Agreed." He then presented me to the meeting saying: "I introduce to you my probable successor, and I commend him to your mercy, and may God have mercy upon him."

It was quite easy for me to speak to an audience excited

to the highest pitch by this really emotional spectacle and where everything said, good, bad or indifferent, was vociferously cheered. Only one remark made by me I wish to preserve. Ever since Grant's accession to the Presidency, my friends and particularly our opponents had from time to time expressed their astonishment, that considering my quite early acquaintance with General Grant and the fact that I was Presidential elector for the State at large when he was a candidate in 1868 and the presiding officer of the electoral college of the State of Illinois, I had not received what is phrased in politics "recognition." The last-mentioned office is usually considered as a direct recommendation on the part of the State to a high appointment by the successful candidate. I anticipated that my decided opposition to his second nomination would be attributed to me being disappointed in not receiving any office, and that I might be set down as a disgruntled "office-seeker." So I said on this occasion: "I want you all to distinctly understand, and I want the reporters to take down my words, that I never applied for any office whatever to General Grant, nor asked from him any particular favor. I have now and then, as every public man has to do, signed recommendations for other people whom I thought fit for the office they sought, and some of these applicants may have succeeded, but they had many other recommendations besides mine. Personally, he has always treated me with great consideration. My opposition is on principle only."

General Shields, my old friend, had come over from Missouri. He was loudly called for after I had got through, and with very much feeling he spoke of our forty years' friendship, and recommended me far beyond my merits to the people of Illinois. As he had always been a Democrat, he created great enthusiasm, and even the Republicans honored him as a brave soldier in the two wars. As thousands of people had gathered outside, a mass-meeting had been arranged on the public square. Trumbull addressed the crowd on the east, C.

M. Clay on the west side. All Springfield apparently had come out. Calcium lights and fireworks were let off, and the hurrahing and speaking lasted until midnight. The so-often abused saying that the people were wild with excitement, was here literally true. On a smaller scale, topographically, of course, I could not compare this night with anything else but the one after Lincoln's nomination in Chicago in 1860.

Gen. Charles Black, who had been nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, had always been a Democrat, but in the war for the Union had volunteered and shown himself a most able and brave officer. His body was actually riddled with bullets. He had lost the use of his right arm. He was of medium height, of fair complexion, handsome features, and graceful in his movements. A lawyer by profession, he was an eloquent speaker, had a beautiful voice, and enjoyed great popularity in his party. Edward Rummel, a Republican, was re-nominated for Secretary of State; Newton Bateman, a Republican, was re-nominated for Superintendent of Public Schools. Two very popular democrats, O'Heara and Lampher, were nominated for Auditor and Treasurer, and Lawrence Weldon, Republican, for Attorney-General. The Democratic convention also appointed delegates to the Democratic national convention, which was to meet at Baltimore on the 9th of July, instructing their delegates to vote for Greeley and Brown and the Cincinnati platform. This convention met on that date, adopted the Cincinnati platform, and also the nominees, Greeley and Brown.

UNION OF THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

The adoption of the Liberal Republican platform by the National Democracy was what we properly called a "new departure." In their platform of 1868 the Democrats had intimated that our public debt ought to be paid in depreciated currency, except where coin was specially promised; and that even the government bonds should be taxed. They had denounced nearly all the measures of the Lincoln admin-

istration in the bitterest terms, though they recognized the slavery question and secession as settled by the war. State rights were strongly insisted upon, and, taking it altogether, the platform had a peculiarly Southern aspect. The Cincinnati platform had pronounced for an honest discharge of our debts, for all the constitutional amendments, for a speedy return to specie payments, and was opposed to repudiation. It was acknowledged by the Republicans themselves that it was loyal and financially sound. The great prejudice heretofore entertained by many non-partisan people against the Democratic party for the behavior of a great many members of that party in the North was very much weakened, and in the event of the success of the Liberal Republican Presidential and Congressional tickets, it was now made quite possible for Liberal Republicans, particularly those who had been formerly Democrats and had left the Democratic party solely on the slavery question, to act in concert with the regenerated Democracy. Whatever may be thought of the policy which brought about the Cincinnati convention, the effect of that gathering and the campaign that followed was of singular importance. It relieved the Democracy from the charges of disloyalty, made it a national party once more, and made it possible for it to elect Tilden president in 1876, not only by an electoral majority, but by a popular one of a quarter of a million votes, and gave it the House of Representatives for a long series of years.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872

Though the nominations at Springfield had been made on the 26th of June, it was not deemed advisable to open the campaign until the Democratic national convention at Baltimore had been held. It was just possible that that convention might put some planks into their platform on which the Liberal Republicans could not stand, or it might even have nominated different candidates. About the latter part of July I started to canvass the State. It was, as such election-

eering tours always are, a martyrdom. It was one of the hottest summers within my recollection. Judge Trumbull and I once spoke at Duquoin on a platform but very slightly shaded by a canvas cover, when the thermometer in the shade indicated one hundred and four degrees. Of course, there were many pleasant and comical scenes to relieve the speakers from their often so tedious task. I will not go into particulars, and I can now hardly count how often I did speak. As usual, in many places I had to make speeches in both languages. Belleville, Alton, Springfield, Bloomington, La Salle, Joliet, Freeport, Rockford, Chicago, Decatur, Quincy, Peoria, Jacksonvile, Duquoin, and Cairo, were some of the places where large mass-meetings were held. The opening of the campaign was very promising. The Democrats had some of their best speakers out. Carl Schurz, Trumbull, Palmer, Judge Eustace, Attorney-General Bushnell, Leonard Swett, Jesse E. Norton, D. D. Ingersoll, and many other able men represented the Liberal Republicans.

POLITICAL SPEECH AT CHICAGO

The biggest meeting was held in Chicago on the 29th of July on Fifth Avenue. Several large platforms were erected on the east side, the principal one being at the southwest corner. The very wide street was crowded with people. The Liberals and Democrats claimed 20,000; and the Republicans themselves admitted 10,000 people to have been present. On the corner platform Trumbull and I spoke; on the other stood Governor Blair of Michigan, Thomas Hoyn, John Wentworth and others. Governor Oglesby, who had addressed a meeting in Chicago some time before, spent a good deal of his time in speaking of the greatness of Chicago and of the indomitable energy of her citizens. I remarked that, in order to save my time and that of the audience, I would cordially endorse his most eloquent eulogy of the great city and her inhabitants. Charges had been made that our opposition to General Grant was a reflection on his great military merits and on the great

army which had saved the Union, and the soldiers had been appealed to, to rush to the polls and vindicate their great leader and themselves. I denied those charges, gave credit to his military deeds, but claimed that we had a right to criticize and condemn his civil administration. As to the soldiers, they would like every other freeman of the land treat such inflammatory appeals with the scorn they deserved. The times of the Caesars, the Cromwells, the Bonapartes, had not yet come. The great army of the Republic is made up, I continued, of all its citizens; of those who fought in the field, of those who gave the Union their moral and intellectual support, of those who, by their toil, furnished the very sinews of the war, of those noble women who worked day and night to provide for the wants of the gallant soldiers on the field, and of those angels in human form who tended the sick and wounded and solaced the dying. That great army comprising all men and women will take care of this Republic, and of the fair fame any one may have won; and the destinies of the nation will need no one particular class of men to guide them well. Let this military element at once understand that this is a civil contest, wherein men and measures are judged at the bar of public opinion, and wherein plumed and spurred generals had better stand simply abreast of the rest of the people. The Republican party could not always rest on its laurels. New questions had arisen. Of late the Republican party had pursued a policy which could not be too severely censured. The measures adopted to force the South to love the Union were illy devised and of doubtful constitutionality. At any rate they have been thus far unsuccessful. The people in the South under the influence of exceptional laws had been deprived of the full liberty we enjoy; official patronage had cursed them with a set of government officers and rulers who had almost ruined that fair portion of our land financially and morally. The as yet uneducated vote of the enfranchised slaves had been seized upon as a part of the perquisites of the Presidential office. General

amnesty, for which the great mass of the American people in the North were ripe years ago, was withheld until the administration party at Washington had been alarmed at the extent of the movement apparent at the Cincinnati convention.

After reviewing the financial policy of the Republican party, I turned my attention to the President's manner of carrying on the government. "It has been manifest," I said, "that he was never for a moment aware of the responsibility which that high office devolved upon him. He treated the office as his and not the people's property. He suffered himself, however honest his intentions might have been, to be led by a set of most unscrupulous and corrupt political tricksters, and by inexperienced and reckless military pets and favorites." After reviewing the claims set up by the Grant Republicans, and showing that the too rapid payment of the public debt was not a financial measure without many drawbacks, and that reducing the internal war taxes was a matter of obvious necessity, I charged that the tariff on the necessities of life was still much too high, that our navigation laws were destructive of our trade, and that it was evidently the policy of the party in power to favor monopolies and large corporations. Civil reform, I insisted, was indispensably necessary. The President's patronage ought to be circumscribed. As already stated, General Grant's government had been a personal one. "He has made," I said, "cabinet appointments of men wholly disqualified, merely from personal friendship. He has appointed a number of his own relations, who never had served the country before and never had received popular endorsement. He has negotiated treaties by aide-de-camps. He has surrounded himself with pets and favorites, and has alienated from himself nearly all the great men of the party which he had assumed to represent. He has relied on the advice of the most corrupt and intriguing element of that party. Instead of faithfully executing the laws, he has

suffered almost every cabinet officer most openly to violate the law, as in the instance of the late conversion of bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury, by the payment of a forbidden claim by the Secretary of the Navy, by the sale of arms certified by the chief of ordnance to have been serviceable and in the best condition, when the law allows only the sale of unserviceable and condemned ones. He has attempted to control the Senate by personal appeal, and by promising patronage if they would become his subservient tools. He has, by his host of officials, interfered with State elections; he has kept unworthy and corrupt men in office, in spite of all remonstrances. He has put down personal opposition to himself, by using the political guillotine without stint; he has attempted to debauch the public press of the country by showering lucrative appointments on editors and publishers; he has idled away his time in trifling occupations. None of those charges have been successfully refuted. And yet the people are called upon to violate a well-established rule, and to elect him again to the highest office."

The most threatening danger to the liberties of this country lies, however, I said, in patronage and its increased abuse. Unless there is a thorough reform in the civil service and curtailment of the power of the President, if need be by a constitutional amendment, our liberties will speedily come to an end. Self-government will become extinct. Terms of office will have to be fixed, in every instance; no removal must be allowed except for cause. The responsibility of appointing subordinates must rest exclusively with the heads of departments. Assistant postmaster generals must be appointed for each State, and all the appointments in the State must devolve upon them, and they alone must be held responsible for such appointments.

"The administration must be decentralized," I continued, "must be made more local. To call upon officers to contribute from their hard earnings for political purposes should be

made a penitentiary offense. The arbitrary patronage of the press must cease. Connection with and management of the press by public officers must be made a legal cause for removal. Of course, I can only give a few hints of what I believe civil reform should consist of. As long as there is no thorough reform in the public press, as long as any President, however unworthy he may be, can, by dint of patronage, secure his renomination and with the help of blind party zeal obtain a reëlection, the only remedy we have is to insist on the one-term principle adopted at Cincinnati. It ought to be the general rule, never to be departed from, except perhaps in a national crisis."

In conclusion I dwelt on Horace Greeley's well-known integrity, his thorough knowledge of the wants of the American people, and his familiarity with the history of the country, on his intellectual ability and his efforts throughout the land to instruct and to elevate the people.

I have given some of the main heads of this address in order to show the general character of all the many speeches I had to make during this long campaign.

While I was speaking, the platform, which had been crowded with people, partly broke down with a tremendous crash. But as it was only a few feet above the ground, no one was seriously hurt. Though the part whereon I stood remained firm, I had to stop for a few moments until it was ascertained that no serious injury had happened. It was a most beautiful night and the speaking and marching of processions, music and fireworks did not end before midnight.

The Chicago meeting had given a great impulse to the opposition party, and it really did appear as though its success at least in Illinois was pretty certain. At any rate, the administration party was much scared, and the most strenuous efforts were made by them to resist what seemed to be the popular current.

CANVASSES INDIANA

Indiana, one of the States where the State elections took place in October, was considered very doubtful and was hotly contested. I was very much pressed by the State and other committees of Indiana to make some speeches there, and shortly before the election I visited Terre Haute, where I was very warmly received by Governor Hendricks. After addressing a German crowd in the evening at the Wigwam, I was escorted to the Opera House, where a very large and intelligent assembly of ladies and gentlemen were in attendance. I was advertised to speak the next day at some place, the name of which I had forgotten, some forty miles south of Terre Haute, where a tremendous meeting was expected. The cars filled to overflowing as we drew nearer to the place, and I learned to my astonishment that at eleven o'clock a man was to be hanged, and I was to speak at two in the afternoon. I forbore therefore to address perhaps one of the largest assemblages that could have been collected outside of a large city, and quietly slipped away, though there was a committee and a band of music on the platform evidently for the purpose of receiving me. So I got to Evansville some hours sooner than I was expected there, and fortunately missed the usual brass band reception. Evansville was crowded, for the Republicans had a great afternoon mass-meeting going on, Mr. James G. Blaine being the chief speaker. I did not get to see him, but he was spoken of as one of the best stump-speakers on the Republican side. About seven o'clock I made a short speech in German, and was then marched at the head of a torchlight procession to the very large and handsome Opera House, where I arrived somewhat later than was advertised; Samuel Marshall, member of Congress, one of the most eloquent Democrats, in the meantime addressed the people. There was, probably owing to the fact that the Republicans had a great show in the afternoon, an extraordinarily large audience,—in great part ladies,—and much excitement

and enthusiasm. There was every encouragement for an effort, and I really think that I satisfied the assemblage.

REFLECTIONS

While jotting down these reminiscences the thought has frequently struck me that autobiographies ought to be read with a good deal of reservation. However honest the biographer may be, it is but natural that he should look upon persons and events from his own standpoint, and that he should try often to convince himself that he is right, when he is really wrong. Upon reflection, he will at times discover excellent motives for his actions, which he really did not have at the time, and will suppress, often unconsciously, incidental occurrences which did not always show him in the best light. And so, again, it would be quite natural that if some one else should undertake to write my biography, particularly if he should hold different views on important questions, I should hardly recognize myself in his portrayal. If it is almost impossible to know oneself, a stranger is very apt to estimate the character of the men whose portraits he paints, either too high or too low.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Years 1872 to 1875

During the campaign, some of the corrupt practices of the administration came to light or were more fully proved. The committees appointed by the French legislature to investigate the acts of the provisional government under Gambetta, inquiring into the expenses for the purchase of arms, had ascertained that there were furnished to the agents of France from the arsenals of the United States 200,000 Springfield rifles new; 110,000 old; 28,000 Allen rifles; 33,000 Peabody rifles; 35 batteries Napoleon cannons; 5,700 Burden rifles; 21,000 Spencer rifles; 6,000 Winchester rifles; 5,000 Warner rifles; 8,000 Joselyn rifles; 15 Parrot gun batteries; 4,000 artillery harnesses; and 97,000,000 of cartridges,—in all $6,500,000 worth. Every one of these sales was made against the open letter of the law regulating the sale of old and worthless arms, no others being allowed to be sold. When we made these amongst other charges in our speeches, we were answered by the Grant men, amongst others by Senator John A. Logan, that the sale of these arms for which we had no use at present was a splendid financial operation, for which the administration deserved credit, and that military officers were not lawyers, and might well have been mistaken in their construction of the law,—and this was said when we had at the time for months protested against such sales as wholly illegal and as a violation of international law.

CONCLUSION OF THE GREELEY CAMPAIGN

There was decidedly all through the summer a fair prospect of success for the Liberals. All depended upon the

State elections, however, which in some States, such as Pennsylvania, Maine, Ohio, and Indiana, took place before the November Presidential election. Pennsylvania, being a high tariff State, was not counted upon, as the most zealous supporters of Mr. Greeley were known to be low tariff men, and Greeley had promised to leave this question exclusively to Congress. But Maine, Indiana and Ohio were supposed to be for the Liberals. Greeley himself started on an electioneering tour, and made speeches in New England, Pennsylvania and Ohio, which were really very brilliant and created much enthusiasm, but before he could reach the northwestern States he was called home to the sick bed of his wife in September, where he had to stay and watch until she died, a few weeks afterwards. The anxiety and the loss broke him down physically and mentally. In fact, he never recovered from the blow. In the meantime the State elections in October went wrong, and from that time on the canvass was conducted by the Liberals with slim hopes of success. There are always a great many persons who take a foolish pride in being able to say, that they have always voted for the successful candidate, and who, unless they are strong party men, at the end change their votes for him whose prospects are brighter. Many Democrats, also, concluded to stay at home. If there had been a chance to beat Grant, they argued, we should have voted for Greeley, but as there is none we will not vote at all, for he has heretofore been our strongest and lifelong enemy. The events showed that the defeat of the Liberal ticket was in great part owing to the stay-at-home policy of the Democrats. Still in Illinois the Liberals held up bravely. If we could elect neither the President, nor even the State, we might still carry some of the Congressional and Legislative districts and the county offices.

The last two weeks I turned my attention to St. Clair County, where the greatest efforts had been made to beat me. Mr. Rutz, of St. Clair County, who had filled some minor county offices, but was wholly unknown beyond the limits

of the county, had been expressly nominated by the Republican convention for State Treasurer, in order to keep the Germans in the traces, and to use all his influence to beat me. The State Committee had flooded the district with documents and had sent large amounts of money. High betting was going on all over the State on my vote in St. Clair County. One friend of mine won a thousand dollars on my election in the county.

GREELEY'S DEFEAT AND DEATH

November came. Greeley did not carry a single Northern State, and lost by the negro vote most of the Southern States; succeeding only in Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. Before the electors met in December to cast their vote, Horace Greeley had died of brain fever. The contest against him had been carried on with great bitterness. He had been denounced as a renegade, and a traitor to his party, which, as he was a very sensitive man, wounded him deeply. But no sooner had he closed his eyes, than all at once public opinion seemed to be changed. It was evident that, barring some idiosyncracies and eccentricities, he was really a large-hearted, highly intellectual, and above all, an utterly incorruptible man. His corpse was laid out in the City Hall of New York. Many thousands went to cast a last look on him. The public buildings and many private ones were draped in mourning. The President himself and cabinet, and the Governor and State officers of New York, and hundreds of eminent citizens of other States attended his funeral. Even many of those who had most violently attacked him now regretfully lamented his death. For fifty years, when he indefatigably worked for what he thought was best for the people, he was really a power in the country, and his memory will survive many generations to come.

Mr. Seward, orator, great leader and a man of vast and comprehensive mind, had preceded Greeley in death only a few months. In many respects the very reverse of Greeley,

he exercised until a few years before his death as great an influence; and for real and well-considered love for his country, (I speak from my personal knowledge,) he was Greeley's equal, while in classical scholarship and in political science, he was vastly his superior.

General Grant's majority over Greeley in Illinois was 40,000. I received 12,500 votes more than Greeley, which of course was not enough to elect me. I won, however, in St. Clair County by a majority of nearly 700. The Liberals also succeeded in St. Clair County with all their Legislative and county candidates, and in the Congressional district elected William R. Morrison over the Grant Republican candidate. Considering that General Grant had carried the county four years before by 1,700 majority, the victory was really surprisingly great.

PERSONAL AND DOMESTIC

In September we had to deplore the loss of Edward Tittmann, Rosa's husband, who had been for more than thirty years a devoted friend of mine. I began to realize the sad experience of beginning old age, when one after another the friends of one's youth and active manhood drop off, leaving one in solitude.

During a part of 1871 and all through 1872 Henry Englemann had been engaged in Utah in the mining business, while Mary stayed at Belleville. On his return, he entered again as chemist and mineralogist the great zinc works of Matthiessen and Hegeler at La Salle. From that time on Sophie and myself made regular pilgrimages twice a year to the beautifully situated city of LaSalle, which we henceforth regarded as a second home. The hospitality we received there was unbounded, and the Hegelers from time to time returned our visits.

MINOR POLITICAL INCIDENTS

During the campaign, nothing very extraordinary happened except that Fred Hecker could not keep quiet, but

entered into a very rabid electioneering tour against Greeley, while at the same time he supported the Liberal State ticket very warmly and myself most enthusiastically. This did more harm than good, because he was thought to express also my views concerning the Presidential ticket. I found myself compelled to remonstrate with him very strongly and to pronounce publicly that I did not want any votes from those who opposed Greeley. In this way I stopped his eulogies on myself.

The new Legislature met the first week in 1873. The term of Governor Palmer ended the second week. Before he retired I sent in my resignation as one of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, thinking it proper that I should not stay in an office of some importance under an administration of different politics from my own. My colleagues held on.

Governor Oglesby affected much surprise at my action, and tried to convince me that he could not have appointed any one else in my place. Of course, this was altogether idle talk, for no sooner had he been elected Governor and ascertained that the Legislature was also Republican, than he at once electioneered for the Senatorship; and while he was trying to make me believe that he would never remove me from office, it was already a well ascertained fact that he would be elected to the Senatorship. This may appear very strange, for he had almost solemnly pledged himself on the stump that he was aspiring for the Governorship in good faith, nay he went even so far as to say that the office of Governor of the great State of Illinois was more honorable and dignified than that of Senator. Those who knew him did not believe a word of this. But the great mass did. Had they suspected him, and had they thought that General Beveridge, who ran for Lieutenant-Governor, would be active Governor for four years, Oglesby would have lost many thousand votes, particularly amongst the German Republicans, for Beveridge was, on account of his prohibition views and religious bigotry, very unpopular among the German element. Besides, a great many Americans would never have voted for a Chicago man as

Governor; no one from that city had ever filled the Governor's chair, and those who were candidates for the office had been always defeated. Governor Oglesby had many good traits. In private affairs, I have no doubt he was perfectly honest. Besides, he had always been personally very friendly to me and had allowed me to have considerable influence over him. But as for political morality, he had as little of it as most politicians or as had the members of the Legislature who elected him, after he had so openly falsified the pledges made during his canvass.

Beveridge, after taking his place some time in March, supplanted my colleagues, which was peculiarly mortifying to Mr. R. B. Morgan, who, when he saw that the Greeley cause was going down, made himself a prominent advocate of Oglesby's election, and sought to represent me as too lenient toward the railroad companies, in which effort he miserably failed, for all the railroads openly opposed me and charged me with great severity. Their organ, the "Railroad Review" in New York, just before the election, had called upon all railroad companies to work against me, for it alleged I was determined to drive them to the wall. In an article to the "Tribune," in which I published the article in the "Railroad Review," I castigated Mr. Morgan in a manner so severe and incisive that I afterwards somewhat regretted it, as he subsequently became a good Democrat.

DEATHS OF THEODORE HILGARD, SR., AND DR. ADOLPH BERCHELMANN

On the 26th of February, 1873, Theodore Hilgard, Sr., died at the age of eighty-two years at Heidelberg. Until his last sickness he took a lively interest in public affairs and was engaged in literary labor. In my "German Element" I have endeavored to give a brief outline of the character and the activity of this eminent man, who, had he not left Germany and spent the better part of his mature manhood in the United

States, would certainly have reached high distinction as a statesman and a parliamentarian. He clearly foresaw that German unity did not include German liberty, and as early as 1872 he expressed this idea in a very beautiful piece of poetry now in my possession, entitled, "The Second Watch on the Rhine," wherein he warned the people to be on their guard and not to be satisfied with unity, but to see that liberty was not sacrificed to the idea of a mere powerful nationality.

In February, Dr. Adolph Berchelmann, my early friend and fellow-student at Heidelberg, my comrade in exile, and a physician of our family, died in Texas, to which place he had gone in search of his health, which had been very weak for some time. His most kindly disposition, his unselfishness, the services he rendered to the poor without fee or reward, had made him so popular that his death was universally regretted and his funeral was marked by the deepest sympathy of the citizens of Belleville. At his grave I expressed my feelings in a few words, being really too much moved to speak any length of time.

THE CREDIT MOBILIER SCANDAL

General Grant's administration, (he acting on the assumption that the election had vindicated and justified his policy, while one-half of the General's supporters had openly declared that they had chosen him as the lesser evil,) proceeded from bad to worse. The greatest legislative scandal the country ever witnessed, the Credit Mobilier affair, involved the bribery of nearly all the Republican leaders in Congress: Speaker Colfax, Vice-President Wilson, Senators Harlan, Logan, and Patterson; Dawes, Scofield, Bingham, Kelley, Garfield, Brooks and Oakes Ames of the House. An investigating committee found Oakes Ames and Brooks guilty, the first as having bribed the second on behalf of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and recommended their expulsion.

The other persons named, the committee found to have accepted stock of the Credit Mobilier, but not in the knowledge that it was intended as a bribe. This decision was condemned by the independent press, by some of the Republican and by all the Democratic papers, as ridiculous and utterly partisan. The only Democrat implicated was Brooks of New York; all the others were leaders of the Republicans. When we had charged bribery in the campaign, all the persons named had publicly denied that they had ever handled the stock; yet all were proved before the committee, (and most of them admitted it,) to have received the stock without having paid anything for it. The "New York Times," at that time a strong Grant Republican organ, spoke about the report of the investigating committee as follows:

"We agree with the committee that the knowledge of the relations of the Credit Mobilier Company to the Union Pacific Railroad would have made the acceptance of Credit Mobilier stock by members of Congress a dishonorable act. But we entirely disagree to the report of the committee in the merciful conception that those members who did take stock did not know those relations. To be ignorant of those relations, they would have to have been blind and deaf. It can be said with perfect truth that they were of common notoriety. It is very certain that the members who took shares in an undertaking which swindled the government deserve a condign condemnation, and we repeat that the committee did not recommend such a condemnation. Let us hope that the Congress will make the thing better."

This hope was ill founded. The Senate did not investigate at all. The House, having a large Republican majority, did not even expel Brooks and Ames, but merely censured them. It was well known that many more members had been bribed whose names did not appear, and of course they were loathe to administer punishment upon their associates in crime. The "New York Evening Post" and the "New York Herald," which had supported Grant and the Republican ticket, used still stronger language than the "New York Times."

LITERARY ACTIVITY

Having been relieved from public business as president of the Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home and as president of the Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners, I could devote my spare time to literary pursuits. Some of my legal essays were published in the "Chicago Legal News," and some of my political articles in the "St. Louis Republican" and the Belleville papers. At the instance of Mr. Butz, for some time the editor of the "Westen," a literary Sunday supplement of the "Chicago Staatszeitung," I furnished to that journal several articles on Spain and a sketch of my travels in Germany and France immediately preceding the rising at Frankfort on the 3d of April, 1833. This sketch I had written very soon after my arrival in the United States, when everything was fresh in my memory. It ran through three numbers of the "Westen." To the "Anzeiger des Westens" in St. Louis, I sent a rather extended review of the four series of that great and classic work of the German General Staff on the Franco-German war.

ADDRESS IN CINCINNATI

On the invitation of the German Pioneer Association of Cincinnati to make an address at the festival of the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the society, on the 27th of May, I went to Cincinnati, where I spent a few very pleasant days at the charming and hospitable home of my friend Judge Stallo. The meeting was high up on the hills in a beautiful park, the Inwood Park. In order to prove my right to speak as an old pioneer, I commenced my speech in this way:

"'Towards evening we landed at Cincinnati, the most important and beautiful city of the State of Ohio, the "Queen of the West." It is situated along the river and its rising banks. It surpasses, in the regularity of its streets, in the cleanliness and beauty of its buildings, most cities of the Union. It daily grows in splendor and riches. The Court House, the market buildings, the United States Bank, the Athenaeum, and the theatre, are amongst the finest of the buildings. Twenty-

four churches testify to the piety of its 30,000 inhabitants. Thus it was that a very young man wrote about your city just forty years ago in his diary, July 1833, and so it was printed in the 'Ausland' published by Cotta, in Munich in the eighty-eighth number, of the 29th of March, 1834, of that well-known magazine. The young man of that time now stands before you, honored to have been selected as the orator of this the fifth anniversary of the foundation of this pioneer society."

After I had given at some considerable length a picture of the development of the German element in the United States since the two first decades of the century, I continued:

"We have now reached the present epoch. Starting from small beginnings the German element has won a strength and an expansion promising a still greater future. The union of the Germans in the old Fatherland, brought about at last step by step, and the grand deeds of her armies, which stand almost alone in the history and generous spirit of sacrifice of the whole German people, one of the mightest nations of the world, have given us such a strong national background, that we are more highly appreciated here as the blood relations of such a powerful people. Nevertheless, let us follow in the footsteps of the older generations of immigrants, who, as I have already hinted, have compelled recognition through their own individual merit, without being supported by the consciousness of being a part of a mighty and influential people. Let us Germans here rely more on our own individual worth than upon our glorious people in our old home. And, in conclusion, one more word to avoid mistakes. When I speak of the German element, I do not mean a living together and acting together exclusively of other nationalities in this country. What I mean is solely that we should not abandon our German views, our German manners as far as they are worthy to be kept up, but should instil them into the American life. I mean that we should let our German spirit pour itself into the burning floods, which are still welling up, and out of which, in the course of time, a national type will be cast; and to the end that when the time comes, a good part of German honesty, German industry, German geniality, and, above all, the German love of art and the sciences, may be discernible in that national type, let us all, and you, German pioneers, above all, contribute with all our might."

POLITICS IN THE YEAR 1874

The year 1874 was politically one of considerable excitement. Owing to the great financial crisis of 1873, which originated in Europe, but soon was felt with great force in our country, there was considerable distress, particularly in the farming communities. Europe had to economize, and our exports of bread-stuffs had been very much diminished; hence, all farming products brought low prices. Railroads had some years previously been very largely extended, and now all work on railroads had to stop. A great many factories closed up. Owing to this financial disturbance, a new party sprang up among the farming communities, by the name of "The Grangers." It was a sort of half secret society of men and women, its strength being in the Western States. In some local elections it had been successful, as it held the balance of power between the two great parties,—reason enough to terrify unprincipled politicians. Among some sensible demands the party made, there were some entirely inadmissible. The principal cry was for money. We had then near 2100 millions of government notes out, not convertible into specie. Yet the Grangers contended that the Government should issue new batches,—in fact enough to give every one a sufficiency of money. Inflation was the watchword. General Butler was almost the only man of note in the East who favored this idea, that the Government had the right to make, and could make, as much money as it pleased. But our Western demagogues, under the lead of Oglesby, Logan, and Morton, at once fell in with the Grangers, in order to strengthen the Republican party and insure their reëlections. Only one member of Congress, amongst the nineteen members of Illinois, William R. Morrison, set his face sternly against this movement. In the press and in public speeches, I too used every effort to combat it. Upon the whole, the German press and the Germans generally opposed this reckless and, in the end, most disastrous policy. Upon this question Carl Schurz in the Senate greatly distinguished himself. It was admitted even

by his opponents that he made the most brilliant and at the same time the most conclusive speeches in the Senate on the subject, flooring even such practical debaters as Morton and Logan. Nevertheless, there seemed to be a perfect race between the two parties in Congress from the West and South to catch the Granger vote, and both Houses passed the inflation or fiat money bill. But Grant, who was in his second term and had then no thought of being a candidate for a third term, put in his veto, and so the bill failed. There was great cursing and howling, but as most of the supporters of the bill had only voted for it on political grounds and really did not care about its success, the excitement soon subsided.

BUFFALO IN 1874

Upon the most friendly and urgent invitation of our friends, the Brunks of Buffalo, we changed the plan of our summer tour for this year, and instead of going up the Mississippi to St. Paul, and from thence to Duluth on Lake Superior, crossing the lake, and making a stay at Mackinaw, returning home by way of Chicago, we, Sophie, Pauline and myself, went first to Buffalo. Most hospitably received by our friends, we stayed some two weeks in that beautiful city, the residence streets of which, owing to the double rows of shade trees, were cool and pleasant even at noon-time. Excursions to the Falls, picnic parties down the Niagara River, drives through the great new park in company with my friend William Dorscheimer, who was one of the park commissioners, and to whose taste and activity the park owed so much of its beauty, kept us all the time pleasantly engaged.

MACKINAW ISLAND

Towards the end of July we regretfully left Buffalo, taking a steamer for Mackinaw, crossing Lake Erie, Detroit River, St. Clair Lake, and Lake Huron. From Mackinaw I wrote a letter to the "Missouri Republican," descriptive of that place, which perhaps may not be uninteresting and

which I will here insert; remarking however that since that time this little island has become a far more fashionable place, has first-class hotels, and is studded with fine summer villas.

"Mission House.
"Mackinaw Island, July 30, 1874.

"For one whose body and mind desire rest from the worry of business and the turmoil of an over-active life, there can be no better place than this beauteous and interesting little island. Just imagine the luxury of having sixty miles between you and the shrill whistle of a railroad train! No mail except every other day, and then the one from St. Louis five or six days old. The latest Chicago papers are two days old and New York papers do not come here at all. Formerly, if I had to go without reading the city morning papers, I used to feel all day long as though I had not bathed on rising from bed. But I assure you one gets over this feeling in this enchanted spot very soon, and derives a great deal of relief from the temporary suspension of close connections with the outer world. The post-office is in an old frame shanty near the wharf, and the rude counter and box arrangement remind one of olden times out West, when postmasters would keep the post-office in their hats, and took pleasure in strolling through town to deliver the letters and papers in person. The dignitary who holds the office here is half French and half Yankee, as they call the Americans here, with a considerable strain of Indian blood in him. He is a jolly fellow, smokes all day, and evidently rejoices in the present mail "facilities," that is, in having a mail but three times a week. When he goes to his meals, or fishing, or pigeon-shooting, he locks up his office. Politics seem to give him no concern, for he has held the office more than twelve years, and I doubt much whether he really knows who the President is at this time.

"One of the greatest sources of enjoyment at this place is its primitiveness. There is a court house for Mackinaw County here. Strolling around, I found the clerk of the court in his shirt sleeves sitting on the porch of a billiard saloon, adjoining the court house. I introduced myself to him and learned that at the last spring term there was no case on the docket, and none had been commenced for the next August term. No criminal case had been tried for the last seventeen years. A friend told me that the term before last there was one case on the docket. It was one which created intense

excitement among this quiet population, consisting, with the exception of the officers of the post, and some highly respectable and cultivated Americans who do the shipping business of the place, and have nice residences and appear to be wealthy, principally of Canadian-French, Indians and fishermen of all nations. It was a suit to recover back money lost on an election for circuit clerk. It failed on demurrer, however, and the fees in this case for the clerk could not have exceeded twelve shillings ($1.50) by their reckoning. To me the most astonishing feature of the case was that two men could be found to run for such a lucrative office that could not be worth more than five or ten dollars a year. The judge and bar usually come in a sailing-boat from somewhere to open court and adjourn it the same day.

"The hotels, though some of them can accommodate from one to two hundred persons, partake of the same refreshing simplicity which characterizes the other institutions. The Mission House seems the best patronized. It certainly has the prettiest location, right on the southeast point of the island, removed from the noise which occasionally is heard at the docks, with fine, though little improved, grounds around it. There is no 'gentlemanly clerk' at the office, with ambrosial locks and the majestic and forbidding brow of Jupiter, no smooth cashier, mostly hidden behind a screen, of whom you see no more than the hands, when he gathers in your greenbacks. There are no bells in the rooms, which I find to be a great convenience for the waiters. The host is a jovial, elderly gentleman, who acts as clerk and cashier at the same time, occasionally drives the bus, which receives and discharges the guests at the boat free of charge, keeps your account at the pigeonhole table, and entertains you generally very agreeably. One of his finest traits of character is his inviting the guests he likes to partake of his excellent old Bourbon without charge. The living is very good, because the white fish and trout of Mackinaw, it is well known, are unsurpassed, as are its potatoes; and then they have wild pigeons here all summer, while we get them South only in the fall when they are old and tough. They are now excellent. Missourians will enjoy hearing that Major Frank, mine host, keeps a very fine article of Cook's best Imperial and cool bottled lager from Detroit, besides other very fine wines. Mackinaw used to be a great place of summer resort for St. Louisians. I cannot understand why they have ceased to come here. It is perhaps, except in some

places on the seaboard, the most salubrious spot in our great country. The breezes all have to travel over great sheets of the purest water in the world. This summer the highest point the thermometer ever reached was eighty-two degrees above zero; but since we have been here it has never reached more than seventy-five, and in the morning and evening it is about sixty. We sleep under blankets. At the present time, there is no one here from your place, at least at the Mission, but the Hon. G. A. Finkelnburg and his wife. Springfield, Illinois, furnishes the largest contingent from any one place. Mrs. Governor Beveridge and also her son and his lovely bride are here, as are Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon, Mrs. Latham, and the two Misses Cullom, who, however, left several days ago with another large party from Springfield. But there are people here from Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Fort Wayne, Montreal, etc. A great many babies escape here the summer complaint, or get cured of it a few days after their arrival. Senator Pratt is also here, but stops at the Island House, also said to be a good house, and the other Michigan senator, Mr. Ferry, is expected at the Mission, which is the place of his birth, his father having been at the head of a missionary establishment for the education of Indian boys and girls for this lake region, founded by the American Board of Missions some fifty years ago, but discontinued in 1837. It would be easy to fill your columns with a description of this island with its early and quite interesting history, but all this can be learned just as well and better by reading the many hand-books of travel which can be found in every city bookstore; I will merely say that this little spot of nine miles in circumference combines many features of beauty and interest, each one of which people are in the habit of seeking at a great distance.

"The hills and cliffs, some of which rise to the height of three hundred feet, are thickly covered with arbor vitae,—white cedar, as it is here called, growing into big trees from twenty to forty feet high,—with splendid maples, spruce and white pine, the mountain beech and large vigorous birches. It abounds in the most singular rocky formations, and must be very interesting to geologists. Beautiful wild flowers, some of quite Alpine character, grow in profusion. The pedestrian can walk all day for weeks, and constantly will he discover new and charming paths. Besides, there are carriage roads through the Island leading to all the interesting points, such as the arched rock, a really wonderful work of nature, and Fort

Holmes, the highest point of the Island, with an observatory from which the view of the lake is unbounded. Then, if you have feasted enough on the land and mountain scenery, there is the row-boat awaiting you and the dashing skiffs, manned by skilful old sailors, that take you around the Island, or to the island of Bois Blanc, or to the mainland of Michigan, to Point St. Ignace, where there is a large old church dedicated to Loyola, and where you can picnic or find at a French woman's house coffee, cake and ices.

"The village of Mackinaw itself is overhung by a fort standing on a cliff some hundred feet high, with its frowning cannon, and garrisoned by a company of soldiers. The view from there is also delightful. On some days the village is crowded with Indians, but principally with women, who do their shopping here. Fishing parties are made up here every day, and they bring home many different kinds of splendid looking fish. Amateurs cross over to the mainland, where there are plenty of brooks containing the choicest speckled trout. I have seen them return with baskets filled and having specimens apparently weighing three pounds or more. This place must be invaluable for invalids. They have in Switzerland and Germany summer resorts where there are no springs at all, but where the sick are sent to take "air baths." Now I cannot imagine any spot better fitted for such air baths than this enchanted isle, and I again wonder why people from Chicago, St. Louis and other places do not come here in greater crowds. Twelve hours takes a family from St. Louis to Chicago, where on the same day a boat leaves, which brings you in two days to Mackinaw. The trip on the lake itself is invigorating and usually very pleasant, and certainly there is the least possible trouble connected with the journey. But I do not feel like spending more time in writing at a place where you feel after a few days as though you could not sit still. I walk ten or twelve miles a day here with less trouble than I walk two miles at this season in the neighborhood of St. Louis. The desire is to constantly move about, while at home one is too lazy to get up from one's chair."

FROM MACKINAW TO ST. PAUL

From Mackinaw we entered Lake Michigan, and had a heavy thunderstorm the evening we left. In the night the lake was much disturbed; indeed, during all the following

days our steamer pitched and rolled pretty badly. There was a great deal of seasickness. I was, I believe, the only person at the breakfast table. Towards evening the wind subsided, and we landed at Milwaukee without trouble. Across the State, through very beautiful scenery on the Wisconsin River, we reached Minneapolis, just then rising very fast in greatness. We did not think its location on a large and apparently very flat prairie very eligible. The St. Anthony Falls of the Mississippi River have been so much exploited for driving immense mills and other factories that they have lost much of the grandeur that was formerly attributed to them. The river itself was full of rubbish from the saw mills, and owing to the very hot weather of this year was quite low.

We found Minneapolis a very warm place, and the first night we spent there was anything but agreeable. Owing to the high temperature, although we had large front rooms in the Nicolet House, we did not go to bed until about midnight, but no sooner had we retired, when a very loud fire alarm started us up again. At first we thought our house was on fire, for the street was perfectly lighted up. The seat of the conflagration was one block distant. A large high building containing stores, offices, concert halls, was in a blaze. While the firemen were at work, a terrible thunderstorm rose, and when the fire was nearly subdued, lightning struck a large planing-mill on the river. The building being frame and a large stock of dry material being stored in it, immense sheets of flame lighted up nearly one-half the city. It was three o'clock before the noise in the streets ceased and we could take some rest.

Minnehaha, as far as grandeur was concerned, was quite a disappointment. It is, however, quite a picturesque little fall, owing its fame more to the lovely idyl of Longfellow than to its intrinsic beauty. However, we were somewhat *blasé*, having but lately seen the waterfalls of Switzerland, and but lately again Niagara. A half an hour's rail by way of Fort Snelling, most romantically situated on a high bluff on the

Mississippi, brought us to St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, a large and flourishing place, the residence part of which is on the bluffs with fine extensive views up and down the river.

A TRIP DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI

Here we took the St. Louis steamer, crowded with passengers returning from the summer resorts in Minnesota and Wisconsin to their southern homes. The scenery on the upper Mississippi from St. Paul to Dubuque has never, as far as I know, received the proper appreciation of its beauty. It surpasses all river scenery, with the exception of that of the Columbia River, which I have ever seen. The color of the river, though dark, is clear. It sometimes expands into a lake, and then again the hills, some of them more than five hundred feet high, enclose it within very narrow limits. The weather was warm, but on the boat it was delightfully cool. Sophie passed most of the time in the pilot-house. She was very fond of the water. We had a full moon, and we hardly ever retired to our state-rooms until midnight. The banks were dotted with fresh looking, flourishing towns. As we wanted before going home to visit our children in La Salle, we left the boat at Rock Island. Taking it altogether, we had traveled from Buffalo to Rock Island some two thousand miles, a distance nearly as great as that from Southampton to New York. Only the State of Wisconsin we had traversed on land.

OPENING OF THE ST. LOUIS BRIDGE

An interesting event of this year was the opening to travel and transportation of the great St. Louis iron bridge over the Mississippi. Some time in July, just a few days before we left for Buffalo, there were great festivities of one kind or another. We took special interest in the completion of this magnificent work, for I had been the attorney for the bridge company from its inception as early as 1868, when it became necessary to condemn large tracts of land and many lots in

East St. Louis, and where the claims made by the owners amounted to several hundred thousands of dollars, and a great many legal questions had to be settled.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Grant's administration had gone from bad to worse. The setting aside of the Legislature of Louisiana, (under pretense that the election had been brought about by intimidation of the colored vote,) by the bayonets of federal soldiers, great corruption in the administration of important offices by his appointees, and a still increasing nepotism had so strengthened the opposition of the Liberal and Democratic party, that in the spring of the year a great many local elections in heretofore Republican municipalities went against the administration. The leaven of the Cincinnati Convention of 1872 had begun to work. The Bourbon element in the Democratic party had been eliminated and both the Liberals and the Democrats under the name of Liberal-Democrats had become thoroughly united. Under the presidency of Governor Palmer a large and enthusiastic State convention assembled in Springfield, and nominated candidates for the only two State offices which were to be filled this year. The platform came out strongly against the Granger-Greenback inflation, declaring for a resumption of specie payment as soon as it could be done without detriment to the business interests of the country, declaring for paying our national debt in the coin of the civilized world, for a revenue tariff only, for personal liberty and against all compulsory means to enforce temperance, against discrimination on the part of railroads and other transportation companies, and in favor of adequate pensions to invalid soldiers. In the fall elections for Congress a Democratic majority was elected to the House of Representatives in Congress. In the Belleville district Col. William R. Morrison was elected by an increased majority, as it was considered as almost certain that the Democrats would elect the next President.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

In February, 1875, our youngest child, Paula, was married to George Washington Detharding, of Belleville, who was a few years older than she. George was born in St. Louis County, Missouri, where his father had purchased a farm on the Merrimac in 1834. The father, George August, was a descendant of a very old and highly respectable family of Rostock, Mecklenburg. He had studied philosophy and theology, had acquired a degree of doctor of theology at the University of Rostock, and had entered upon the profession of teaching at the university in that place. But, like many young men in that time of political and religious reaction, his Liberal principles made him dissatisfied. The United States, and particularly the Western States, above all Missouri, had been lately written up as a perfect Eden, and streams of emigrants poured into Illinois and Missouri. He was tempted to seek a new home, as he thought, in the land of the free and the brave, with for that time a considerable sum of money, which he at once invested in the purchase of a farm of considerable size. Of course he shared the fate of the so-called gentlemen farmers. After suffering a good deal by the diseases incident to new countries and finding farming anything but profitable, he sold his farm at a sacrifice in 1847, and went into business in St. Louis. In Germany he had become betrothed to a young lady, Elizabeth Kraud, who followed him to the United States to cheer and to share the hardships of farm life some years after he had settled on his farm,—arriving in St. Louis in May, 1838. He carried on a book store afterward, but having been offered the position of pastor and teacher in Alton, he returned to his first love and moved to that place, where, however, after a few years he died, loved and respected by all who knew him, leaving Louisa and George, his only children. In 1856 Mrs. Detharding and her children moved to Belleville, where George for some years attended private schools, one of them kept by a Professor Rau, who afterwards was connected with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington City

in the geological and ethnological departments, and became very well known as a distinguished savant. George served his apprenticeship in the dry goods business, and by and by became clerk and salesman in the greatest dry goods store in Belleville, and at the time of marrying our Paula had gone into business on his own account. Everything promised a very happy future.

THE WHISKEY RING

This year was politically a dull one, no elections of any importance taking place. The few, however, there were, had showed a decidedly increasing opposition to the administration. One of the causes of this growing discontent was the disclosure of great frauds committed by government revenue-officers and distillers and rectifiers regarding the tax on high wines and whiskies. For some time the market showed that large quantities of these articles had been sold for considerably less than the cost of production with the tax added. It was clear that the revenue laws were somewhere grossly violated. The distillers were not the originators of this conspiracy, but the collectors of the internal revenue, all the guilty men being strong politically and some intimate friends of the President. The Whiskey Ring, as it was popularly called, had its origin in St. Louis, where the recent success of the Liberal party had made the Republican politicians desperate. It was thought necessary to start a strong Republican paper, the establishment of which required large sums; other moneys were wanted for election purposes. The distillers were assessed large sums by revenue officials for these purposes, thereby gaining the official indulgence to their frauds. The ring soon widened, and in 1874 it had spread to national proportions. Distillers who were honest had either to run the risk of seeing their business ruined or to surrender to the ring. There were branches of it in Peoria, Louisville, Milwaukee, Chicago, Cincinnati and New Orleans. It had a co-conspirator at Washington who evidently had excellent sources of information and

communicated all steps taken by the Treasury Department and the President to discover the fraud to the ring, the principal seat of which was St. Louis. When secret agents were to be sent out to detect the perpetrators of the frauds, timely warnings were sent from Washington, some by cipher despatches.

Colonel Bristow, then Secretary of the Treasury, as a precautionary measure, not having sufficient proof to remove the collectors, issued an order changing the collectors from one place to another, so as to throw the ring into confusion. The order displeased all collectors, the innocent ones as well as the guilty, and the latter had influence enough to persuade the President to rescind the order. Senator John A. Logan, for one, was very active in bringing this about. Bristow, however, was indefatigable. Prosecutions, civil and criminal, were instituted; but he found himself hampered in many respects. A distinguished Republican lawyer, John B. Henderson of St. Louis, who had been appointed by Bristow to assist in the prosecution and who had very severly commented upon General Babcock of Santo Domingo notoriety, who was adjutant and private secretary to the President and against whom there was the strongest proof of being the secret agent of the ring in Washington, was discharged from his office of prosecutor by the Attorney-General. When Babcock was afterwards indicted, the principal witnesses were spirited away, or terrorized, so that he obtained an acquittal. So strong was the evidence against him, however, that the President dismissed him, though he was still retained in the army. Three subordinate revenue-officers were found guilty in St. Louis and were sent to the penitentiary, but pardoned by the President after six months or so. The defraudations within ten months were proved to have amounted to upwards of one and one-half millions of dollars. Bristow's position became very precarious, and he was compelled to resign, some of the leaders of the Republican party insisting on his removal. This Whiskey Ring affair was a great scandal, as great as the Credit Mo-

bilier, and was a great annoyance to a greater part of the Republicans. Bristow became rather the favorite of the Republican masses, and his name was frequently mentioned as a proper candidate for the next Presidency. This may explain the intense opposition to him from Republican leaders like James G. Blaine, John A. Logan and others, who also always had the Presidential bee in their caps.

Indeed, Bristow was a formidable candidate. A member of a large and influential family of Kentucky, he had warmly espoused the Union cause in that State, when it was very doubtful whether she would not join the secession and when most of the men in power there were opposed to the war. As colonel of Kentucky Union regiments, he distinguished himself at Donelson, at Shiloh, and throughout the war to its end. On his return home he was elected a State senator, and being an able lawyer, was afterwards made United States district-attorney, promoted to solicitor-general of the United States at Washington, and, in 1874, appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He was not a radical Republican, and enjoyed the respect of the Democrats, who were particularly gratified by his great efforts to bring the Republican defrauders to justice.

Now, it must not be supposed that General Grant himself was implicated in this sad affair. He could of course have had no motive whatever in having his government defrauded. The people, and I believe justly so, always thought him personally a very honest man. But he was blamed for his indulgence to the faults, nay, even the vices, of his friends, or of those to whom he felt under obligation. He used to say that he never would desert a friend when under fire. A remarkable instance of this constancy to his friends, it will be recollected, was his accepting instantly the resignation of General Belknap, when the latter was impeached before the Senate for having sold the position of post-trader in the Indian Territory, thereby preventing the conviction of the culprit. Yet there is no doubt that the exposures of the revenue officers

did great harm to the administration and the Republican party in general, and the election of a Democratic President appeared from day to day more probable.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Year 1876

The year 1876 promised to be an eventful one. In the first place the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was to be celebrated with much *éclat*, and the city of Philadelphia, with the help of the State of Pennsylvania, assisted to some extent by the United States, had arranged an international exhibition or World's Fair, to which all nations had been invited. Committees were appointed in all States for the collection of their products, mineral and vegetable, their industries and arts; great preparations were also made for local celebrations of the Fourth of July in all cities and towns.

POLITICAL OUTLOOK

But it was the Presidential election which created the most excitement. During the previous year the greatest efforts had been made by the Republicans for securing to General Grant a third-term nomination, but the disclosure of the corruption prevailing in nearly all the departments of state, the trials and impeachment of some of the close personal friends of the President, had effectually and without any particular efforts of the opposition disposed of him as a candidate.

In 1874 the Liberal Republicans had acted, as in 1872, with the Democratic party, and great victories had been accomplished. The House of Representatives had been Democratic by a considerable majority,—the first since 1860. This success revived the hopes of those Democrats who had sympathized with the South during the war, and who had sullenly refused to vote with the Liberal and Conservative Democrats in 1872, thereby contributing to the defeat of the nominees of

the Cincinnati and Baltimore conventions. Some of these Bourbon Democrats arrogated to themselves leadership in the party and compromised it by intemperate speeches in Congress and in State conventions. There was also a tendency in the Democratic party to affiliate with a new party, the Grangers, consisting principally of the farmers of the West and Northwest, who, suffering still under the hard times consequent upon the financial crash of 1873, advocated the paying of our national debt in depreciated paper, the unlimited issue of paper money by the government, and the destruction of the national banks and the repeal of the law of 1875, which fixed a certain day for the resumption of specie payments. All these measures were in glaring contradiction to the Liberal Republican platform of 1872, adopted by the Democrats in Baltimore that same year.

That part of the Democracy which consisted of the Liberal Republicans of 1872 found itself under these circumstances in a very embarrassed condition. The Republicans, though many of them shared the foolish notions of the Grangers, were, as a whole, sounder on the financial question than the Democracy of 1876. The worst members of the Grant cabinet had been forced to resign, such as Delano of Ohio, Harlan of Iowa, Belknap, the war minister, and Williams, the Attorney-General. It seemed necessary for the Liberal Republicans to assume a somewhat expectant attitude. Should the Republican party discard such candidates as Morton, Blaine, Logan and others who were extremists, the defenders of Grant's administration, inimical to civil reform, and nominate a conservative Republican, who had given evidence of independence of the Republican machine, and had pronounced in favor of reform, the Liberal Republicans could consistently act with the rejuvenated Republican party, particularly if the Democrats were to nominate a man whose Union sentiments during the war were not beyond doubt, and should put him on a platform essentially different from the Liberal Republican platform of 1872.

CONFERENCE OF THE LIBERAL REPUBLICANS IN 1876

As early as December of the last year, Carl Schurz had written me from New York, suggesting that the Liberal Republicans should come to some understanding as to what they should do in the coming Presidential election. He proposed that the leading Liberals of the different States, some fifty to one hundred, should hold a preliminary conference early in the spring, to agree upon some plan by which they might exercise an influence upon the nominations. No convention or nomination was contemplated. It was only in case both parties should nominate men wholly unacceptable to the friends of reform, of sound currency and of financial honesty, that a third party nomination would be made from sheer necessity. He requested me to give him the names of Illinois men who would be likely to favor this plan. I answered him approving his plan, and remarked: "That I would not support any man who was not in favor of thorough civil reform, of a strictly revenue tariff, and of the resumption of specie payment, and whose character gave no assurance of an administration which would restore credit and honor to our government and people."

In the meantime the name of Bristow, who had proved himself a strong advocate of civil reform and who had been compelled to resign by the corrupt clique at Washington, was brought prominently before the people as the Republican candidate. A great many Liberal Republicans who had voted for Greeley declared themselves in his favor. It was soon manifest that the whole power of the administration was working against him; yet, as a great many Republicans who had thus far supported Grant very earnestly advocated Bristow's nomination, there was still a very fair prospect of his success at the national Republican convention which was to be held at Cincinnati on the 14th of June. Carl Schurz, by letters and telegrams, kept me advised of what was going on in the East. On the 6th of April, William Cullen Bryant of New York, Prof. Theodore D. Woolsey of Connecticut, Alexander Bullock of Massachusetts, Horace White of Illinois,

and Carl Schurz of Missouri, issued an invitation to a number of Liberal Republicans, old-time Republicans of independent views, and reform Democrats, to meet in conference at New York on the 15th of May. Besides myself, Judge Trumbull, General Farnsworth, Governor Palmer, and many others received this invitation. We were to meet, the letter of invitation stated, "to consider what may be done to prevent the national election of the centennial year from becoming a mere choice of evils, and to secure the election of men to the highest offices of the Republic, whose character and ability will satisfy the exigency of our present situation and protect the honor of the American name."

F. W. Wines, superintendent of the Illinois Board of Charities, in April, addressed me a letter in which he informed me that the Governor wanted to know whether I would, as one of the representatives of the State, attend the International Prison Congress to be held in 1877 at Stockholm, and, previously to that a meeting of the National Prison Association on the 6th of June of this year at New York. I respectfully declined. I had already concluded to visit the World's Fair at Philadelphia in company with Sophie and Mary, some time in September, and was not inclined to go East twice. As to the Stockcholm meeting, it was too far ahead. I do not even know whether Illinois was represented there or not.

The New York conference of Independents was held the 16th of May, under the presidency of Professor Woolsey, and was attended by a great many very distinguished men, mostly from the Eastern States, however. After various interesting debates an executive committee was appointed, consisting of Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Martin Brimmer, of Massachusetts; L. F. D. Foster, of Connecticut; Parke Godwin, of New York; John W. Hoyt, of Wisconsin; Theodore Roosevelt, of New York; and Howard Potter, of New York, who issued an eloquent address to the people. After setting forth, in a forcible but dignified manner, the manifest corruption pervading all the departments of our national government, and in-

sisting that the spoils system must be overthrown by a thorough reform of the civil service, that our national obligations should be faithfully discharged, that the resumption of specie payment should not be indefinitely delayed, and that the brotherhood of the people should be revived by a policy of mutual justice, it alleged that the members of the conference were not desirous to form or lead a new party, that most of them had been, or were, warmly attached to their party associations, and that it would be most gratifying to them to see by party action candidates put forward whose character and record answered the requirements which present circumstances rendered imperative. But, while ready and willing to accept every good result of party action, they affirmed that the moral reform of our public concerns was infinitely superior in importance to the interests of any political party. Glad to promote that reform through party action, they would still insist upon it, should party action fail. Regarding the qualifications of Presidential candidates, required by the exigencies of the times, the address among other declarations expressed itself in this way:

"We shall support no candidate, who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualifications of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires. No candidate is entitled to the support of patriotic citizens of whom the questions may fairly be asked: Is he really the man to carry through a thoroughgoing reform of the government? Can he with certainty be depended upon to possess the moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with abuses which have acquired the strength of established custom, and to this end firmly to resist the pressure even of his party friends? Wherever there is room for such a question and doubt as to the answer, the candidate should be considered unfit for this emergency. This is no time for so-called availability springing from distinction gained in fields of action foreign to the duties of the government. Passive virtue in the highest office has too often been known to permit the growth of active vice below. The man to be entrusted with the Presidency this year must have

deserved not only the confidence of honest men, but also the fear and hatred of thieves."

When the sentences last quoted from the address were read, it was reported that Carl Schurz exclaimed: "So much for Governor Hayes."

Some days later the Conference sent to those who had declared themselves in favor of the Conference being held, but had not personally attended, a sort of confession of faith, to be subscribed by them, of the following tenor:

"We declare ourselves in agreement with the Conference of the 16th of May, that no candidate for the Presidency shall be nominated whose name alone is not the absolute guaranty that it is the irrevocable determination of the American people to make the government pure again, and that we will support no nomination which does not satisfy us that the reform government will be accomplished."

This confession of faith was signed by hundreds of the most prominent Liberal Republicans in all the States. In the Conference itself, when the address was adopted, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., remarked, "This means Bristow first, and Tilden next," and the whole assemblage signified its assent by loud applause.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Republicans held their national convention on the 14th of June at Cincinnati. Grant had disappeared from among the candidates, but his "alter ego," Morton, was a prominent candidate. Blaine, who had by his ability as Speaker of the House, by his astuteness, and his great power as a stump-speaker gained a large popularity, was a strong competitor. The more independent and honest reformers in the party presented Bristow. Senator Conkling, an out-and-out Grant man, had also some strength. The lowest on the list was Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio. Blaine on the first ballot seemed to carry everything before him; on the sixth ballot, Blaine had 308 votes; Hayes had gained and had received 113; and Bristow got 111. Morton and Conkling had 85 and 80 votes respectively. On the seventh, however, the

opposition to Blaine consolidated, and Hayes received 384 votes to Blaine's 351 and was nominated. It was in this convention that Robert G. Ingersoll, heretofore a politician known in Illinois, first as a brilliant Democratic comet, and later on as a Republican stump-speaker, attracted great attention. In seconding the nomination of Blaine he made that eloquent speech which at once gave him a national reputation as one of the foremost, if not the foremost, of our public speakers. It was then that he called Blaine the "Plumed Knight," whose snowy white feather, like that of Henry of Navarre, was the signal for his followers to gather round and follow him through the thickest of the fight.

COLONEL ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

I had known Ingersoll a long time, but not intimately. When he became Attorney-General of Illinois in 1866, I met him often in Springfield. He was then in the flower of manhood, of medium height, but strong and well-built, of fine intellectual features, ruddy complexion, auburn hair, and large, expressive blue eyes. What is not always the case with brilliant orators, he was an excellent conversationalist, and delighted us frequently with anecdotes from his military experiences. He had been a colonel or lieutenant-colonel in one of the Illinois cavalry regiments. In later years, after he had written some of his free-thinking books, I had several conversations with him on these subjects. Without disputing his views about existing religions, which were by no means new, but most eloquently expressed and illustrated with great originality, I wholly differed with him in the propriety of making a propaganda for his ideas amongst the mass of the people, which had neither leisure nor education sufficient to form a religion satisfactory for themselves. The masses, I contended, require a system made up for them, corresponding to their natural religious sentiments or even dreams. If they felt comforted by any such system, however illusory it might be, they should not

be deprived of the hopes and consolation it afforded them. No philosopher has yet solved the problem of the first cause of the whence and the whither. As a statesman, I argued, he ought to consider how many millions of people were kept within bounds by the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another world, however absurd he might think such a doctrine to be. The only answer of his was, that the truth ought to be preached, not error. To which I made the old reply of Pontius Pilate, "What is truth?"[1]

At one time at Peoria, he called for me at the hotel, took me to his house and introduced me to Mrs. Ingersoll. Judging from an interview of an hour or so, I thought her a sweet and highly intellectual woman. The room in which we sat was decorated with some very fine copper plate engravings, copies from old masters. Some fine vases and alabaster busts stood on the mantel-piece. Choice books lay on the tables. There was a taste and elegance apparent everywhere without any tinsel or overloading. You could tell at once that the people so surrounded were not chromo-cultured. He made me a present of his then recent work, "The Gods." Like all his writings, it is written in a radiant and impressive style, such as he displayed in all his orations and lectures. Since he has moved to New York, I have not met him.

NOMINATION OF TILDEN

Some time early in June the Democratic State convention was held in Springfield, and Gustave was appointed a delegate for the State at large to the national Democratic convention, held in St. Louis, the 26th of June, 1876. While not a member of the convention, I still went over and worked with the Illinois delegation for the nomination of Tilden. Had Bristow been nominated by the Republican convention, I should have felt myself obliged, under the pledges given to the New

[1] This passage doubtless embodies the essence of the "letter" referred to by Judge Rombauer in the preface to Volume I of these *Memoirs*, as having been written to Col. Ingersoll by the author. No "letter" to Col. Ingersoll on this topic could be found among the author's manuscripts.—Editor.

York conference, to support him, but as Hayes had been distinctly discarded by that conference, and as the Republican convention had, in an almost abject manner, passed a resolution eulogizing Grant's corrupt administration, against which the Liberal Republicans had been fighting a mortal combat almost since the beginning, I should have thought myself false to all my convictions if I had not supported Tilden, who had, as Governor of New York, shown the utmost independence and had broken up regardless of party the various rings which for years had plundered the State and city treasury, and whose power, supported as it was by a set of corrupt judges, seemed to be irresistible. Tilden, even more than Bristow, exactly filled the measure which the New York address had laid down for the man who would redeem the national government from the reproach which the eight years of the Grant administration had brought upon it. Nearly all the leading Liberal Republicans were anxious for the nomination of Tilden after Bristow had been defeated at Cincinnati. John A. McClernand presided over the St. Louis convention, which was composed of the most prominent Democrats and Liberal Republicans of the nation. In spite of the opposition of some of the New York delegates who represented Tammany Hall, Tilden was nominated by a very large majority on the second ballot. Governor Hendricks of Indiana was nominated the second day for Vice-President.

Immediately after Tilden's nomination, I published the reasons for the position I had taken. Most all the gentlemen who had attended the conference, and, in fact, an overwhelming majority of the Liberal Republicans all over the Union, took the same stand.

The Fourth of July, it being the centennial anniversary of that memorable day, was celebrated with great *éclat* in all the States. At Belleville unusual efforts were made for a grand demonstration. I had not made a Fourth of July speech since 1848, but at this time I was pressed into service.

Our Paula, after her marriage in 1875, had with her husband taken lodgings in a good house on west Main Street. They were comfortable enough, but the place was too near the sluggish little stream which runs around the western limit of the city, and there had been, besides, in the summer some very heavy freshets by which the banks of the creek overflowed for some days, leaving stagnant pools of water in the bottom. Paula suffered frequently with malarial chills and fever. George during the summer had bought a house in the center of the city, opposite to the jail, in a more healthy location, and they moved into it in July, 1875; but in the spring of 1876 she became again subject to intermittent fevers. Towards the latter part of June we had become quite anxious about her,—I more than the others. I thought that her liver was permanently affected, and I could not get rid of the presentiment of a fatal catastrophe. Some weeks later we moved her to our own house, which was in a healthy part of the city, surrounded by fine shade trees and a garden and lawn, where we could nurse her more properly and conveniently.

Our projected visit to the Philadelphia World's Fair we should at once have given up, but we feared that this would depress our poor child, as she would take it as a sign of our belief in the danger of her sickness. Some improvement having apparently taken place, we, leaving her in the charge of her husband, her sister Augusta, Cousin Bertha Engelmann, and her sister-in-law Bunnie Koerner, left reluctantly enough towards the end of August, for a few weeks' trip to Philadelphia. It gave me, at any rate, some respite from the labors in the Presidential canvass, which was carried on most bitterly.

As Tilden's eminence as a lawyer and man of business generally, and his ability, proven as Governor of New York, in administrative affairs, could not be disputed, his private

character was most violently attacked for certain railroad suits in which he had figured as president or director years before, and the merits of which, as a matter of course, could not be understood by the mass of the voters, no final judgment having ever been pronounced by the courts. The Republican party, as the only measure of saving itself, was driven by Blaine, Morgan, and Logan, to fall back on stirring up the old hatred between North and South by what was called in political slang "waving the bloody shirt." Though the Democratic platform was thoroughly loyal and very little different from the Liberal Republican platform adopted in Cincinnati in 1872, Blaine and his colleagues called the St. Louis convention a meeting of Confederates, thus firing the Northern hearts, as it was called.

I was forced again into the political arena, and during the months of July and August I had to make many speeches, and my pen, both in English and in German, was not idle.

VISIT TO THE PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL

At Philadelphia we occupied rooms in a new hotel in the west part of the city and not so very far from the exhibition grounds. No better or more beautiful place than Fairmount Park could have been selected for the World's Fair. Upon the whole, the exposition was very satisfactory. It was asserted that German art and industry was poorly represented. But taking the German and Austro-Hungarian exhibits together, and it was German-Austria which had principally exhibited, the charge was not quite just. The Berlin and Munich china and glassware exhibits showed very conspicuously. The Austrian furniture and crystal collections were superior to similar exhibitions. In machinery, Krupp's steel hammer and cannon threw everything into the shade; while German lithographing and chromos took the first prizes.

Memorial Hall, built at the cost of one million dollars by the State of Pennsylvania, with its annexes, containing sculpture, oil and water-color paintings, medallions and designs,

was to us the greatest attraction, and we spent most of our time in those glorious rooms. The United States were fully and very favorably represented in oil and water-colors. Durand's, Kensett's, De Haas's, Gifford's, Bierstadt's, Moran's Huntington's, and Weir's landscapes and sea-pictures were really of extraordinary merit; so were Healey's and Stuart's portraits. Of living English painters, with the exception of some paintings in oil by Millais, Tadema, and Watts, there was very little that attracted attention. But in the loan department there was a rich and highly interesting collection of English paintings of old masters and of some recently deceased. The names alone were a guarantee of the worth of these works: Joshua Reynolds, Kneller, Constable, Landseer, Turner, Lawrence, Leslie, Wilkie and Gainsborough. France of course outshone all other countries, at least in quantity. Of the very celebrated French painters, but a few had exhibited: D'Aubigny, Cazin, Breton, and Gudin were the most noted. Yet there were many very fine paintings which I marked in the catalogue. Most of them were well drawn and excelled in the coloring. The free air and realistic schools happily did not exist at this time. Taking Germany and Austria together, the exhibition of paintings was very respectable: there was Preller, of Weimar; Meyer, of Munich; P. Meyerheim; Meyer, of Bremen; A. Achenbach, and Richter, of Berlin; and Makart, Ruben, Riedel. Markart's colossal Catarina Cornaro was perhaps the most admired picture in the whole gallery. Italy exhibited nearly a hundred pictures, and had as many pieces of statuary, in which it excelled. Sweden and Norway astonished everybody by its very rich and handsome exhibit, not only of sculpture and paintings, but also of industries and minerals. Belgium, for its size, excelled, and Spain had many fine pictures in the art gallery, some old acquaintances from the Madrid Museo by Navarrete, Domingo, Morales, Alonzo Cano, even one genuine Murillo, and one Velasquez. Spain had, besides, a Spanish government pavilion on the ground, full of very interesting articles: medals, en-

gravings, caligraphs, photographs, chromos, models of palaces, fortresses, complete selections of arms of their present army, Toledo blades, and architectural monuments. The Netherlands had a rich collection of oil paintings, considerably more than one hundred. In one of the art annexes was what was called the loan collection, mostly of old masters: one Van Dyke, one Murillo, one Andrea del Sarto, an Albrecht Duerer, a Wouvermann, and also some of the best modern artists such as Cabanel, Madrazo (Madrid), Makart, Leopold Robert, Dubufe, Courbet, De Haas and Verboeckhoven. The agricultural and horticultural, the women's and the United States government exhibits were also beautiful and interesting.

It was a tumultuous life within these fair grounds. You would meet crowds of all nationalities, Chinese, Japanese, Arabs, Algerians and Europeans of every country. There were several military reviews; New Jersey and Pennsylvania militia regiments were in camp while we were there; bands of music played in the main building, and in many places on the grounds. Had it not been for the beautiful and very extensive walks, some of them quite retired, in that picturesque and lovely park, where we could breathe fresh air and take rest on the lawn, the visit would have been exhausting. As it was, we were quite fatigued every evening of the five or six days we went to the Fair. We should have enjoyed ourselves very much, had not our thoughts wandered home full of anxiety for our Paula. The Illinois post and telegraph on the ground was in bad hands, not one half of the letters or telegrams reaching us. About the 6th of September we left for New York.

POLITICS IN NEW YORK

Stopping at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, we found it crowded with politicians of all parties, all discussing the Presidential election. New York, I discovered, not only from the talk of the regular politicians, but also from inquiries made from my particular friends in the city of both political parties, was

certain to go for Mr. Tilden. So was New Jersey; and if Indiana went for him, since he would receive a majority in all the Southern States, his election did not admit of a doubt.

While in New York we spent much of our time in visiting Central Park, the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts and a most splendid loan exhibition to which the millionaires of New York had sent some of their best treasures of art; Meissonier, Detaille, Knauss, Defregger, Delaroche, and, of old painters, Rubens, Rembrandt, Carracci, Domenichino, Guido Reni, Titian, Paul Veronese, and many other celebrated artists, ancient and modern, were represented by at least one of their productions.

Early in July, William Dorscheimer, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, who had been the most active promoter of Tilden's nomination at St. Louis in opposition to the Tammany Hall influence, had written to me about Carl Schurz's very surprising course in the canvass and had concluded his letter by saying: "I wish you could make a journey here; Governor Tilden particularly wishes to see you; if you can come, I beg you will stay at my house. Come out strong. With the lead of the Germans in your State you can carry Illinois for us."

VISIT TO GOVERNOR TILDEN

I had then my hands full in Illinois; but, having gone to New York, I felt it a sort of duty to pay a short visit to Albany. We reached there late in the evening or rather early in the morning. After breakfast I called at the office of Dorscheimer in the State House, and he at once took me to Governor Tilden. Governor Tilden was then about sixty-three years of age, but looked much older. Indeed, he appeared in rather frail health, and somewhat paralyzed in one of his hands. Hard study and great mental exertions had drawn deep lines over his face, but intellectually he was as bright as could be. He received me very cordially, and learning that my family was at the hotel he invited us to dinner. But as we had only stopped over, and were to take the cars for

Chicago at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, I of course declined. "Well," said he, "your wife and daughter would probably like to see the State House and our beautiful parks, and if you have no objection I will send my carriage for them and we will have a chat in the meantime." We did not, however, speak much politics. I told him plainly that Illinois was very doubtful, and that Indiana could be carried only by strong efforts. Finding on the tables in his library, whose walls were filled with bookcases containing the choicest collections of English classics, large albums and books of engravings, and on consoles, marble busts and choice vases, we soon turned our conversation to literature and the fine arts, and I found that he had not only bought the books but had read them, and that he was more than a mere amateur in sculpture and pictures, and apparently a connoisseur. While so conversing for an hour or so, his carriage drove up with Sophie and Mary; and his niece, a very amiable lady, at once went downstairs and invited them up. He showed them all civility and presented each of them with his photograph. He rang for his private secretary and told him to drive us around town and show us all the sights. We took our departure and had a fine drive through and around the town for some three hours, when we took a late dinner at the hotel, and then turned our faces homeward. At Chicago, where we got some rather favorable news from Paula, Mary parted from us, going to La Salle, and on the 16th of September we reached Belleville after an absence of about three weeks.

POSITION OF CARL SCHURZ IN 1876

I have mentioned Carl Schurz's position in the election. There is no doubt that he was expected by everybody after Bristow's defeat to throw his influence for Tilden. The address which issued from the Conference evidently was particularly directed against Hayes. Hayes had distinguished himself in the war, was of unimpeachable private character, but as Governor of Ohio he had followed the course of an

ordinary politician, and had not attempted to correct the unsavory methods which had prevailed in Ohio as well as in most other States under the influence of the bad example set by the Grant administration. Besides, he had been placed on a platform that had showered the highest approbation upon that very administration which Schurz, for the last five or six years, had attacked with all his spirited and extraordinary eloquence. The "Westliche Post," in which Schurz had a large pecuniary interest, had, during the sitting of the Democratic convention in St. Louis, strongly supported Tilden's nomination, and was considered Schurz's organ. But hardly had Tilden been nominated when it was reported that Schurz had had a conversation with Governor Hayes, and that he had promised him his support. There was such general surprise at this conversion that he thought it necessary to explain his course. But he failed utterly. In his letter to the "New Yorker Staatszeitung," which filled many columns of that large sheet, he laid all at once very little stress on the tariff and civil service reform, and tried to show that the resumption of specie payment and the preventing of an over-issue of paper money were the principal questions; and that while Tilden and the Democratic platform were sound enough on these questions, yet a good many Democrats were not in earnest about it; he also let it be understood that Governor Hayes had assured him that he was altogether in favor of reform. The worst part of this change of front was that Schurz took an active part in the canvass, making Hayes speeches all over the country, and, while he himself treated Tilden fairly, admitting his great ability and his stern resolution to reform abuses, the "Westliche Post" vilified Tilden in a manner which had hardly a parallel even in the American partisan press.

DEATH OF PAULA KOERNER DETHARDING

Indiana's State election came in October. I was so much pressed by Indiana friends that I finally allowed them to make some appointments for me, although Paula's condition had

become so alarming that I could hardly tear myself away from home. I spoke twice at Fort Wayne, once in German and once in English, then went to Lafayette, where I spoke at night to an immense assembly in the public square. The next morning, however, I received such a depressing despatch that I gave up some three or four other appointments and hurried home. On the 23rd of October Paula died, and the wound has never healed.

Having made engagements before this to speak at Chicago, Milwaukee, Greenbay and Racine, Wisconsin, at the end of October and in the first days of November, and being much solicited to meet them, in a sort of desperation, I went to fill them. At all these places, there being many Germans, I had to speak twice. But I spoke under a cloud; I had no heart in the work. My mind was absent in the midst of the processions, the band-playings and the cheers and applause.

THE CONTESTED ELECTION OF 1876

On the day after the election the telegraph all over the country announced Tilden's election. He had carried New Jersey, Indiana, New York, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and all the States that had been in the secession. Illinois was lost by a very much reduced vote of the Republicans. But in our Congressional district, the Belleville district, we elected Morrison by an increased majority, and in St. Clair County our whole Democratic ticket was elected, though immense efforts were made by the Republicans to carry the county. Carl Schurz himself, John A. Logan, Robert G. Ingersoll, and a host of other distinguished Republican speakers honored the county with their presence.

But on the second day after the election Zachariah Chandler, then Secretary of the Interior, who against all propriety was at the same time chairman of the national Republican committee, caused it to be flashed over the wires that Hayes was elected. In the State of Louisiana, a returning board had been established, under the carpet-bag government, consisting

of carpet-baggers and negroes, to revise the returns and to certify to their correctness. In doing this two years before, that board had committed the greatest frauds, and had been denounced by President Grant himself in his message, and by all honest Republicans. It was to consist by law of five persons, one of whom, at least, should belong to the opposition party. But this time there were only four members, all Republicans, and they failed to appoint a fifth one, who would have been a Democrat. The board itself, then, was illegal. Chandler had undoubtedly instructed this board to delay making the final returns to the Governor, who was to make out the certificate. As the returns had come to the board, they showed a majority of 5,303 for Tilden. The President, at once taking sides with the Republican central committee, and without any legal authority whatever, directed a set of Republicans to resort to New Orleans to see that the returns should be fairly made; amongst them were some of the most radical members of the party, such as John A. Logan, John A. Kasson, James A. Garfield, John Sherman, and Roscoe Conkling. Of course, they were sent for the purpose of advising the returning board how to annul the voice of the people.

I cannot go into details, but the returns, more particularly with the assistance of Senator Sherman and Garfield, a member of the House, were so skilfully doctored in secret, (Democrats being excluded from the sittings of the board, while the Republican advisers were admitted,) that the board, consisting of known rascals, returned a majority of 4,347 votes for Hayes. At the same time, the Democratic majority for Governor being much larger than that for Tilden, the board did not dare to throw this vote out, but returned this candidate as elected.

Without this unparalleled fraud, which was by a vastnumber of Republicans themselves denounced, Tilden would have been elected, even if he had lost South Carolina and Florida, where the Tilden electoral vote was fraudulently changed against him by Governors elected under the carpet-bag

system, while the Democratic candidates for Governor and Congressmen were declared elected. The bare recital of these so inconsistent returns in itself proves the plot of stealing the Presidential vote of these three States, where the Democrats had an undoubted majority, as shown by the election of all their officers. It may be added that even prior to these elections, in open violation of the Constitution, General Grant had sent troops to Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida without requests from their respective Legislatures, under the pretense of securing a fair election, but really to intimidate the Democrats and to encourage the canvassing boards in committing the frauds expected of them by the leading Republicans.

On the popular vote, Tilden had a majority of over a quarter of a million ballots over Hayes, and about 150,000 over all candidates. If a million negro votes be deducted, it will appear that, as far as the white vote was concerned, Hayes was left in a most miserable minority. Under these circumstances, when the variant electoral votes were given in December by the electoral colleges of these Southern States, and the result announced, a most tremendous excitement arose, the more so as it was given out by the radical leaders that the president of the Senate, who was a stalwart Republican, had a constitutional right when Congress would be called upon to give official sanction to the electoral vote, to count the votes according to his judgment, and that President Grant had intimated he would by force of arms sustain this heretofore unheard of position of the chairman of the Senate.

The Democratic central committee of Illinois had called upon all the county committees to cause meetings to be held on the 28th of December for the purpose of expressing their sentiments on the crisis, and to instruct our members of Congress, when it came to the counting of votes, to sustain the law and precedent and to prevent fraud by examining into the returns of the so-called returning board. Before the convention met in Belleville, President Grant had already

concentrated some troops in Washington, and orders had been given for more to repair there when Congress should pass upon the question as to who was elected President, as required by the Constitution. The meeting, in spite of the inclement weather, was very largely attended, and the people were in a warlike spirit. The idea that a man should be juggled into the office of President who had been beaten by a popular vote of more than a quarter of a million, and, if the white vote alone were counted, by one million two hundred thousand, seemed so preposterous to common sense and natural justice that perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred Democrats thought it would be entirely justifiable to resort to another civil war.

I saw at once, on entering the meeting, that unless there was some effort made to moderate the excitement, which had risen to fever heat, resolutions would be proposed, and probably carried, of an inflammatory character. Being at the time of the opinion, in which, however, I was mistaken, that in spite of the Chandlers, the Logans, the Shermans, the Camerons, the Garfields, etc., Congress would not dare to make the presiding officer of the Senate the judge of the correctness of the returns instead of the two Houses, I was opposed to going too far, and while speaking strongly of the contemplated fraud, I yet let it be understood that if the crime was committed we should have to submit and take our revenge at the next election. It was a somewhat difficult task, but I succeeded. The resolutions adopted, while denouncing in the severest terms the fraud committed in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida, and the usurpation of the President in throwing troops into those States to intimidate the people, expressed the hope that Congress would settle the matter in the same way that heretofore contests on the electoral vote had been settled by the Houses themselves, by an examination into the correctness of the returns, if objections should be raised. At the same time upon the request of the State central committee, the convention appointed delegates to a State convention to be held on the 8th of January, the anniversary

of the battle of New Orleans, for consultation as to the policy to be pursued to prevent the success of the fraud, when the time arrived fixed by the law for Congress to declare who had been elected President. Gustave was appointed one of these delegates. The 8th of January, 1877, had been recommended by the national Democratic committee for holding such conventions in all the States.

The year 1876 closed under much excitement and anxiety; another civil war seemed to loom up at no distant day. To our family it was one of deep sorrow.

STATE CONVENTIONS OF PROTEST

In pursuance of the request of the Democratic national committee at Washington to hold meetings in every State on the 8th of January, 1877, a convention took place at Springfield on that day which was attended by about five hundred of the most distinguished Democrats and Liberal Republicans, amongst whom were members and ex-members of Congress, ex-governors, Union generals, ex-judges, and some of the most eminent members of the bar. General Farnsworth was temporary, and John M. Palmer, permanent chairman, both having been Liberal Republicans.

Each Congressional district furnished a vice-president and Gustave was elected by the seventeenth district. Perhaps there had never been in Illinois a convention more impressed with the importance and solemnity of the occasion than this one. Every one felt the responsibility of the action which was to be taken. The greatest care was exercised in constituting the committee on resolutions. For the State at large the following gentlemen were put on the committee: Lyman Trumbull, G. A. Burr, Joshua Allen, G. A. Koerner, James Robinson, J. F. Farnsworth, Benjamin S. Edwards, and S. S. Marshall, all members and ex-members of Congress except Judge Edwards of Springfield and Gustave. Of the other members of that committee, I will mention only Judge Otis, ex-member of Congress, Melville W. Fuller, (later Chief Jus-

tice of the United States), W. C. Goudy of Chicago, John A. McClernand, O. B. Ficklin, J. M. Crebs, R. W. Townsend, members and ex-members of Congress, and Judge George W. Wall. The resolutions proclaimed that the count of the vote for President and Vice-President by the president of the Senate, without the direction and concurrence of both Houses of Congress, would be contrary to long established usage, revolutionary in its character, and dangerous to the rights of the people. The resolutions further declared that if the usual way of counting the votes under the decision of the two Houses was pursued, the people of Illinois would abide by the result, whatever it might be; that if the two Houses could not agree, and if no election was arrived at, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to elect the President and the Senate the Vice-President as directed by the Constitution. Other resolutions denounced the frauds committed by the returning boards of Florida and Louisiana in detail and in the most bitter terms, as also the usurpation of Grant in sending troops to these States and to South Carolina without being called upon by those States and when there was no insurrection or invasion in existence, which alone justified the President in sending armed forces into a State,—thereby violating the express provisions of the Constitution.

The convention placed itself, it will be seen, entirely on constitutional grounds without any threats of a redress of their grievances by forcible means. Speeches were made by Trumbull, Palmer, Farnsworth, and by M. W. Fuller, who spoke most eloquently, and by John A. McClernand and William R. Morrison. These speeches, of course, were far more fiery than the resolutions. The indignation at being defrauded of a President, who had not only with Florida and Louisiana an electoral majority of fifteen votes, but a majority of one quarter of a million of the popular vote, was naturally great, and would have almost justified violent means.

On the same day similar conventions were held in nearly all the States and resolutions adopted of a similar import.

The excitement was increasing; many Republicans could not shut their eyes to the danger in which the sanction of the crimes of the returning boards would involve the ultimate fate of the party, even if the conspiracy of their leaders should succeed. Some of the most influential Republican papers denounced the proceedings of the boards as fraudulent. It is true the radicals such as Morton, Chandler, Logan, and Garfield, still insisted, that, cost what it may, the president of the Senate, the ultra-radical Ferry of Michigan, should not only count the votes, but also decide upon their legality. But there were a sufficient number of Republicans in the two Houses who would not take this revolutionary view, and soon the idea took root of finding some other and more legal mode of settling the question in dispute. Thus far at least had these conventions produced a decided effect.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Against the decided opposition of the radicals in the House and the Senate, the Democrats, with the help of a minority of Republicans, passed a law appointing a commission to decide upon the question in dispute, their report to be accepted unless both Houses rejected it. Four judges of the Supreme Court, two Democrats and two Republicans, five members from the House, three Democrats and two Republicans, and three Republicans and two Democrats from the Senate, were to constitute the commission, which was to be completed by another judge of the Supreme Court to be selected by the other four judges. This commission was certainly not in accordance with the Constitution, and was styled by many as extra-constitutional but not un-constitutional.

Apparently this method of deciding the points in dispute was in favor of the Democrats. It was expected that the judges of the Supreme Court would lay aside all party views, and moreover it was tolerably well ascertained that the four judges would select as a fifth Judge Davis of Illinois, whose party independence was known, and who, it will be recollect-

ed, was a candidate for nomination at the Liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati in 1872 and whose nomination was much favored by the Democrats. Again, the House had selected Garfield as one of the Republican commissioners, principally for the reason that he had, in opposing the bill for the commission, assigned as his principal reason for his opposition, that the commission would be bound to go behind the returns of the Louisiana and Florida returning boards, which would take up too much time and therefore would be impracticable. The Democrats, whose sole hope of having justice done lay in going behind the returns to show that the boards were illegal, and that some of the electors whose names had been returned were disqualified by the plain laws of the United States forbidding federal officers to be elected, took it for granted that Garfield would go into the commission with the determination to investigate those questions. In addition, they felt sure that Davis would act in the same manner. But in both their expectations they were disappointed. Garfield when on the commission voted against going behind the returns, and the Democrats of Illinois, after a severe struggle to elect a Democrat to the United States Senate, were guilty of the folly of yielding to one or two so-called Independents who held the balance of power between the Democratic candidate, William R. Morrison, and the Republican candidate, John A. Logan, and of electing Davis for Senator, who at once resigned his seat on the bench. His place was then supplied by a Republican, Judge J. P. Bradley. After most able discussions by eminent lawyers of both parties before this board, a majority of eight against seven upheld the monstrous Presidential fraud that had been committed,—an act which under the law creating the commission could only be rejected by the concurrence of both Houses, which as the Senate was Republican, was impossible.

The Democrats, without adopting active and aggressive measures, had it in their hands to defeat Hayes. After meeting in joint session, if the president of the Senate, after

counting the votes, had refused to hear any objections to the votes as certified, and had announced the votes upon the returns he chose to recognize,—for there were two different returns from each of the States where a contest had arisen,—the House could simply have withdrawn from the Senate chamber or have adjourned, and then the counting could not have gone on, and there being no election by the two Houses, the election of the President by the Constitution would have gone to the Democratic House, which would have elected Tilden. Why the Democrats did not adopt this course was at the time a mystery to the outside world; but it soon leaked out that Hayes and his friends had been very active among the Southern delegates, promising them that the governors of Louisiana and South Carolina elected by the Democrats would be recognized by the Hayes administration in opposition to the governors elected by the Republicans; that the federal troops in those States and in Florida, which had been stationed there by Grant under the pretense of protecting the free choice of the people at the polls, would at once be withdrawn; and that Hayes would construct his cabinet of conservative Republicans and call in even some Southern men, who since the war had acted with the Republican party. These promises, (which in part at least were kept by Hayes,) made a good many Southern members adverse to any energetic measures and it was owing to them that this, in fact, unconstitutional law, (for the fifteenth commissioner was bound to be a Republican, and was in reality in this case the only responsible arbiter,) was passed by Congress and resulted in Tilden's defeat.

HAYES DECLARED ELECTED

On the 3d of March the Democratic members of Congress issued an address to the people of the United States, in which the proceedings of the Republican leaders were calmly reviewed, their illegal and revolutionary character clearly exposed, and the unconstitutional invasion of some of the

Southern States by federal troops denounced. The partisan feelings of the Electoral Commission were animadverted upon. After showing in what particular the Commission had subverted all the principles of law and equity usually applied in election contests, the address proceeded: "By these methods Rutherford B. Hayes has been elected President of the United States. His title rests upon the disfranchisement of lawful votes, the false certificates of returning officers acting corruptly and the decision of a commission which has refused to hear evidence of alleged fraud. For the first time is the American people confronted with the fact of a President fraudulently elected. The inauguration will be peaceful, and in that hour the most infamous conspiracy will receive its crown."

The Speaker of the House, Randall, on adjourning the House on the 3d of March, in his valedictory, alluding to the result of the election, remarked: "The majority of this House representing a majority of all the voters in the Union, being convinced that the majority of electors have given their votes for another, have the choice either of acquiescing in usurpation or of gaining their rights by a civil war. The Democratic party has preferred to yield the temporary possession of the government to civil war with all its terrors. Some will blame us for having allowed to pass a law which would lead to such results, but the law has not been applied by the commission either in the letter or the spirit of it. Nevertheless, we have yielded to prevent anarchy and the shedding of blood."

Hayes made up a quite respectable cabinet. Evarts the eminent lawyer, became Secretary of State; John Sherman, an able financier, Secretary of the Treasury; and Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior. The other members, some of whom were reconstructed rebels, were of no particular distinction. Of course the appointment of Carl Schurz seemed to prove that he had changed his opinion as to the man who should be elected President under certain promises made by Hayes, or in the expectation of being rewarded by him if he abandoned

Tilden. That the position he took in the canvass severed our relations, which had been very amicable since we first met in the Frémont campaign of 1856, both politically and personally, was quite natural. He did, however, fill his place in the cabinet very creditably, and evidently used whatever influence he had in favor of liberal views, thereby incurring the hatred of the radicals who tried to discredit him as much as they dared.

That Hayes in spite of his defective title,—most Democrats denying him even the name of President, and speaking of him only as the President *de facto* and not *de jure*,— got along during his administration better than was expected, was principally due to the contrast which even a half-way good administration formed with the almost unparalleled corruption which made Grant's administration a by-word and a reproach.

THE RAILROAD STRIKES OF 1877

Some time in May a strike of railroad employees, commencing in New York and Pennsylvania, but soon extending through the Northwestern States, of dimensions thus far unknown in this country, diverted the people's attention from the political arrangements and intrigues going on in Washington, where the appointment of those well-known rogues, the members of the returning board and their principal coadjutors, to very lucrative offices by President Hayes, had justly given rise to very unfavorable comments upon the methods by which the electoral frauds had been accomplished.

The strike caused serious riots in many places. The State militia had to be called out, and in some cases, where railroads were in the hands of receivers appointed by United States courts, even federal troops came to the assistance of the United States marshals.

In Pittsburg a veritable battle took place; many persons were killed, and depots and shops were burnt by the strikers. It was said that more than one hundred thousand laborers were striking and were thrown out of employment.

The entire transportation business was for a time disarranged, and in one way or another many millions of dollars were lost in this movement without the least benefit to the laboring classes.

The Russo-Turkish war with its various ups and downs kept our press very busy, and, as usual, the wholly unfounded and almost ridiculous sympathies of the American people with Russia went this time again with the Czar in his unprovoked assault upon Turkey.

CHAPTER L.

From 1877 to 1880

As early as 1877 I conceived the plan of filling a certain gap in the history of German immigration, — namely, that which existed for the period commencing with the restoration of general peace after the Napoleonic wars, when immigration from Europe took a new start, particularly from Germany. Strictly speaking, I did not intend to write a statistical history of German immigration; but my object was rather to show what influence this stream of German immigrants had exercised on the people of the United States in its process of assimilation. The most obvious way of doing this I thought would be to present a series of biographies of those Germans who had made themselves known in literature, journalism, the fine arts and science, and in the field of useful inventions, and in political life. It was in consequence of this idea that I did not entitle my book a History of German Immigration, but simply, "The German Element in the United States, 1818-1848."

COMPILATION OF A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The reason I confined myself to the period between the years 1818 to 1848 was this. My esteemed friend, Frederick Kapp, with the ability and profoundness that characterized all his historical works, had published some years before a history of German immigration into the State of New York to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This work also contained many references to the immigration into the other States. There existed also some monographs of German asso-

ciations,—for instance, the "History of the German Association of Philadelphia," running back to the middle of the eighteenth century, by Oswald Seidensticker, who, as an historical writer, was a most worthy successor of Kapp. But during the revolutionary wars in Europe from 1792 to 1815, immigration almost entirely ceased, and only rose to some importance a few years after peace. That I stopped at the year 1848, was but natural. I was still engaged in the full practice of the law, and to have undertaken to carry the work further would have been too severe a drain upon my time; for since that memorable year the immigration, particularly from Germany, assumed such dimensions and brought to our shores such a vast number of Germans, who in one way or another were entitled to be noticed, that to do the subject justice volumes would have had to be written.

There was another reason for my drawing the line at the year 1848. Among the great number of men who left the Fatherland for having been involved in what was called by the victors "revolutionary" movements, and who despaired of ever seeing Germany united and free in the reactionary period following the great rising of 1848, were many highly cultured, able, and worthy men; but there also came a set of unpractical so-called reformers, mostly young, with communistic and socialistic ideas. Some of these had been journalists in the old country, and soon found places on our German press. They at once undertook to preach their doctrines, often very wild, abused the American Constitution, and denounced their countrymen who had been settled here for years as philistines (old fogies), and above all accused them of having surrendered to American notions, and of having become a degraded class, without the influence that they should have assumed to themselves. By their journals and correspondence to papers in Germany, they had succeeded in creating a sort of legend to the effect that, before the immigration commencing in 1848, the Germans here had been mere tillers of the soil or humble mechanics, subservient to their American masters, and with-

out literature or distinction in science or politics. A favorite term of theirs was that before their arrival, the German element in the United States was a mere "manure," fertilizing the soil for others to grow and flourish upon, forgetting that manure is itself the principal factor in producing fertility.

It was the object of my book, now, to set matters right, to destroy this legend, which threatened to become real history, and to invite these new-comers to look backward and to consider whether the present time was in fact so much superior to the former as they vaunted it to be. By giving accurate portraits of such men as Charles Follenius, Professor Beck of Harvard University, Dr. Francis Lieber, Dr. Adler, John Jacob Astor, Belmont, Bierstadt, General Bohlen, John B. Stallo, Von Eichthal, Drexel, Dr. George Engelmann, the celebrated botanist, Theodore Hilgard, Dr. Hassler and Julius Hilgard, both superintendents of the United States Coast Survey, C. L. Fleischmann, Paul Follenius, Frederick Muench ("Far West"), Francis Grund, Archbishop Henni, Dr. Constantine Hering, Gov. F. A. Hoffmann, Judge Arnold Krekel, Adolph Meier, Memminger, Minnigerode, Generals Moor, Kautz, and Wagener, Nordhoff, J. A. Roebling, Ruemelin, Dr. Schaff, Schele de Vere, Dr. Seidensticker, General Steinwehr, Captain Sutter, Dr. Tellkampf, General Wangelin, the journalists Edward Warrens (later of the Austrian Lloyd), William Weber, Molitor, Walker, Roeder, Klauprecht, General Weitzel, J. G. Wesselhoeft and Drs. Robert and William Wesselhoeft, and by showing how many of these "philistine" Germans had been members of Congress or of the various State legislatures, city and county officers, how many had obtained high reputation as judges, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and merchants,—I was very certain that I should contribute to giving a clearer insight into the past history of the German element than had heretofore prevailed.

Considering the limited number of German-American citizens during the thirty years comprised in my narrative as compared with the immense increase since, it seems to me that

the more recent comers have no reason to boast of any superiority over the old element.

Much time and labor were required to collect the material for the work. Von Loehr, who at a later time acquired, and justly so, great celebrity as a writer of travels and essays on culture, and who had passed a very short time in the United States, (I made his acquaintance in Belleville,) had published in 1847 what he called "History and Conditions of the Germans in the United States," which, owing to the fact of his too brief residence in the country and his almost exclusive intercourse with the Germans, was of very little help to me. The Americans he entirely underrated, while, as far as the Germans were concerned, he partly estimated them too low, and then again too high, claiming for them excellences and attainments for which there was not the least foundation. For the first ten of fifteen years, in spite of much research, my sources were very limited. There were a number of large and small books of the character of guides for immigrants, but useless for my purpose. Other publications were intended to attract attention to particular places and were written in the spirit of advertisements, or were mere relations of travels, such as the travels of Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar. But for the later periods material was abundant. The files of the "New and Old World" edited by J. G. Wesselhoeft in Philadelphia, from 1836-1844, those of the "Anzeiger des Westens" in St. Louis from 1835-1850, also files of Cincinnati and Belleville papers, and above all eleven volumes of the "German Pioneer," published at Cincinnati from 1869-1879, I had at my disposal. The last magazine under the editorship of the highly talented, indefatigable and most zealous historian, Henry A. Rattermann of Cincinnati, furnished a collection of most valuable incidents of German immigration, particularly in Ohio, and of biographical sketches of Germans of notoriety, which in point of conscientious accuracy of facts and beauty of style left nothing to be desired.

I entered upon a very extensive correspondence with

friends in almost every State for information, and received letters, pamphlets, documents and biographical sketches in great numbers. The widow of Dr. Lieber sent me books and pamphlets from her husband, nearly all out of print; Mr. Belmont also sent me reports and speeches made by him. To Rattermann, however, I was obliged for the most copious information and for books and pamphlets bearing upon the subject treated by me. It was an *embarras de richesses*; so I had to curtail a great deal. Rattermann also did the first proof-reading, the book being printed in Cincinnati, and added to it an index so full and so accurate as to make it very convenient for the reader. I must say that working on the "Element" became really a labor of love to me, and I could not have employed my leisure hours more happily.

THE GREENBACK OR NATIONAL PARTY

There being no Presidential election this year, there was not very much excitement, at least in our State, and I felt no interest except in the election of members for Congress. Congress having passed a law fixing the time for redeeming the treasury notes or greenbacks in coin, as well as for the paying of the interest on the bonds and the bonds themselves in gold, the old idea which had here and there cropped up during the war, that our national debt, treasury-notes included, should be paid not in money but in other promises to pay, viz. greenbacks, was taken up zealously, particularly by the farming community of the West; and agitators in Maine, Ohio, Massachusetts, and some other States had already made use of this craze to their advantage. In 1876 the reformer and philanthropist millionaire, Peter Cooper of New York, had been made the candidate of these malcontents, called "greenbackers;" but he received only an insignificant part of the popular vote. This year, however, great efforts were made to realize the financial heresies of that party, and their views met with the views of another party, called the labor party, which had shown its strength in the great strikes of

the past year. These elements united in convention at Toledo, and got up a program which embodied all the economical errors that had ever found favor with the unthinking.

After pronouncing the money-lenders, bankers and bondholders, and the subsidized press of the country, as the source of all the unparalleled distress and poverty, they declared that it was the exclusive function of governments to coin and create money and regulate its value. The word "create" was an interpolation into the words of the Constitution which authorized Congress to coin money and regulate its value. No bank notes should be issued; even national banks were to be abolished; all paper was to be issued by the government, and to be legal payment for all debts; government bonds were to be taxed like other property; silver was to be coined the same as gold; Congress was to issue money enough for the full employment of labor, and should fix a maximum per capita; no public land was to be sold, but was to be donated to actual settlers; the government was to protect all agricultural, mining, mechanical, commercial and manufacturing labor; the hours of labor were to be reduced; legislation should be so directed that every man and woman might by their own efforts secure a competency; Chinese immigration was to be stopped; and the contract system of employing laborers in our prisons was to be abolished.

This new, or rather resuscitated, Greenback and Labor party assumed the name of National party, and threw much confusion into the Congressional and State elections of this year. Both the Democratic and Republican parties became alarmed and tried to curry favor with this, in fact unknown quantity. Where the Democrats were in a hopeless minority, they formed an alliance with the Nationals; and the Republicans, where in a similar condition, did the same thing. In our Congressional district, in spite of the coalition of the Republicans and Greenbackers, we elected Morrison by a large majority, though not as large as it had been two years before. The Democrats kept their majority in the Lower House of Congress, though

about a dozen Nationals were elected. In a short time those members, with one or two exceptions, returned to the party they formerly belonged to, as is usual with such new-fangled class parties.

DEATHS OF DR. ADOLPH REUSS AND SIDNEY BREESE

I lost this year (1878) two of my oldest friends by death. The first was Dr. Adolph Reuss, with whom I had been on the most friendly terms since the year 1834, when he became a neighbor of the Engelmanns. He was one of the most straightforward, truthful men I ever knew; active and energetic, fond of his profession, keeping abreast of the progress of medical science, and at the same time a practical farmer. He left a rare and costly library, outside of his professional books and recent American publications. It was an inheritance from his ancestors, patricians of the city of Frankfort. It contained the complete works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Molière, Fielding, Grandison, all the German classics, large folios of engravings, tableaus of Switzerland and Italy, Montfauçon's celebrated work on antiquities,—all and many others, in the best editions, solidly and elegantly bound, and marked by the coat-of-arms of the Reuss family.

The other friend was Judge Sidney Breese, my acquaintance with whom commenced as early as 1835. Seventy-eight years of age, and still holding the office of supreme judge, he passed away unexpectedly to himself and others within a few hours of a failure of his heart while on a visit to one of his sons at Pinckneyville. He was a most dignified and venerable old gentleman, in the full possession of his mental and physical powers, and still a very handsome man. His face was really classical, resembling much that of the first Napoleon. I have spoken of him repeatedly in these reminiscences. He was not prone to form cordial friendships. But, as far as lay in his nature, I believe he liked me better than most of his associates and ordinary friends. In looking over his letters, of which I must have nearly one hundred, while

preparing this memorial, I find that they all express a warm and often too flattering opinion of myself; and I know that he always expressed himself very favorably regarding me to others. He was not only a very talented and excellent jurist, but there was also an originality about him which might almost be called genius. I regretted his loss; but it is the fate of age to be darkened by becoming with every year more and more lonesome.

VISITS TO LA SALLE AND ITS ENVIRONS

If politically 1878 was not a very exciting time, the year 1879 was even less so. We visited Bloomington, Chicago and some other places, particularly La Salle. Ever since Henry and Mary had become permanently settled in La Salle, Sophie and I spent several weeks every year at that place, sometimes making two pilgrimages in one year. La Salle became almost our second home. It is very finely situated on the Illinois River, which flows here through a very wide valley, with high bluffs on either side. From the north the Little Vermilion and from the south, some distance above, the Big Vermilion, empty into the Illinois river, forming lateral valleys. Some distance up the Big Vermilion is the picturesque Deer Park, with its deep cañon, through which rushes a clear brook, and still farther up, are Bailey's Falls, also quite an interesting sight. A fifteen minutes' ride in the cars takes you to Utica, opposite which, on the south side of the river, is Starved Rock, which was hardly accessible when we first saw it, and about which cluster a number of Indian legends. From the top of this height, and indeed from all the high bluffs farther up the river, one has a charming view of the Illinois valley toward Ottawa, which is about ten miles to the east. Ottawa is also most romantically situated at the conflux of the Illinois and Fox Rivers. It is handsomely built up, being one of the finest cities in Illinois; and a number of villas crown the bluffs of the rivers. My friend, Judge Caton, had his summer residence here, and adjoining it a large park, part of which is en-

closed by a high stockade, and was stocked with a large number of Canadian deer and elk. As we frequently visited Ottawa, we met my old friend several times at his hospitable home. Most of the time we extended our excursions to Chicago, only a four hours' ride. Spring Valley, about three miles west of LaSalle, and Peru, the sister city of La Salle, are also highly picturesque places. Trips down the river to shady banks or islands are often made by picnicking parties.

Socially we could not enjoy ourselves better. Owing to the large zinc works, rolling-mill, sulphuric acid manufactory and extensive coal-mines, owned by two highly intelligent Germans, Messrs. Matthiessen and Hegeler, quite a number of highly educated gentlemen are employed by this firm as superintendents, geologists, and metallurgists. The principals live in handsome houses, filled with large and elegant libraries, paintings, engravings and bronzes. Their residences are surrounded by fine lawns and parks. Gymnasiums, billiard rooms, tenpin alleys, and in fact everything that is now called "modern improvements" are to be found in these almost palatial residences. Mary and Henry were quite at home at the Hegelers', and we also enjoyed in full measure their most kind hospitality. These frequent visits to La Salle, the constant improvement of which and of its sister city, Peru, we watched with much interest, were bright spots in our lives.

During this summer Gustave and his family had been away for weeks in Chicago, Green Bay and Marquette, recruiting; for both he and his wife had been ill in the spring. Augusta, who also needed rest, was with the Judge in Colorado, where she recovered her health, high in the mountains at Empire near Georgetown.

DEATH OF GENERAL SHIELDS

It was during this summer that we received the news of the death of General Shields. Not very long before, he had paid me a visit at Belleville. His health had been much impaired, yet he was active almost to the hour of his death.

He had been lately placed on the retired list with an adequate pension, which he much needed, for though he had filled numerous and important offices, among others having represented three different States in the United States Senate, and though he never lived extravagantly, he was in his old age as poor almost as when he started in life as a school-teacher in the ancient town of Kaskaskia. Of late, as he could not live without some work and excitement, he had been delivering lectures in that part of Missouri where he lived, upon invitation; the subject being his various experiences in Mexico and in the late war, and his early pioneer life in Illinois and Minnesota. It was on one of these lecturing tours that he was taken suddenly sick and died. Having been for nearly forty years in the closest relations with him, his death was another loss to me.

APPEARANCE OF "THE GERMAN ELEMENT"

Early in 1880, my book, "The German Element,"[1] was published. As far as the reviews in the public press both in the United States and Germany were concerned, it met with great favor; and many private letters of competent persons expressed a highly favorable opinion of it. Nevertheless the sale of the book proceeded slowly. There were several reasons for this. The firm in Cincinnati that published it put a higher price on it than they had agreed upon; while the local papers in the larger cities, such as Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia, without leave or license, literally copied the biographies of their respective citizens who were of any prominence, thus taking as it were, the cream of the book to serve it to their readers and to satisfy their curiosity. But perhaps the principal reason, (nowhere assigned, however), was that the book but half pleased many of those who had been forward in claiming for the later immigration after 1850, all the influence that the German element had ever

1. "Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, 1818-1849, Von Gustave Körner, Cincinnati: A. E. Wilde & Co. 1880.

exercised. They felt that their contentions would by the book be considerably modified. As far as they controlled the press, they spoke well enough of the book; but I soon learned that there was an undercurrent working against it. As I had not written the book for pecuniary profit, but solely for my own satisfaction, the favorable criticism of the principal organs of the press on both sides of the Atlantic, and of such judges as Frederick Kapp, Frederick Muench, Oswald Seidensticker, Henry Rattermann, the editor of the "New York Nation," Frederick Bodenstedt, Theodore Poesche, and Professor De Vere, amply repaid me for the labor I had devoted to the work.

MIRZA SHAFFY BODENSTEDT

Apropos of Mirza Shaffy Bodenstedt, who had in the fall of 1879 paid a visit to the United States, I had just learned from our Mary at La Salle that he had been the guest of Mr. Hegeler, a great admirer of Bodenstedt, and had called upon Henry and Mary, he being in fact related to the Engelmann family, his daughter having married a son of Dr. Karl Engelmann of Kreuznach, a cousin of Henry and Mary. He said he was coming to Belleville, and, if asked, would give a lecture there. Mary at once told him to stop at our house, which invitation he accepted. After staying a few days in St. Louis he came over to Belleville on the 4th of April, 1880, and was escorted by a committee to our house. He made himself at once at home. Sophie took him out to Adolph's and Josephine's farms, of which visit he speaks in his book, "From the Atlantic to the Pacific," with a sort of enthusiasm. The next day I drove him around the environs of Belleville. That evening he delivered a lecture,—I forget on what subject,—for during our ride in the sharp air I had for almost the only time in my life contracted a most violent toothache. The lecture over, our Belleville literary men gave him a fine banquet. As usual, he improvised a rhymed toast, which was answered by our Gustave, also in impromptu verses. Our Belleville patriotism thought that Gustave had rather beaten

Mirza Shaffy. According to his account in his book, he enjoyed himself exceedingly in Belleville, and gave it a good puff. He did not look at all like an idealistic poet, but rather like a true Persian lover of Bacchus. He had a sturdy frame and a square Westphalian head, and item shoulders.

At our first breakfast, when we had some good Rhine wine, he spoke very contemptuously of American wines, which he said they had treated him with at Buffalo, Cleveland and Cincinnati. As he spoke as one who was a connoisseur of wines, I thought I would give him a trial. At dinner in the evening I placed first on the table some old, well-seasoned Norton Virginia Seedling, from Theodore's vineyard. He drank it with great gusto, remarking that it was a very fine wine; he supposed, he said, it was Burgundy. When I laughingly told him it was St. Clair County wine, he would hardly believe me, and said he would have to modify his opinion about American wines. I must do him the justice, however, of saying that good Norton has really the body of Burgundy, and can never be taken for Bordeaux. Out at Adolph's farm he drank also Catawba of excellent quality, which he said was quite different from the Kelley's Island and Cincinnati Catwba.

LETTER FROM DR. BRUNK

Some time in June, I was much surprised by receiving a letter from my old friend, Dr. Brunk, written in pencil and dated Vadsoe, northeast coast of Norway. He had the year before gone to Europe, had settled for some months at Siena, from which place he had written me several letters, but for the last six months I had not heard from him. From Italy, it appears, he had gone to Greece, had written to me from Athens, which letter I however never recieved, had then gone to Constantinople, and from there through Germany to Norway.

"The object of my journey to Norway," he writes, "was to realize a wish of my early youth to see the midnight sun, and to be at least for a few days on the spot on earth where there is no night. On the 8th of May, a little north of Bergen I saw the sun rise and the sun set with incomparable lustre,

the shades of light fusing into one another. In the night of the 3rd and 4th of June, I saw for the first time the midnight sun. A wonderful formation of clouds in all shades above, and in the southwest a group of snow-clad high mountains, was a sight I never had viewed before and shall never see again, and which worked like a charm on me. Even the rough sailors, who must have known these phenomena for years, gathered on the deck and seemed wrapt in astonishment."

THE THIRD TERM IDEA AND THE NOMINATION OF GARFIELD (1880)

About this time the Presidential contest began to set in with bitter earnest. General Grant had made a tour around the world in government vessels, had visited all the courts of Europe and also those of civilized Asia, returning by way of China and Japan to San Francisco. Our ministers and consuls had been properly instructed to give due notice of his arrival and have the people prepared for his reception. He met, of course, as the most successful general in the Union Army, everywhere with great ovations, duly cabled in the most glowing terms by his retinue. The most elaborate preparations had been made at San Francisco to hail his arrival in this country. For three days the most luxurious demonstrations were showered upon him. His triumphal march progressed by the southern route to Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois. Even in the South, he was cordially received, and in a speech he made at Cairo, he spoke of the Southern men, saying that he found them as loyal and as well disposed to the Union as the Northern men. It was evident from the very time he landed on the Pacific coast, that all these uproarious demonstrations had been gotten up for one object,—the nomination of the General for a third term. Mr. Hayes, owing to the abnormal circumstances to which he owed his election, felt himself not very comfortable in his position. In order to induce the Southern members of Congress to vote for the electoral bill, he had to make concessions and to lay himself under certain pledges. He appointed two Southern men in his cabinet, and J. B. Harlan, a Kentuckian,

on the Supreme Bench. Carl Schurz, a civil-service reformer, was also made a member of his cabinet. He removed Chester Arthur, an out-and-out machine politician from the collectorship of the port of New York, as he stated in his letter of removal, for the reason that the office should be honestly conducted. He ordered all the troops away from the Southern States, which had been placed there under the pretense of protecting the purity of elections.

All this was gall and wormwood to such radicals as Conkling, Chandler, Logan, Sherman, Kasson, Ferry, and many others of the same stamp. The radical opposition was so strong as to drive Mr. Hayes out of the ring of available candidates. By unusual efforts at the Republican National Convention at Chicago some three hundred delegates came there pledged for Grant. Blaine was the strongest candidate after him, and then Sherman. Washburne of Illinois, who, however, had publicly announced himself as not a candidate and in favor of Grant, got some thirty votes, mostly from Germans who represented a German constituency. Garfield got one or two votes on the different ballots. He was at the head of the Ohio delegation, and had nominated Sherman in a most eloquent speech, which at once raised great enthusiasm for him. It was a most wonderful and adroit address. Setting forth the requirements of an ideal statesman, who, and no other, should be nominated, he pictured a portrait to which not Sherman, but evidently Garfield sat as a model. When at the end he applied it to the cold-hearted, unmilitary, scheming Sherman, it was a "lame and impotent conclusion." The "Stalwarts," as they were called, stuck to Grant to the very last, through some thirty or forty ballots, but then all opposition as by inspiration centered on Garfield, and he was nominated. As Blaine was made by him Secretary of State, there was some faint suspicion of what, in political slang, is called a "deal."

The convention lasted several days and it is said that behind the scenes there was a wonderful amount of Machia-

vellian policy transacted. How Sherman felt toward Garfield I am unable to say, but Grant openly charged his defeat to Washburne, whom he accused of duplicity and ingratitude, and to whom, as General Grant told me later, he never afterwards spoke. It is doubtful, however, whether Grant was not more indebted to Washburne for his success, than Washburne to him. From my rather intimate knowledge of Washburne, I am inclined to believe that Grant was mistaken. The Washburne vote would never have gone to Grant but to Blaine, and Washburne really did not play double, but was sincere in refusing to become a candidate.

Garfield intellectually was certainly well fitted for the highest office. Raised on a farm in comparative poverty, by his own exertions in teaching and the help of some friends he acquired not only a good common school but a classical education at an excellent college. After graduating he became a teacher at Hiram College in Ohio, and in a few years president of that institution. Though an excellent scholar in the ancient languages and very fond of his profession as a teacher, he had a remarkable bias towards politics. A year or so before our civil war he was elected to the Ohio Senate, and at once made his mark as a logical and fluent speaker. Soon after the fall of Fort Sumter he acted as a sort of agent for the Governor of Ohio, coming to Springfield for the purpose of obtaining arms from our State for Ohio. As I have already related, it was then that I made his acquaintance. Tall and well-built, with regular and interesting features, fluent of speech and enthusiastic in the cause of the Union, he made a very favorable impression on me. I have also mentioned my later meeting with him, when he was in Congress. On his return from Springfield, he entered the army, raised a full company of students from Hiram College, which company was attached to the 42nd Ohio infantry, of which he was elected colonel. Under Buell's command he was made a brigadier-general, and afterwards was placed under General Rosecrans, whose chief of staff he became in the Tennessee campaign of 1863. After

the unfortunate battle of Chickamauga, he was made a major-general, but resigned, having been elected to Congress. His services in the army were creditable, but his Congressional career was more brilliant. He very soon became one of the principal leaders of the Republican party. While his eloquence was not of a kind to capture large promiscuous crowds, it was highly effective in legislative bodies. He was a persuasive, plausible speaker, and although he often indulged in rhetorical flights, they were tempered by the taste which persons of classical education are apt to acquire. Perhaps it may be said that he did not show any new or profound thoughts, but this lack helped him with the average Congressman. He was eminently practical, and soon acquired an excellent knowledge of economical and financial questions, so that combining with superior intellect great energy, industry and shrewdness, he became the very beau ideal of a party leader.

The opposition could not successfully contest his intellectual powers, and hence his eminent qualification for the office he sought. They were compelled by necessity rather to probe his Congressional record, and here unfortunately his shining armor offered many crevices. This made the contest a very personal and disagreeable, not to say painful, one. His connection with the Crédit Mobilier scandal; his vote to exempt from taxation whiskey on hand when the tax was doubled, while he at first opposed this exemption, by which the government lost many millions; his voting to postpone the first mortgage on the Union Pacific railroad for the sixty millions loaned by the government to the road in favor of the mortgage of the bondholders, for all of which doings he had been severely blamed, not only by the Democratic press, but by some of the leading papers of his own party,—were now resurrected, and of course, most bitterly denounced. His advisory assistance to the Louisiana returning board, his inconsistency on the Electoral Commission, were also not forgotten by the Democrats. As the Democratic candidate was intellectually and morally unassailable, the Republican party

was driven to the mode of warfare which was supposed to have been buried, the stirring up of sectional hatred, and the lusty "waving of the bloody shirt." There was little difference between the platforms of the two parties. It was essentially a fight for power, and such contests are always more or less demoralizing.

HANCOCK NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

In the latter part of June the Democratic party held its national convention at Cincinnati. I was not a delegate to it; but as my friend, William Morrison, was (somewhat against my advice) a candidate for the Presidential nomination, I went there in place of Gustave, who had been appointed a delegate, but was prevented from attending.

Bayard, of Delaware, had his own and many Southern States in his favor. Thurman was supported from his own State; Hendricks by his; Randall by Pennsylvania; and Tilden by the regular delegation from New York and by a great many from other States. Hancock had also a great many supporters. The Illinois delegation was divided, a majority being for Morrison, some for Trumbull, others for Palmer, and others for Judge Davis. In a general meeting of the Illinois delegates, the night before the Convention met, there was a long and passionate discussion. General Palmer, himself, was present. While perhaps Palmer would have been agreed upon, Morrison's friends had canvassed the delegates from the other States, and it was found that while Palmer could thus far only rely upon his own State, Morrison had about as many delegates in the other States as Illinois had which would vote for him on the very first ballot, and that he was pretty sure, if Bayard was dropped, to get nearly the latter's entire vote. So, after much discussion and a most lively debate, the Illinois delegation agreed to nominate Morrison as one of the candidates for the Presidency. Of course, Tilden could have been nominated by acclamation. But he had in a long letter declined, giving as one of his reasons, that his nomination, as it had

been strongly opposed by a faction of the Democratic party in the city of New York in 1876, would probably be again opposed in the convention, and might lead to a split, highly endangering Democratic success.

There appeared under the lead of Kelly, the Tammany Chief, an anti-Tilden delegation in Cincinnati, but it was not admitted; and Tilden would have been nominated, had he not again by telegram most positively declined. The immense exposition building was as usual crowded to suffocation. S. W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, was made permanent president. On the second day one ballot was taken, Bayard receiving 151, and Hancock 171 votes; none of the other candidates reached 100 votes. Morrison had 62 votes more than Thurman or Hendricks. During the night many meetings were held, and some delegations, among others, the Illinois delegation, concluded to support Hancock on the next ballot. When on the third day Illinois was called the State cast its 42 votes for Hancock. This created quite a revolution. Wisconsin changed also for Hancock, so did New Jersey, so did Pennsylvania and finally Ohio. The States, after these changes, were called over again, and the result was that Hancock received 705 votes, and Hendricks 30 votes, a few scattering. The nomination was then made unanimous. William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-President.

If Garfield was a man of prepossessing appearance, General Hancock was still more so. Descended from an ancestry of soldiers in the war of independence, he was a native of Philadelphia and had received an academic education. At sixteen years of age he entered the military academy at West Point, went through all the battles in Mexico under General Scott, and at the outbreak of the rebellion was stationed at Los Angeles as captain and quartermaster. Though brought up by his father as a Democrat and having always been one, he amidst a population with strong tendencies against making war on the South, at once made a public address which concluded with these memorable words: "The government resulting

from the union of these States, is a priceless heritage that we intend to preserve and defend to the last extremity." Applying to General Scott to be transferred East for active service, Scott, knowing his military merits and his unflagging loyalty, at once complied with his request, and upon his recommendation, President Lincoln made him a brigadier-general of volunteers. His conduct during the war is a matter of history. He was undoubtedly the bravest and ablest corps-commander of the army. He was the real hero of Gettysburg, which battle broke the backbone of the rebellion, and in it he was almost fatally wounded. After the war he was made a full major-general of the army and at the time of his nomination was the senior major-general, commanding the Atlantic military district with headquarters at New York.

When in reconstruction times he had been made military governor of the southwestern district, comprising the States of Louisiana, Texas and the other Gulf States, he showed himself a thorough statesman. In his proclamations, his correspondence with the governors of Louisiana and Texas, the mayor of New Orleans and other authorities, all exceedingly well written and argued, he drew a sharp line between military rule and government, insisting that the civil law in time of peace should always be paramount to military rules, refusing to interfere in all places where regular courts could be held and where the civil magistrates and executive officers were not forcibly interfered with. Unlike other army officers, he made no use of the almost unlimited and arbitrary power which was laid in his hands at a time when the Constitution and the laws were not always considered binding upon those who had been in the rebellion, though peace had been publicly declared for two years before he entered into his office. Of course he became at once an object of hatred to the radicals then ruling in Congress with a high hand, was denounced by their organs, and crossed and hampered by orders from Washington, so that he himself asked to be relieved from his command. During the war he had not been one of the many poli-

tical generals, but had closely devoted himself to the performance of his military duty. It was only after the war that the public eye had been directed toward him,—as a soldier than whom none was more brilliant, and as a private person of unspotted reputation. He was far superior as a statesman to some of our Presidents who had been taken up on account of their military services.

William H. English, of Indiana, had made some mark in Congress at the time of the Nebraska troubles, but was a politician of the ordinary size. His great wealth may have had some influence in his obtaining the nomination. But as Governor Hendricks had failed as a Presidential candidate, and had refused to take the second place, it was thought by his nomination to placate the somewhat disappointed Indiana politicians. As the Republican nominee for Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, was a mere New York machine politician, who had been removed from his office as collector of the port, in order that the office "should be honestly administered," as Governor Hayes had remarked in his order of removal, it was about a stand-off between the Vice-Presidential candidates, with a shade of difference in favor of English.

The Democratic party received the news of the nomination of General Hancock with great unanimity and enthusiasm, and even the Republicans appeared to have no fault to find with the character and the qualifications of the nominee. Indeed, the prospects of his success at that time and even up to the day of election seemed to be very bright.

CHAPTER LI.

1880 to 1883

Roderick and Augusta had repeatedly spent part of the summer months in Colorado, and had told us so much of its beauties that we thought of making an excursion this summer into that wonderland. The Judge was to start for his mine in July, 1880. I invited our Mary, with little Mary Detharding, to be of the party. With Sophie and myself was Josie Voelker, a grandniece of my deceased brother-in-law, John Scheel, whom, after the death of her mother, we took into our family and brought up as a daughter. She was then but four or five years old, and at the time we went to Colorado, about eleven years. We had taken a state-room to ourselves, where we retired when we felt like it, being thus undisturbed by the rest of the passengers. There were at that time no dining-cars on the line we took, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, nor, I believe, on any other line west of the Mississippi River. The dining-houses, however, on the road being generally very indifferent and the water on the plains alkaline, it was then the custom for parties to lay in large baskets with provisions and liquors to mix with the saltish water of the plains,—hams, tongues, chocolate, all kinds of preserves, cold tea in bottles, claret and cognac, crackers and cheese. Fresh bread one could get at the larger places on the line. Where we stopped to breakfast, the porters brought in warm coffee. Indeed, we fared sumptuously.

A TRIP TO COLORADO (1880)

We left St. Louis in the morning of the 15th of July, found the country west of Sedalia very fertile and well culti-

vated, met Judge Rombauer at Kansas City, which surprised us by its size, its beautiful location on the bluffs, and its fine hotels. Next morning we started west, followed some distance the Kansas River, but found the western half of Kansas, until we reached the Arkansas River, extremely monotonous, not to say barren. It is here where the plains commence, extending to the very foot of the Rocky Mountains. The Arkansas River, which we passed several times, is lined with cotton trees; but where there are no creeks, the country appears like a vast desert, covered with wild sage bushes, low buffalo grass and a species of small sun-flowers. Passing by Fort Lyons, where the Las Animas River from the south puts into the Arkansas River, we reached La Junta, where the road branches off toward Santa Fé. On the third day after we had left St. Louis we arrived at Pueblo, about noon, and entered at once the cars of the Denver Rio Grande Road (narrow gauge) for Colorado Springs. This road ran along the Fontaine Qui Bouille, usually called Fountain Creek, which descends from Pike's Peak, is generally a small rivulet, but sometimes after heavy rains or when the snow melts, comes down a furious rushing stream, carrying away trestles and bridges and overflowing low places for miles. A day or two before we got to Pueblo, it had cut into the railroad in many places, and all along we saw hands at work patching up the holes and repairing bridges. About four or five o'clock in the evening we reached Colorado Springs and met with quite a surprise. The moment our train stopped we heard an immense cheering, and a brass band playing. When we went out on the platform, there was a loud cry, "There he is," "There he comes at last," and a committee rushed upon the platform of the car, while a great crowd continued hurrahing. They had expected General Grant, who was going to spend some time at Manitou, on the train, but he had missed the connections at Pueblo. We had not heard anything about his being on the road, and, of course, could not explain to ourselves why we should be so gloriously received, for, besides our party, the rest of our

passengers were miners, Mexicans and some half-breed Indians. After we got through the crowd, we were most agreeably surprised by being received by Otto Tittmann, who was out with a surveying party on the Divide, he being at that time employed in the Bureau of the Geodetic Survey at Washington. He had been apprised of our coming by Dr. Julius Tyndale, who was at present residing at Manitou, practicing his profession, and who had been informed of our coming by letters from St. Louis. He at once took us up a slight rise to the city and saw us quartered at the hotel.

The evening was a beautiful one and we had a glorious view of Pike's Peak right opposite Colorado Springs. As the snow-line does not commence in these mountains till about 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, the highest top only was covered with snow and ice. This, however, was almost the only time during the two days we stopped at Colorado Springs that we saw the peak unclouded. Next morning we took a carriage, went to Glen Eyrie, about eight miles to the northwest, a fine palatial summer residence of a railroad magnate, imbedded in a group of isolated sand-stone rocks, several hundred feet high. Then we turned south into the celebrated Garden of the Gods, a little valley penned in by mountains and sandstone cliffs. Within this enclosure stand a number of rocks of soft red and white sandstone, of most grotesque form, and rising in some cases to a perpendicular height of over 300 feet. From there we went to the watering-place of Manitou, situated at the foot of the hills forming the base of Pike's Peak on Fountain Creek, and sheltered all around by high hills. These places are so well known, that even if I were able to set forth their various beauties, it would be a work of supererogation. The principal springs contain mostly soda, and are of the temperature of Wiesbaden water. The contents of the cold spring, farther up on the hill-side, are principally iron,—what is called in Germany a steel spring,—and somewhat similar to the Schwalbach water. It has, how-

ever, a far pleasanter taste. We took dinner at Dr. Tyndale's, who had leased the cold spring and had built near it a sanitarium.

MEETING WITH GENERAL GRANT

Returning from his residence, and driving through the main street of the small town, we stopped a moment at the lower end of the largest hotel to water our horses, when Mr. Shepley, one of my lawyer friends from St. Louis, came down from the porch and approached our carriage, saying that on the other side of the house was General Grant, who had recognized me when we drove by, and that I certainly should call upon him. I tried to decline, as I had taken since 1872 a determined stand against his policy. But he had seen me, Shepley said, and from what he told me, I thought it would be rather offensive if I did not pay him my respects. So I took little Mary Detharding by the hand and walked around with Shepley to the end of the porch, where the General was sitting by himself. He rose and shook hands quite cordially, at once offered me a cigar, took hold of little Mary and shook hands with her. Then we chatted a while; but as the rest of the party was still in the carriage waiting, I shortened the conversation. Yet he told me a good deal about his late travels, particularly about Spain; how he had been received by young King Alphonso at Valladolid or Victoria, I forget which, where great military manœuvers were going on; how he was surprised by the excellence of the Spanish troops; how he happened by accident to be only a few steps from the spot, where some young man fired a pistol shot at the King, in the Calle Major at Madrid. He spoke of the bull-fights, also about Louis Napoleon and Eugenie. Had I not excused myself on account of my party waiting for me, he would have kept up the conversation much longer.

General Grant is often reported as having been very taciturn and reserved. He may have been so where the company was large, but I always found him very free of speech and not without occasional good humor, as well when he conversed

with me in my office in the State House at Springfield when we were organizing our troops after the President's first call, as when I visited him after the war at his residence in Georgetown, or when, at a later period, I met him at Lake Minnetonka and at Portland.

We went up the Ute Pass road to the Rainbow Falls, where the Fountain Creek dashes over a succession of granite rocks. I believe I have never seen a watering-place where the immediate surroundings are more beautiful and interesting.

SCENERY AND SIGHTS OF COLORADO

In company with the Shepley family we also made an excursion into the Cheyenne Cañon, a beautiful mountain gorge, enclosed by high granite walls, from which the Cheyenne Brook rushes down in many silvery cascades. There is one thing, however, which struck me here for the first time as spoiling much of the sentimental and romantic feeling attaching to highly picturesque and often enchanting places that attract visitors. Not only do you meet on the roads leading to them all sorts of big placards advertising quack medicines, soaps, wagon-grease, etc., nailed or glued to trees or rocks, but wherever there is a fine place for an outlook or a cascade, or a fine grassy spot to rest on, the remains of innumerable picnics are scattered about: empty bottles, broken glasses, paper bags, newspapers, chicken bones, and tin cans by the hundreds. If all the empty tin cans scattered about Colorado could be gathered, a solid tower as high as the Eiffel Tower could be built, with a cathedral as big as St. Paul's in London adjoining it. I do not see, however, how this can be helped, for our party in the Cheyenne Cañon was as guilty as our unknown predecessors. We also picnicked, and left all our empty bottles and cans behind us, to be cursed by the next philosophic visitor. I may mention here once for all another feature of all watering-places in the mountains, and in the great parks that divide the first mountain range of the Rockies from the second. The staying in hotels in such places is ex-

pensive, particularly for large families. Consequently, many people of neighboring cities and towns and many farmers who are seeking health or exercise, pitch their tents all around these springs; they bring with them their beds, household or kitchen furniture, cooking stoves and plenty of provisions. They stay sometimes for months. I have been in some of these tents, where I found not only nice carpets and elegant furniture but even mirrors, paintings and engravings. For invalids and young children, during the hot summer months, no better sanitariums could be provided than those tent-villages.

On returning from this grand cañon, we encountered one of those phenomena so frequent in the mountains. The morning and noon had been bright and sunny; but we hardly left the glen, when dark clouds rose. A strong gust of wind almost upset our landau, the cloud burst and a torrent of half rain and half hail came down upon us. Hardly, however, had we raised the roof of our carriage to protect ourselves from the storm, when all at once the sky cleared, and before we reached Colorado Springs the weather was beautiful again, though Pike's Peak and the adjoining heights were wrapped in dark clouds. Several times during our stay we had similar experiences.

From Colorado Springs to Denver we passed some very fine scenery, arriving there in the evening, and finding the city much surpassing our very high expectations. The view of the mountain range is exquisite. Toward the north, one of the highest peaks is Long's; the most southern to be seen from here is Pike's. There is very little difference between the higher mountains; they all reach an altitude of from 13,000 to 14,000 feet. They do not appear so high from the plains, for Denver and Colorado Springs are already a little over 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. We stopped at the Windsor, a magnificent hotel, though there are several others nearly as good. It is a beautiful city, and we took a good look at it.

About the 20th of July we went on the Colorado Central Railroad to Golden at the foot of the mountains, where we entered the much celebrated Clear Creek Cañon. There was attached to the ordinary passenger car, what was called a prospect car, open on both sides, which of course gave one a better view of this most romantic scenery. The road is in places fearfully steep and the very light train sometimes had to be moved by an additional locomotive in the rear. We passed Idaho Springs, arriving at a small signal-station about ten miles from Idaho Springs, where we were met by a little one-horse spring wagon, which took up the mail. Sophie, myself, and little Mary rode, while the others walked up a pretty steep hill, until we all reached a little straggling village, hardly even deserving that name, (for it had not more than about one dozen houses), but enjoying the grandiloquent appellation of Empire. It is about a mile and a half from the station, but on the much traveled stage-road leading from Georgetown to the celebrated Sulphur Springs in Middle Park, and on the banks of Clear Creek. A mile or more above Empire was Roderick's gold mine, and still further above, the hydraulic works by which the auriferous rocks were broken into small pieces. On a rise in Empire stood a story and a half frame-house of the style of one of our western farm houses, having in front a large veranda. It was a rural boarding house, called the Peck House, which Roderick for many years made his headquarters. Mr. and Mrs. Peck were comparatively young people. His father, a physician, had lived in Chicago, had seen better times, and was quite respected there, but had finally retreated to this romantic but very strange place, where he had died some years before, leaving his widow, quite an intelligent and well educated lady, in possession of this property. Rooms had been engaged for us, and we soon felt at home. I found, however, that the place was a little too elevated for a long stay, at least for me. Its height is 8,400 feet. In spite of long and arduous walks and rides, I could

not sleep much. I felt a good deal as I did the first year in Madrid: it affected my nerves.

One of the first excursions we made was to Georgetown, about five miles south of Empire. Over the mountains the road is very steep, often very narrow. It reminded me very forcibly of the Grimsel Pass and the Maienwand. I rode on horseback, the rest of the party in an open wagon. Georgetown was then a booming city, a real mining-town, almost buried in high mountains. One of the most charming points which we visited was Twin Lakes, three miles above Georgetown. The road is fearfully steep. In fact, in coming down, it is almost impossible to keep one's seat on a horse, and at some places I preferred to dismount. About one thousand feet above Georgetown there is a plateau, on which stands a large pavilion for the rest and pleasure of visitors. It borders on a most beautiful lake, about a mile in length and a half a mile in breadth, enclosed by well-timbered, often perpendicular heights. The lake was stocked at that time with numberless trout, which were playing about in the clear transparent water. No fishing is allowed except by the lessee of the lakes. We took a boat and rowed to the far end of the lake, where we sat down on rocks and lunched. Roderick, Mary and Josie climbed up an almost perpendicular rock some hundred feet to a cave. While Sophie, little Mary and myself were awaiting their return, all of a sudden a fearful thunderstorm sprang up, and flashes of lightning came down in quick succession, with no interval between the claps of thunder. The noise within this rocky enclosure made by the claps of thunder was terrific. We, down below, took shelter under some big pine trees and our umbrellas; fortunately in about ten minutes everything was over. The other lake, about a half a mile from the first, we did not visit, the road being too rocky and slippery from the rain. Crossing the lake on our return, it was as still and smooth as it was in the morning. Indeed, I was much astonished to see it quite undisturbed even through the violent

storm. It being closely surrounded by mountains several thousand feet above, they may have protected it against the gale.

On our return we found a letter from Gustave, informing us of the serious sickness of his baby, Félicité, though her recovery was then expected. Of course we felt a good deal of anxiety, and if Sophie and myself had been alone, we should have returned at once.

One of the most interesting and pleasant tours we made from Empire was to Berthoud's Pass on the road to Middle Park, about fifteen miles distant. Through splendid pine forests, along rushing brooks on whose banks grew a wealth of highly colored alpine-like flowers, calling back to our mind the flowery slopes of the Sierra Morena, we reached the height of the pass about noon. There is a stage-house and postoffice at an altitude of about 11,500 feet. Immediately north of it is Mount Flora above the timber-line, of easy access. Here is the Divide. While east of the house where we dined, the waters flow toward the Platte and Arkansas Rivers into the Gulf of Mexico, a few steps to the west a large brook takes a western direction toward the Grand River in Middle Park, which river, fed by innumerable other streams, and under the name of Grand River del Norte, empties into the Pacific. We had a glorious day.

A day or two after our return from Berthoud's Pass, a letter from Gustave brought us the afflicting news of Félicité's death. She was about two years old, a most bright and lovely girl of angelic beauty. This was a severe shock and blighted the enjoyment which we expected to derive from the continuation of our journey.

After staying about two weeks at the Peck House, we concluded to go to Idaho Springs, farther down the valley, about one thousand feet lower than Empire.

I shall never forget the Peck House. Our host, Mr. Peck, was a very pleasant, easy-going gentleman, who had the appear-

ance of never having overworked himself. He and his mother and wife showed every disposition to make us comfortable. Their kindness made amends for the rather hard fare, which reminded us of the rural cookery of the New England States. Mr. Peck was a thoroughgoing Democrat. I almost suspect that the two large mountains which encircle Empire on the south, and are named, one Mount Douglas and the other Mount Democrat, owe their appellation to Mr. Peck, or to Dr. Peck, his father.

Idaho Springs, though still some seven thousand feet above the sea, agreed with me a great deal better than Empire. It is better sheltered by mountains on all sides, and the hot soda-springs make the air less sharp. We took several baths, the warmth of the water being in some places 120° to 125° Fahrenheit. Some of the springs yield cooler water for bathing, and were to me more pleasant. There are private bathing-rooms and large basins for swimmers. Idaho Springs was evidently on the rise, and many improvements were going on. It has a very fine boulevard, on which the hotels are situated. One of our first excursions was to Central City. It is reached by a very steep, rough, sometimes rather dangerous road, along deep precipices. About half way between the springs and the city to our left rises a high cliff called Bellevue, from which toward the west you have a very fine view into a part of the second range of the Rockies, the most interesting point of which is the Mountain of the Cross, perhaps some ten or eleven thousand feet high. Near the conic summit of the mount, which is perfectly bare, are two very deep ravines, barrancas, as the Spanish would call them, one of which runs vertically downward, while the other traverses the mount horizontally, forming very distinctly a Latin cross. These barrancas are filled with eternal snow and ice, so that in the hottest season this icy cross can be distinctly seen. By the help of strong field-glasses one can see toward the east the plains. Our driver thought he could see the church

steeples of Denver, nearly fifty miles away. We could not discry them.

Central City is the most grotesque, the most abnormal and confused, up-and-down place I ever saw. It is all rock. Indeed, one might think it was a big rock quarry. It is a real mining town. Miles around, the sides of the mountain are full of shafts, some worked, many abandoned. Still, it is a busy place. There are some well assorted stores. An opera house is built of large granite blocks, giving it the appearance of a strong prison. Nearly 8,500 feet high, Central City is a windy place, as it overhangs a wide valley opening toward the west. What the place may be now, it is hard to tell; when we saw it, it was worth seeing for curiosity's sake, but also a very excellent place to get away from.

A far more delightful excursion was one to Brooksdale, a little park in the Bear Creek region, about twenty miles south of Idaho Springs. We rode over the Bear Creek Pass, 12,600 feet above the level of the sea, the highest point I ever was at. The little valley on the other side of it is a real paradise, through which clear trout-streams run. At the so-called Cissi farm, is a country boarding house surrounded by an orchard and fields of oats, Indian corn and vegetables, of the most luxurious growth. The oats were nearly six feet high, the corn ten feet. Large meadows extend in every direction. The creek flowing by the house was dammed up so as to form a pond full of the finest brook trout, of which we made a rich dinner. The house was well kept and several families boarded there, while some others lived in tents nearby. It is true the fields can all be irrigated in case of need, and this may account for the extreme fertility of the valley. The nearest mountain-peak is Mount Evans, and a little farther is Gray's Peak, both of the height of Pike's Peak.

There are, no doubt, a great many places in Colorado which are, from a sanitary point of view, very much to be recommended. Brooksdale is one of them, so is Manitou and

Idaho Springs, all places well sheltered by the configuration of the mountains within which they are enclosed. The large peaks are also much commended as salubrious. But after many inquiries on my part and conversations with physicians, and some observations of my own, I found that malarial fevers, even on very elevated points, were not infrequent, and typhus and pneumonia are often prevalent. The changes from hot to cold are most sudden. We left Idaho Springs one morning when the thermometer was about 100, and before we reached Central City we were overtaken by a sleet and snow storm of unusual force. The whole country was white. In the afternoon, on our return, we had very pleasant weather again, and had to strip ourselves of overcoats and cloaks. As a general thing, I would not advise persons not in perfect health to resort for any length of time to places of an altitude higher than five or six thousand feet.

The month of August found us in Denver again. Political excitement by this time had run very high. When at Empire, I had received an invitation from a Turner Association to make them a speech at a festival, and also one from a Democratic committee to address a mass-meeting. My trip to the mountains was, in part, undertaken to get out of the campaign turmoil, so under some pretense or other I excused myself. As we stayed two days at the place of my old friend, Mr. Gage, who kept the Continental, and who treated us with the greatest attention, we took a very good look at the thriving place and its neighborhood before we started down to Pueblo. As we had by some mistake of the telegraph office failed to secure the drawing room on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé train to Kansas City, we had to stay over one day at Pueblo, which is situated on both sides of the Arkansas River. It was very hot, 104 degrees in the shade; but the air was so pure that we felt no inconvenience in taking a long walk and ascending the cupola of the State House, which was then at Pueblo, the capital. We had a wonderful view of the southern range of the Rocky Mountains, which goes by the

name of the Spanish Sierras, and extends into New Mexico.

Traversing the plains again, we stayed a day in Kansas City and reached home on the 15th of August.

THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1880

The Democratic State Convention had been very largely attended and had nominated what was supposed to be a very strong State ticket, Lyman Trumbull for Governor, and Gen. Lewis B. Parsons for Lieutenant-Governor. The Republican nominees for these offices were S. B. Cullom and William Hamilton. The contest was a most lively one. Blaine, Logan and many other distinguished Republican speakers worked hard in Illinois, and General Grant was carried along as a sort of decorative personage to attract the crowds.

Of course, I had a good many invitations to address meetings, most of which I declined. To a committee of New York Democrats, requesting me to make an address at Cooper Institute I wrote a pretty full letter, setting forth my views regarding the present issue, in lieu of a speech. At a mass-meeting in Belleville on the 30th of August, which was really one of the biggest political demonstrations that had ever been held in Belleville, Judge Trumbull, General Parsons, General Black and many others made speeches. An immense torchlight procession and serenade in the evening wound up the gathering, which was estimated by the papers at from six to seven thousand persons. I had to speak at several places in the State, but somehow my heart was not in the contest. It was a too personal one. On the 30th of September, however, I delivered a somewhat elaborate address occupying nearly two hours, in the court room in Belleville, in German. The opening of this speech may explain its unusual length.

"You will not expect of me an appeal to your prejudices and passions. You are entitled to hear from me, as far as may be possible, a calm discussion of the questions of the day and a criticism of our opponents without personalities, and without any intentional misrepresentation of their views. When I look over this assemblage of German citizens, I find that

I speak to a different generation from that which I had so often the honor to address, twenty, thirty, nay forty years ago. Nearly all those who listened to me then have departed from us. A new generation stands before me, and makes it really a duty for me to throw a historical retrospect upon the different political parties, in order to make myself fully understood."

The election in November was a surprise. New York had been counted certain for General Hancock, and if he had obtained the vote of that State, he would have been elected. He would have had 190 electoral votes to 179 for Garfield. In a vote of that State of eleven hundred thousand, he was beaten by about 20,000. Various reasons could be assigned for Hancock's unexpected defeat. In the State and Congressional elections of 1878 the National Granger party had developed great strength. The Democrats in the Northwest, where they were in a minority, had more or less, in order to catch this hybrid party, pronounced in favor of some of their financial measures. It was feared that most of this party would in the elections vote with the Democrats and a Democratic victory would in consequence lead to measures affecting our national credit and the business of the country. Shortly before the election, the Republican leaders succeeded in alarming the business community and particularly the manufacturers, inasmuch as the Democratic and Labor party both had declared themselves against a high protective tariff. There was besides, as usual, some split in the Democracy of the city of New York. The friends of Tilden were still dissatisfied, that, owing to the protest of Tammany Hall, Tilden was not nominated, or rather that Tilden had in view of trouble declined the nomination.

In Illinois our State ticket was defeated by a much smaller majority than heretofore, and there were gains in the Congressional elections. Morrison was re-elected in the Belleville district, and Hancock received a majority over Garfield in St. Clair County, and Trumbull and Parsons nearly 500 majority.

DEATH AND OBSEQUIES OF FREDERICK HECKER

On the 25th of March, 1881, Frederick Hecker died after a short illness on his farm near Summerfield, at the age of 71. When the news arrived the American flag was hoisted half-mast. The funeral took place a few days afterward at the Summerfield cemetery, and was in every respect one of the most remarkable that ever took place in our State. Early in the morning hundreds of his neighbors had already gathered, filling the veranda and the lawns around the house of the departed. By noon, delegations from Belleville, St. Louis, Chicago and Indianapolis had swelled the assemblage to nearly one thousand. About one o'clock the funeral train was set in motion. The hearse was drawn by four black horses, and the coffin was not visible, being decked by a mountain of flowers and wreaths. The Belleville guards, a very fine company, preceded by a large band, opened the procession. The captain of the company, a most soldierlike man from Georgia, had been an officer in the Confederate army, and his body had been riddled by bullets, while the company consisted in great part of Republicans,—all showing how utterly the people of Belleville at least had laid aside sectional animosities. It was a singular coincidence that Hecker, who even up to that time had made war on all Southerners, was taken to his rest by a guard of honor commanded by one of the stoutest of Confederate soldiers.

The hearse was followed by the pall-bearers and the sons and daughters of the deceased in carriages; next by delegations from the 24th and 28th Illinois volunteer infantry, of both of which regiments Hecker had been colonel; by delegates of German, French and Swiss republican associations, and an almost endless train of friends and neighbors in vehicles and on foot. A large crowd of people had already occupied the church yard. A double quartette of the St. Louis Turners' singing section opened the ceremonies at the grave. Emil Pretorius, of the "Westliche Post," made the first address; he was followed by the poet, Caspar Butz, of Chicago, who

had known Hecker in the old country and had always been his warm admirer, and by George Schneider, of Chicago. The principal oration was delivered by Dr. Luedeking of St. Louis. Judge Rombauer, of St. Louis, laying a laurel wreath on the coffin, spoke in the name of the Hungarian republicans. Dr. Starkloff also presented a wreath and expressed the sentiments of the North American Turner Union. Pastor Eberhard spoke for the Swiss. F. W. Fritsche, then a member of the German Parliament, belonging to the socialist party, who at the time was on a visit to the United States, spoke in the name of oppressed Germany, as he stated; Monsieur Séguemont made a very beautiful French speech, representing the French republicans; Lorenzo Anderlino one in the Italian language; while Major Backhoff spoke in the name of the Baden champions for liberty of 1848 and 1849.

I had not intended to speak at all, and thought it out of place, after so many speeches, to say anything in addition. Politically also, it was well known that almost for the last ten years we had been antipodes in opinion, though when meeting personally, owing to his jovial, amiable and interesting way of conversing, we never quarreled. Yet, when I thought all was over, his family, (Mrs. Hecker, owing to illness and depression of spirits was not present,) so strongly insisted that I should say a few words that I had to yield to their entreaties. Under the circumstances I was in a somewhat embarrassed position. Hecker had so many excellent qualities that it was no hypocrisy to praise him; faults everybody knew that he had, so there was no need to mention them. I could, however, considering our political relations, so well known to nearly everybody present, not forbear to say, that while undoubtedly he was an earnest worker for the greatness and prosperity of our country, which as I thought I had also at heart, we sometimes, to my regret, differed in the means of accomplishing our purpose. Upon the close of my address, the Belleville guards fired the usual military salute over the grave of my departed friend.

ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD

Not long after President Garfield's inauguration trouble arose in the party on account of the distribution of the spoils. The Grant faction complained of not being sufficiently recognized, and when the President appointed some opponents of the New York Senators, Conkling and Platt, in spite of their objections, they both resigned, leaving the Republican Senate in a minority. That this created much excitement was but natural, and was very annoying to President Garfield. All at once, early in July, the country was startled by the terrific news that one Guiteau had seriously, if not fatally, wounded the President at a railroad depot at Washington.

Guiteau was a hair-brained, political waif. He had repeatedly applied without success for high offices, to which he had not a shadow of a claim. He, however, assigned as a motive for his crime, the desire of saving the Republican party from falling to pieces, and of restoring concord by removing President Garfield. Like several other assasins, it was probably more a desire for notoriety that worked upon his, at least half diseased brain. I think this clearly appeared on his trial and his conduct during the last days of his life.

The President lingered along; his condition sometimes giving hopes of his recovery. Although surrounded by some half dozen eminent physicians and doctors, who, as it turned out, were all grossly mistaken in the diagnosis of the case, he died, after much but courageously endured suffering, in the night of September 19th. The tolling of the bells announced the catastrophe, and late as it was, many people went out into the street to get, if possible, the particulars of the event. The mayor of Belleville during the night issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to meet the next day to give expressions to their feelings of sorrow, and suggesting the suspension of business and the draping of the houses. The call was readily complied with. The largest hall was filled to overflowing. The mayor proposed for me to preside. Of course, all party spirit was banished from the meeting. It was not so much regret

at the death of the person as a deep and piercing sorrow that a second time one of our Presidents should have been taken off by the hands of an assassin, which made this and similar meetings so solemn and impressive. Though in both cases the deed was done by half irresponsible men, acting on their own impulses, yet the commission of such acts tended to cast a shadow upon our people and our Republican institutions.

I tried to do justice to the memory of the deceased. As I have before had occasion to remark, he had impressed me personally most favorably on the occasions I had met him. In appointing a committee to draft appropriate resolutions, I appointed an equal number of gentlemen of each party, and even one who had been an officer in the rebel army, but who lamented the death of the President as much as any one in the meeting. Chas. W. Thomas, the chairman of the committee, reported a series of well-drawn, sympathetic resolutions, and also made an eloquent speech in support of them.

LETTER FROM VENEZUELA

When Jehu Baker in 1878 was appointed minister-resident to Venezuela, I gave him letters of introduction to some German gentlemen in Carácas, who, as I had learned from Eastern papers, had been commissioners to one of the World Exhibitions in Paris on the part of Venezuela. One of my letters, I learned much later, had been delivered by Mr. Baker to a professor at the university, who showed him much kindness and of whom Mr. Baker spoke very highly. Another letter to Mr. Alfred Roth was handed to that gentleman by Mrs. Baker, when she was about leaving Venezuela. President Garfield having nominated a successor to her husband, Mrs. Baker said it had been mislaid and only found when they were packing up their things. Mr. Roth in September informed me of this fact and also gave me some quite interesting information concerning matters in that country, of which I may give some passages.

"Although I have been nineteen years in this country I have remained a true German. The German element is not

very large, though the principal commerce in the whole country is in German hands. Before 1870 we were not much noticed; being of a Latin race, the people were Frenchified in their ideas and views. In order to let the good people know what sort of folks we really were, I founded, beginning with the 1st of July, a daily journal, 'El Siglo,' giving general news, but excluding domestic politics. Nothing is allowed to be printed here except what is in praise of the President (Guzman Blanco); for this reason I have let home politics alone, and this has been much appreciated. In a few months I got 1200 subscribers, which is more than any other journal has. With the permission of Dr. Fastenrath, I have begun to publish his 'Walhalla á las Glorias de Alemania,' selecting as the first installment the poetical works of Heine, which were translated into Spanish long since; and we have made Heine very popular here. Recently, I published a long article on Bismarck. The first novel I published in 'El Siglo' was Madame Marlitt's 'The Secret of an Old Maid' (Die Alte Mamselle), which found immense appreciation. There is a general desire that I should translate some more novels of the same authoress. I wonder if the good Mrs. Marlitt ever learned that the señoras of Carácas admired her so much."

What strange capers some of our diplomatists play before the world, appears also from another passage of Mr. Roth's letter. He says that Mr. Carter, of Indiana, the new minister-resident, had arrived the night before, and next day a letter from New York was published in the "Opinion Nacional" concerning Mrs. Carter, who had not yet left New York, which letter was evidently brought along by her husband, and which Mr. Roth cut out for my entertainment:

"I have just risen from a dinner *en famille,* to which I had been invited by the Señora Carter, whose husband is on the point of starting for Carácas. The Señora has such attractions that she will captivate the good society in every country of South America, for she speaks Spanish with the graceful timidity of those who have not much practiced it. She is a native of New Orleans, of French origin, and has the charms of a real creole. She is full of grace without pretending it and has a taste for serious things. She has the gift of gentle persons who have great tact without affectation, and she betrays in all her ways that she has mixed constantly in exquis-

ite society. It appears to me that in Carácas she will form a center of attraction to all those who understand entertainments (que sabe tertuliar)."

The year 1882 was a very busy one. Besides my professional business, it so happened that I became more than usually engaged in literary work. Then there was a State election for treasurer and superintendent of common schools, for members of the Legislature and Congress. The contest was a very exciting one, particularly in our Congressional district, and I could not help taking a more decided part in it than I had originally intended.

GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE HEIDELBERG DOCTORATE (1882)

On the 22nd of May it was fifty years since I had obtained my degree of Doctor of Law at Heidelberg. My family was very desirous of making a holiday of it. But I was always averse to festivities of this kind, and so the day passed unnoticed. We had not even celebrated our silver wedding; but still the day afterwards some St. Louis paper had mentioned the fact and now I received many congratulations from far and wide. The law faculty of Heidelberg sent me a highly flattering salutation. My friend Kapp, to whom in my correspondence I had casually mentioned that the 50th anniversary of my doctorate would fall on the 22nd of May, had not forgotten it, and I prized his congratulation most of all, as he certainly was one of the noblest characters I ever knew. In his letter of the 9th of May, 1882, which was otherwise highly interesting, as he gave me his views of the condition of German affairs, of which, as a member of the Parliament for many years, he was fully able to judge, speaking of this anniversary, he says:

I have delayed writing this letter until to-day, so that according to my calculation, it will reach you on the day of your doctorial jubilee. May you celebrate it with your family, with your known mental and physical freshness, and may you not forget that distant friends are present with you, at least mentally. I will think of you here on the 22nd, and will drink at dinner an extra bottle of old Rauenthaler to your

health. May it be granted to you to live yet full ten years, or as many as you wish, in the circle of your family, as *vir juvenis,* acting, producing and inspiring. If the ideas and aims of youth did not still survive in you, you would not have retained your vigor and intellectual healthiness. If we cast up the sum of our lives, we cannot without satisfaction look back upon the last fifty years. What political and economic misery in 1832! The German diet; the black inquisitorial committee; the fall of Poland; the persecution of all liberal thoughts,—while to-day we can at least begin to make a decent appearance before the world. Since we have not been petted and spoiled, we shall, with good will, carry things a great deal farther. And the abolition of slavery in your country! Therefore, *Nil desperandum.*"

DEATH OF FREDERICK KAPP

Unfortunately, it was not given to my friend to assist long in working for the good of his beloved fatherland. He had for years been engaged in writing an extensive and scholarly history of the German book-trade and its various phases since the invention of the art of printing, with particular reference to its relation to the governments and their censorial and restrictive measures. From time to time he had sent me printed fragments, which were highly interesting. He had been very busy examining the archives at Frankfort, Vienna, Leipsic and Berlin, and this labor of love had become so burdensome that he declined becoming a candidate again for a seat in Parliament. But this incessant work had undermined his robust and splendid constitution, and while at Amsterdam or Antwerp examining materials for his great work he was taken seriously ill and died shortly after his return home in 1884, leaving his history, of which he had written a part and for which he had collected much valuable material, to be completed by others.

He will live for many years in the literary world by his masterly historical writings, his history of the Germans in New York in the 18th century, his lives of Generals Steuben and DeKalb, his history of slavery in the United States, his biography of Bollman, his history of the German princes' trade

in mercenary soldiers, etc. He was a contributor to many German and American magazines, and the author of numerous political pamphlets, particularly during the first years of the war of secession.

LATER LITERARY LABORS

John J. Lalor of Chicago had commenced publishing a work which was really much needed, a "Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States." Germany, France and Italy had had for many years valuable works of this character, while in England and the United States articles on these subjects had to be searched for in the general encyclopedias. Among the numerous contributors from the United States to the first volume were Edward Atkinson, Judge Cooley, Dorman B. Eaton, Henry George, Judge Jameson, Alexander Johnston, A. R. Spofford, Simon Stern, D. A. Wells, Horace White, and Professor Woolsey. Some of the foreign contributors were Barthélemy Saint Hillaire, Maurice Block, A. E. Cherbulliez, Professor Bluntschli, Molinaire, Léon Say, and Jules Simon. Before Mr. Lalor issued the second volume, he asked me to contribute, and so I wrote during the year 1882 various articles, one of them a quite extensive one on the so often misunderstood "Monroe Doctrine." I also wrote one or two articles for the "New York Nation," and on invitation of the executive committee of the American Bar Association, I prepared a paper on punitive or exemplary damages, tracing the history of that doctrine from its origin in the earliest Roman law.

CORRECTS VON HOLTZENDORFF'S VIEWS OF AMERICA

Professor von Holtzendorff, at Berlin, had written in the "Rundschau," a monthly review of great reputation, an article on "American Individualism," in which he contended on evidently very questionable authorities,—newspaper articles, for instance,—that the law in the United States fell far short of being executed, and that in very numerous cases it

furnished no protection to life and personal security. Agreeably to professional doctrinairism he generalized, and ascribed such insecurity to the national character of individualism, which would not allow the law to take its course, but inclined everyone to take it in his own hands. This strong self-reliance lay at the bottom of American democracy, and he let it be inferred that Democracy was antagnostic to civilization. The whole article, however, proved to me his shallowness and his prejudice to liberal institutions, so I wrote a reply, which, while courteous, and while admitting and regretting the too great prevalence of lynch law, yet was, as I thought, pretty sharp. Individualism, I argued, was the only safeguard against a paternal police government, which in the end always tended toward despotism, and self-reliance was the very signature of freedom. Without American individualism the greater part of the United States would still be a wilderness. By the indomitable individual energy of the American people, almost entirely unassissted by the government, our boundaries had been carried to the Pacific Ocean, and barrens and deserts, supposed to be uninhabitable, had been turned into fields waving with rich harvests. It was this individualism, so much disparaged by Von Holtzendorff, which had kept our Union together, when the government after a long peace and almost to the last moment would not believe that the South was in earnest when it had no army or fleet to speak of, when it was taken unprepared by the sudden attack of the Secessionists,—it was this individualism which at the call of the President for volunteers from the largest cities down to the smallest hamlets, caused at once associations to be formed which took, as it were, the government in their own hands. Large sums of money were collected, companies, battalions, and regiments were formed, which elected their officers, were clothed and provided with camp equipage and hastened to the general rendezvous in the different States all on personal responsibility, trusting that the government, if successful, would reimburse the expense voluntarily undertaken. In less than ten

days, the President's call was not only filled, but nearly two-thirds of the volunteers had to be dismissed, as not needed. Banks and private persons offered millions at a time when the treasury was empty and when the government at Washington was paralyzed.

The only fault my friend Kapp found with this article was that it was not severe enough, that Von Holtzendorff had been a much overrated man, and that all the Berlin savants, not members of a certain mutual admiration society, were much pleased at seeing him hauled over the coals.

LETTER ON THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

As this was an off year in Illinois, no Presidential or gubernatorial election taking place, there was as usual much ado among the irregular parties. Apparently the Prohibition party in many of the Western States and also in Illinois was developing much strength. It held very large conventions, addressed by its leaders, Neal Dow, St. John, and General Weaver. These demonstrations frightened the politicians, though they might have known from former experience that big meetings do not always prove big constituencies. I found that some of our Democratic leaders were becoming shaky. What the Prohibitionists in Illinois and other States claimed was, that the Legislature to be elected should pass an amendment to the constitution prohibiting the sale and manufacture of all kinds of intoxicating drinks, to be submitted as that instrument required, to the people to vote upon. They argued that even those who were opposed to such an amendment were bound to vote for it, otherwise they would show their contempt for the dear people. They forgot that the Constitution required two factors to bring about amendments: first, the Legislature, according to their best lights, must judge whether an amendment is right or wrong; and secondly, only if they deemed it right and not otherwise, was it to run the gauntlet with the people.

But this fallacious argument caught a good many of the

Democrats, and in some of the States, Indiana for instance, the Democratic State Conventions, while expressing themselves as opposed to prohibition and similar laws, passed a resolution that they saw no objection to submitting the matter to the people.

I concluded to give my well-known views on this subject publicity in time, and before our State convention should meet. I addressed a letter to Governor Palmer, who by some was claimed as being in favor of prohibition. I went to Springfield and laid it before him. He agreed to my views, and gave me leave to have it published. The same afternoon I took the train for Chicago, arriving there about 9 o'clock, took supper at the Palmer House and after reading an hour or so in my room, I went to sleep. About midnight there was a knock at my door; opening it a bell-boy handed me a card: Mr. ———, (I have forgotten his name,) reporter for the "Chicago Times." I told the boy I was tired and to tell the gentleman to call in the morning. But the boy came back again, stating that the gentleman had some very important communication to make. So from curiosity I admitted him. "Sir," said he, "you have written a most important letter to Governor Palmer and are going to publish it here." "I have written a letter," I replied, "I am going to hand it to the 'Tribune' in the morning." "Oh, that will not do, it will go then in the Sunday paper, which the town people do not read much. The Saturday papers are always the most in demand. If you give the 'Times' the manuscript, it will appear in the morning." "But," said I, "I won't have anything printed before I read the proof. My handwriting is not very plain, and I have often been terribly butchered." "Never mind," said he, "you will have the proof in an hour." I was really pleased with this spirit of enterprise, and so I let him have the manuscript, which filled some three or four columns of that large paper, and sure enough the proof was brought to me in about an hour and I had but very few corrections to make. Now, except Governor Palmer, no

one knew of the letter. He must have casually mentioned something about it after I left, and word must have been sent at once by telegraph to the "Times" to get hold of it.

Soon after breakfast some of my German friends called. They were delighted, and they at once invited me to breakfast at a Democratic club house, where we had choice viands, champagne and a toast to every glass. While dwelling briefly in the letter on the prohibition law, as being an encroachment on individual liberty, which might lead far, I treated the question in a plain, practical, dispassionate light, allowing all honesty and good intention to the advocates of such and similar measures, but showing its injury to the business of the country, particularly to the farmers, while illustrating my arguments by statistics, and humorously disproving the assertion on their prohibition platform that the Scriptures and all great philosophers had condemned the use of strong drinks, by citations from the Bible, which they could not easily gainsay.

The letter was at once printed by the Central State Committee in pamphlet form by the thousands, was published in the Democratic newspapers in Indiana, Ohio, Iowa and Missouri, and by the order of the State Committee of Indiana also printed in pamphlet form. I considered myself well paid for the really very little trouble I had taken in writing the letter. It contained nothing new, but the way I had expressed even commonplace truths must have been striking, or else it could not have made so much noise.

The letter was written on the 21st of August. The Illinois State Convention met September 7th. Governor Palmer presided. Alfred Orrendorff, of Springfield, was nominated for State Treasurer ; Henry Raab, of Belleville, educated as a teacher in Germany and having been superintendent of the common schools of St. Clair County for years, and whose reputation as a teacher stood very high, was nominated for State Superintendent of Common Schools. These were the only State officers to be elected.

STATE ELECTION

One of the strongest anti-prohibition resolutions that was ever passed by a national or State convention, was adopted by this convention, and turned out in many parts of the country as highly beneficial to the success of the party, the more so as the Republican State Convention dodged the question. Thousands of Republicans voted the Democratic ticket, just on account of the stand the two parties had taken on the prohibition question.

It our Congressional district the contest became very bitter and exciting. William R. Morrison was a candidate for re-election. The Republicans had nominated General Kueffner, of Belleville, a very energetic and indefatigable politician. The American Republicans, the most of whom never understood and never will understand the German character, selected him, believing that he would carry the bulk of the German vote without reference to party on account of his nationality. The district, moreover, had been changed by the last Republican Legislature, so as to secure a Republican majority, and, what was most favorable to the Republican party, it had become a considerable manufacturing district within the last few years. At Alton, East St. Louis and more particularly at Belleville, large nail mills, rolling mills, foundries and glass works had sprung up, some of which employed several hundreds of men. There were probably as many as three or four thousand coal miners within the district. The Republican candidate, avoiding all other issues, appealed to the bosses and the laborers, and expatiated at length on the beauties of a high protective tariff, leaving the general abuse of the Democratic party and the shaking of the bloody shirt to a number of the blatherskite orators imported into the district. General Kueffner found, however, on the tariff question a full match in Morrison, who had been for years chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and had introduced the Democratic tariff bills, and was, of course, better posted on those financial questions than his opponent.

Of course, very much against my inclination, I had to take the field. Both parties held large meetings up to the very evening of the election. In the State, Mr. Raab was elected on the Democratic ticket by a considerable majority, while our candidate for Treasurer failed. In our Congressional district we succeeded beyond our expectation. Morrison beat Kueffner, even in St. Clair where the latter resided, nearly 500 votes, and in the district about 3,000. St. Clair elected all the Democratic members of the Legislature it could elect under the minority vote system, and all Democratic officers but one.

This contest was the most personal of all I have ever witnessed, and therefore very unpleasant. Generally all over the States the Democracy had made gains, auguring well for the next Presidential election.

CHAPTER LII.

Completion of the Northern Pacific

Sometime in July, 1883, I received a communication from Henry Villard (Hilgard), suggesting that I should not make any engagements which might prevent me from being one of his guests on the excursion which was planned by the Northern Pacific Railroad to Montana, where the last rails were to be laid connecting the eastern and western divisions of that road. I had already learned through the newspapers that it had been arranged by the directors to invite a number of German and English as well as American gentlemen, to participate in the celebration of the final completion of the road. All persons invited were to be treated as the guests of the company, from the place where they joined the excursion party. Some time afterwards I received a formal invitation, with directions as to the various arrangements and the places where we were to meet the excursion, with an itinerary from New York, not to Montana only, where the last nail was to be driven, but to Oregon and to Vancouver Island on Puget Sound. On the 29th of August I went to Chicago, a day before the excursionists arrived. I had learned that the German parliamentarian Edward Lasker, one of the party, had already arrived at the place, and I at once went to his hotel; but he had gone out. I left my card, and I had hardly returned to the Palmer House, when he and Mr. Rosenthal, a very distinguished lawyer of Chicago, called upon me.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS OF THE EXCURSION

I was somewhat surprised to find in Mr. Lasker a man of very small size, though somewhat broad-shouldered and

full breasted, and evidently of a very delicate constitution. His air bore the traces of fatigue; he spoke in an undertone, and seemed to be reticent, almost shy. What a contrast, thought I, between him and his giant opponent, whom he had so often disarmed in Parliament,—David and Goliath. On better acquaintance during our trip, though he was always amiably modest, I learned to appreciate his high intellect and his noble aspirations. His friends, however, told me, that for some years his health had been much undermined, and that he had accepted the invitation principally in the hope of recovering his former vigor. He promised on his return to visit St. Louis and Belleville, but having been delayed too long in Texas, where he had a brother living, he had to hurry back to New York, where it is well known he was suddenly taken off by a stroke of paralysis.

Next evening Mr. Villard (Hilgard) and family, together with a number of Germans from the old country and from the United States, arrived at the Palmer House. A committee of Chicago Germans had received them in the large parlors, where speeches were made. Fanny Villard I had not seen for five or six years, but she looked just as young and bright as when she visited us last at Belleville. Two healthy looking boys, Harry and Oswald, and her only daughter, Helena, and a three months' baby made up the family. One of the first of the guests was Carl Schurz. He seemed to have forgotten our rather sharp falling out in 1876, when he left the Liberals to take office under Hayes, and he greeted me so cordially that I could not help in a manner reciprocating. After the newcomers had rested, we sat down to a late, but elegant and interesting dinner, after which the company remained together until one or two o'clock in the morning.

There I was introduced to, and became acquainted with, George Von Bunsen, son of the late Josiah Von Bunsen, so long Prussian ambassador to England, to the great lawyer Dr. Gneist, to Max Weber, all members of the German Diet, to the great chemist, Prof. A. W. Hoffmann, to Professors Zittel

and Schauss, Privy Councillor Alfred Von der Leyen of Berlin, Lieutenant Pertz, of the German railroad regiment, Rudolph Schleiden, late minister-resident of the Hanseatic towns at Washington, Senator Chapeaurouge of Hamburg, Senator Groening of Bremen, Otto Puls, syndic of the Frankfort Chamber of Commerce, several bankers and bank directors of Berlin, Frankfort and Munich. Dr. Von Holst and Hermann Kreismann, late secretary of the American Legation at Berlin, were old acquaintances, whom I was very happy to meet; among the guests, of whom I have forgotten to mention the consul-generals of New York and Cincinnati, were Dr. Wendt of New York, Gustave Schwab, and the editors and correspondents of the "Berlin Nationalzeitung," of the Frankfort, Weser, and Cologne Gazettes, the "New York Belletristische Journal" and the "New Yorker Staatszeitung."

FESTIVITIES IN MINNESOTA

The next day the guests were shown over all the parks. public buildings, industrial establishments, etc., and in the evening we were taken by way of the Northwestern to St. Paul, where we arrived about nine o'clock in the morning. Carriages took us to the great headquarters of the Northern Pacific, an immense building with a multitude of offices, and around the heights of the city, covered with beautiful residences and villas, from which the vistas up and down the Mississippi are most charming. When I saw St. Paul in 1878 it had about 30,000 inhabitants; it now by a liberal count contained 100,000. The promenade ended, the Villard family and we German guests were taken by a reception committee to an elegant restaurant, where we had a splendid lunch and most excellent French and German wines and champagne. Here the speech making commenced.

About noon we arrived at Minneapolis, the proud rival of St. Paul. Carriages took us at once to the Falls and to the giant mills and other sights. In the evening a smaller party had been invited to supper at the house of ex-Governor Wash-

burn, then a member of Congress. The dining-room was decorated with a large coat of arms of the German empire, enfolded by the American and German national flags. The whole room was one bower of rare and beautiful flowers. Wines and meats of the best class were served. The Governor was one of the old style Western pioneers. One felt at once at home with him. As I knew a great many of the old settlers of Illinois, Indiana and Iowa, whom he knew, we had much to say to one another, and in his plain and good-natured way of conversing, one forgot that he was many times a millionaire, and was just erecting a palatial residence at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars, in which I am sure he did not enjoy life half as well as in his former, rather old-style, plain residence. Near ten o'clock our party left for Lake Minnetonka, some fifteen miles west, where we were to rest the next day, it being Sunday.

This lake is one of the largest in the State, of beautiful color, with many bays, encircled by well-wooded low hills. Steamboats, and yachts ply upon it, and innumerable sailing boats. Being a highly fashionable summer-resort, large hotels, villas, and cottages meet the eye all around the lake. The Hotel Lafayette, where we put up, is 1200 feet long, Swiss style with mansard roofs and wide galleries running around the whole building. Late in the night another part of the excursionists, who had gone through directly from Chicago, arrived; amongst them were General Grant and one of his sons and William M. Evarts, ex-Secretary of State, who had been especially invited by Villard to do the grand speaking. I passed the day very quietly; most of the people went out on the lake; General Grant also kept close to the house and we smoked and talked together a great deal.

Evarts, whom I had not seen since our consultation in Washington on the claim of the State of Illinois, had aged very much; he looked like a broken-down man, but he was nevertheless still considered a very great orator. He never did appear so to me. He is destitute of imagination and conciseness,

and his voice is not good. A distinguished jurist, he is great in legal debate, and is a man of vast intellect, and when he talks off-hand, he sometimes displays wit and sarcasm. He spoils his witticisms however somewhat, by smiling before he lets out a humorous remark, and by raising thus the first laugh, in contrast to Mr. Lincoln, who told a droll story with the most serious countenance and only joined in the loud humorous laughter after the company had first broken out in it.

During the day and the next morning nearly all the guests from the East had arrived at Minnetonka. It was only on this day and later, at the place where the last rail was laid, that they were all together. Of course, it was impossible to become acquainted even at sight with some three hundred people within a few hours. I may remark here that every department of the government at Washington was represented by one or more of its principal officers, some by their heads; for instance, Teller, Secretary of the Interior. I may mention a few of the most prominent Americans, some of whom I knew before: Senator of the United States J. B. Beck, of Kentucky; August Belmont, Jr., and Raymond Belmont of New York; John Bigelow, former minister to France, N. Y.; Walker Blaine, son of James G. Blaine, Washington City; ex-Governor Curtin, Pennsylvania; Peter Deuster, member of Congress, Wisconsin; ex-Governor Fairchild, Wisconsin; E. L. Godkin, N. Y.; Carter H. Harrison, ex-Mayor of Chicago; Gen. A. D. Hazen; General Newton; J. D. Perry, St. Louis; Gov. Ramsey, Minnesota; ex-Governor Salomon, of Wisconsin; United States Senator McMillan, Minnesota; Adolph Meier, St. Louis; David A. Wells, Connecticut; and John A. Kasson, member of Congress, Iowa. There were along ex-presidents and many directors of the Northern Pacific, engineers and mayors of numerous cities, bank directors and railroad presidents, and representatives of nearly all the leading papers of the United States.

The next day was assigned for our reception at St. Paul,

to which place we went by rail. Through the highly decorated streets, carriages took us to the court-house square, which is shaded by trees, and from where we witnessed the great procession. General Terry of Fort Snelling, the mayor of the city and the Catholic bishop welcomed us. The display was really grand. Amongst numerous societies and associations the most interesting sight was a United States horse-battery, the horses being beautiful animals all of one color, and a battalion of negro infantry from the garrison of Fort Snelling. This last was quite a sight to the European guests. They marched very well and seemed very proud of their appearance, and were much delighted by the shouts of applause from the immense crowd of spectators. The officers, of course, were all whites. A battalion of the regular State Guards followed and many volunteer companies in gaudy and showy uniforms. The finest groups on platforms were shown by the German singing and Turner societies. About one hundred fine boys on elegant horses attracted great attention by the skilful handling of their animals. The trade display was really magnificent, and it took a full hour before the parade had passed us.

Under a row of tents was spread a rich lunch, and the abundance and richness of the wines were a surprise to our German friends, who had heard so much of our American temperance fanaticism. On returning to the railroad station, we found there President Arthur, Robert Lincoln, Minister of War, and General Sheridan, who had just returned from a tour to Yellowstone Park, and who accompanied us to Minneapolis, where we were to witness from an immense tribune, which occupied the length of an entire block, another parade of the Minneapolis people. The procession was still larger than the one at St. Paul. A whole brigade of State troops, cavalry and artillery, and a troop of Indians, was followed by a multitude of societies, Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Irish, and Germans, all with their national banners. It was said that nearly ten thousand workmen marched in the procession.

Towards evening, those who were not too tired by the exciting spectacles of the day, were taken out to Lake Calhoun, a few miles from the city, a clear, beautiful sheet of water, on the bank of which was a large pavilion, a summer resort, or rather pleasure-house, where we partook of a rich and tastefully arranged collation. There was speaking here too. Villard was welcomed by the mayor or some other dignitary, and replied in his usual clear but unadorned style. Evarts tried to be humorous, and gave us one or two good things. To a toast to our foreign guests, Bunsen replied, who was a better master of English than any of the German guests, for his mother was the highly accomplished Miss Waddington, wife of Ambassador Bunsen. She is the authoress of the "Life and Letters" of her late husband, which have been so universally praised. Bunsen, as far as I was able to form an opinion of him during our tour, was of a firm and decisive character, expressed in his features. Of a rather serious disposition, he liked to get at the bottom of things. His manners were somewhat reserved, yet he showed the courtesy of a man of the world. The prosecution for libel instituted against him, because he had written of the Chancellor's sudden change in the tariff questions in bitter and very plain terms, but in which proceeding he was acquitted, had brought his name prominently before the public, not only in Germany, but here. General Grant also had to make a speech. On this, as on all other occasions, he spoke but briefly, but he always said something to the point, throwing in some bits of good humor and never showing any want of tact.

But we had not got through our pleasures yet. The city of St. Paul had arranged a banquet for the evening, or rather night, in honor of the guests and the President and members of his cabinet at the Lafayette House at Minnetonka,—I presume because it had a dining room that could seat six hundred guests. About seven or eight o'clock we went out to the lake, and hardly had time to dress ourselves when we were

called down to the banquet table. It was an elaborate affair. The hall was decorated profusely with flowers, the flags of all the principal nations, and the coats of arms of all the States of the Union; at the upper side of the room was the table for the officials on a platform, where sat President Arthur, Messrs. Lincoln, Teller, Grant, Sheridan, three or four governors, and the president and directors of the Northern Pacific. The after-dinner speeches, made by the President, Villard and others, were not heard by one-fifth of the convives, and, judging from the printed reports, were easily missed. The fact is, the witnessing of two such immense pageants and the despatching of two such abundant repasts with accompanying libations, had made most of the company insensible to this additional treat. Some of us could not even stay out the celebration, for the first section of the party was to start for the West precisely at midnight, and we had to pack up our trunks and valises and see them safely on board of the train, which stood ready about four or five hundred yards from the hotel.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TRAINS

It was necessary that the trains should be divided into four sections, to follow one another at a distance of one mile at least. Each one consisted of two baggage-cars, a dining-car and a suite of sleeping-cars, which, being nearly all directors' cars, contained parlors, smoking-rooms, often bath-rooms and observation-coupés in front and rear. As the dining-cars could not accommodate all the passengers of a section, some of the directors' cars had separate kitchens, providing meals for one or two of the cars. A description of the train I was in will in the main fit the other trains. The first wagon in our train, after the baggage-cars, was occupied by Sackville West, the English minister and his daughter and maid; the Swedish minister, Count Bildt, Mr. John Broderick and Hilda, his wife; Sir John Hannen, President of the Court of Divorce, Probate and Admiralty; several members of the English Parliament and officers of the English army and navy. The next

two cars with a private kitchen were assigned to Baron Eisendecker and wife, German minister, Count Lippe Weissenfels, Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, the German consuls of New York and Cincinnati, and about forty other guests; the dining-car followed next; and three other cars made up the train. This first section was preceded by a pilot engine, about a half mile ahead, to look out for obstructions. I was in a most comfortable and handsome directors' car. In front there was a sort of ante-room of the whole breadth of the car with a large plate glass door; in front and on both sides large windows, allowing a fine outlook, with a sofa and arm chairs; from this room a corridor led along a suite of state-rooms, bath and toilet rooms, to a rotunda or parlor, occupying the whole width of the car, furnished with a large round table, chairs, writing desk, book-case and lounges; a similar corridor along state-rooms and toilet room led to the porter's lodge and the rear platform. The front state-rooms were occupied by General Xylander of the Bavarian army and member of the Bundesrath at Berlin and his wife, a sister of Mr. Villard, and by Carl Schurz. The first state-room behind the parlor was given to me, the second and third to Col. Emil Von Xylander, commander of the first Bavarian cavalry brigade, and Dr. Schuette of Berlin, a distant cousin of the Hilgards and Engelmanns of the United States. The last car was Mr. Villard's, containing his family, secretary and two or three attendants; it was equipped with a separate kitchen.

COMPANIONS ON THE TRIP

No one could have made this tour under more favorable circumstances than I did. The best known of the German guests had been accommodated in the Villard train, as were also the German diplomatists at Washington, the German consuls and such of the American-Germans as were most likely to give information to the Europeans relating to the political, economical and social condition of our country. The only ladies of the excursion, Miss West, Lady Broderick, Mrs.

Eisendecker, a very sprightly and amiable woman, Mrs. General Xylander, Mrs. Villard and daughter, were in our train. If we had traveled over the most uninteresting and desolate country, we could never have felt any *ennui* in such company, let alone when the surrounding scenery and the various festivities we encountered almost every hour excited our imagination and our interest, giving us unlimited topics for lively and often instructive conversation. And as I am, even at home, fond of being from time to time in company with myself only, I could, when so disposed, retire to my state-room, where, entirely undisturbed, I could give, half-waking, half-dreaming, the reins to my thoughts, which often turned toward home, with regret that Sophie, who was so fond of traveling and so impressible to the view of fine scenery, could not share in my enjoyment. General Grant, Mr. Evarts, the governors of the States, and the rest of the English and German guests followed our train; the last two sections were occupied by Americans, members of Congress and of the various departments of state, and mayors of cities. To each section was assigned a superior officer of the road, who had been over it repeatedly before and who announced every morning the program of the day, and where the train would come to a halt to look at some interesting objects or to await the receptions prepared for us at the different points. Herman Schulze of Berlin, who was one of the employees, and had charge of the land office of the company, a young man of fine information and of a very practical turn, had charge of the first train, and, as he performed his duties admirably, he was called our "mentor."

It may here be noticed that this whole excursion, from the time the guests left Hamburg or Bremen, and the English Southampton across the ocean, until they arrived, by way of New York, Niagara Falls, Chicago and Portland, Puget Sound, Vancouver Island, with branch returns by way of San Francisco, Texas and the Southern States, back to New York and home to Europe, not to forget the special excursion to Yellowstone Park, was as admirably planned as Moltke's campaigns,

was performed without any material hitch, and, as far as I know, without the least accident. The Europeans traveled, going and coming, about 16,000 miles, and all the guests were constantly provided with the most exquisite meals and richest wines, with ale, beer, mineral waters and stronger liquors, and the best brands of champagnes and cigars. Among the guests were some three or four distinguished physicians, who, of course, volunteered their assistance in case of need.

IN DAKOTA

To write an itinerary of this trip, I have not the least inclination. Now and then I will jot down what interested me most, as to natural features, the people we met and the company around me. In the morning after we left Minnetonka, we passed through some rolling country, dotted with lakes, reminding me much of the scenery in Mecklenburg and Holstein, reaching pretty early Fargo, the principal town in the then Territory of Dakota, half backwoods, half a city of noble residences and business houses, with the latest improvements, electric lights, telephones and as many churches as streets. Once for all, all the larger cities in Dakota, Montana, Oregon and Washington Territory, have the same characteristics as Fargo, and our reception in that place, where we were shown around the city in carriages, accompanied by a procession of all the different lodges, societies, and music bands, and finally taken to an exhibition building, full of the products of the country, cereal, floral, and mineral, of really astonishing growth and beauty, may stand for all similar ones of which we were the spectators and sometimes the victims. For some hundreds of miles we rode through prairies, saw only now and then on some streams a few hundred bushes and trees,— all planted, as far as the eye could see, in wheat, Indian corn, and oats. We saw at one point twenty steam threshing-machines in operation. Of course the sight was rather monotonous, and we had leisure to become better acquainted with our fellow-travelers. General Xylander was rather taciturn, and

kept himself generally in his state-room. Colonel Xylander, on the other hand, was a most agreeable companion, very well informed, spoke English quite well, was a very handsome man of fine military appearance, very young looking for a brigade-commander; and, having been, as well as his brother, the General, in the late Franco-German war, I took great interest in his conversation. He occupied the next room to mine, together with the equally pleasant Dr. Schuette; Lieutenant Pertz of the railroad regiment made it his particular business to examine the railroad work, particularly the bridges and tunnels. He is the son of the celebrated Professor Pertz, the great explorer of ancient German history and the principal editor of that vast work, the "Monumenta Germanica." The Lieutenant is a very quiet and amiable young man, quite a contrast to the ordinary Prussian lieutenant. Carl Schurz, who for humor, wit and cheerfulness in conversation has hardly an equal, was the life of our more intimate party.

The German minister at Washington, Von Eisendecker, was originally an officer in the navy; but was transferred to the diplomatic service. He had been minister to Japan before he was sent to Washington. He assumed no airs, and was very unaffected in his manners; but he was very fond of exercise, a stout walker and mountain climber. Whenever we stopped for any length of time, he was seen ascending the nearest cliff. Several times he could not avoid making speeches. He was always brief, but spoke to the point and showed a great deal of tact.

Of the British minister, Sackville West, we did not see much. He was very reserved, and so plain in his address and manners that no one would have taken him for the representative of the British Empire. He was a great sportsman and very fond of angling. On our return, where we stopped a whole day on a celebrated trout stream, the Joko, he caught some of the largest brook trout I have ever seen. To wind up with the diplomats in our train, I have to mention Count Bildt, *chargé d'affaires* of Sweden and Norway, a wonderfully

handsome and tall man and a splendid horseman, and as far as I could judge, a very amiable man. Count Lippe Weissenfels, Austrian *chargé d'affaires,* added very much to our entertainment. His Austrian frankness, his gallantry to the ladies, his love of good living, and his joviality made him a very pleasant companion. He was a fine teller of stories, new and old ones.

The city of Bismarck was to be the scene of a great celebration. The corner stone of the capitol of Dakota Territory was to be laid with great solemnity. Our train arrived there about midnight, and at breakfast time all the other trains had come in, so that all the excursionists were united for once, swelling the immense crowd of people which had assembled there from every part of the Territory. Bismarck is situated a short distance from the Missouri River on the east and high bank of the river, which after turning from its source northwestwardly makes a great bend to the southwest. It is navigable nearly 1,000 miles north of Bismarck and from thence south and west until it forms the junction with the Mississippi below Alton. The city was profusely decorated with American and German flags. An enormous triumphal arch was surmounted by a life-sized portrait of Bismarck. The procession was a mile long and amid immense cheering moved to a hill some distance from the town where the capitol was to be erected. A large tribune was built for the governors and other officials and the guests. Speeches were made by the Governor of Dakota, Evarts, Villard, Billings, and a few words were spoken by General Grant. The German guests were most interested in the address made by the mayor of Bismark in transmitting to the German minister the diploma granting to Prince Bismarck the honorary citizenship of the city. Baron Eisendecker replied that he would, with great pleasure, transmit to the Chancellor of the German Empire which he had the honor to represent, the title of citizenship and the address accompanying it, and he hoped that the city of Bismark would attain the same celebrity as the name of the great Chancellor.

There was a very high wind blowing, and it was almost impossible for any one of the speakers to make himself understood to any but the nearest bystanders. A remarkable feature of this grand show was the presence of Sitting Bull, who, as the medicine-man of the Sioux tribe, had even more influence than their chief, and had been at the bottom of the war of that tribe in 1876, when the brave but audacious General Custer with a whole battalion of his cavalry regiment was, in a deep valley through which he charged, defeated by some thousands of Indians, and he and every one of his comrades were killed, not one surviving to tell the tale. What we have learned of this dreadful massacre has come from the Indians alone. Sitting Bull was not present, however, at the massacre, and had since signified in various ways his friendship to the government. The crowd loudly called upon him to make a speech, and he said some words which were translated by an Indian agent, but when published amounted only to some rather incoherent phrases about his love for the white people. He was a tall, large, elderly Indian. He embraced the opportunity of turning an honest penny. He peddled his photographs among the crowd at fifty cents a piece, and he also wrote a sort of autograph on cards to people who asked for it, to be paid for *ad libitum*. There were about two dozen Indians and Indian squaws with him in their best barbaric dress, who also willingly took small money gifts. From what I have seen of Indians, and I have seen a good many of various tribes, they seem to be, with the exception of Cooper's and Longfellow's, natural born beggars.

Here we crossed the Missouri over the splendid railroad bridge, a masterpiece of architecture, so high that steamboats even at a high stage of water pass under it without trouble. With its approaches it is 1500 feet long, all solid masonry, iron and steel, built at the cost of one million of dollars. On the west side is situated Mandan, which was only a few years ago an Indian village or rather camp, but now a flourishing city, where the company has large machine-shops and freight-

houses. It boasts of two large-sized papers, a first-class hotel, banks and churches and electric lights. Some of our German friends had at first tried to appear unimpressionable and to admire nothing, but they had to give it up. At all the stations young and very handsome ladies were sitting on tribunes or on the verandas of hotels, dressed in the latest style; frequently a number of them were on horseback, riding splendid horses. They showered bouquets and flowers on us, and very gracefully too. A few miles further on we saw a troop of Indians galloping near our train and hallooing their deep "ughs" by way of greeting. This contrast of refined and wild life was striking.

Several of our German guests had accustomed themselves to write while the train was moving. The most indefatigable writer was Professor Von Holst, the author of the great work on the political history of the United States, which in profoundness of learning, precision of judgment and force of language is by far the best picture of the origin and development of our constitution and institutions ever written by a foreigner. Von Holst was a hard and somewhat forbidding-looking man, tall and slender, and with a furrowed forehead, indicating serious intellectual labor. Only when the lamps were lighted did he become social at the whist table, of which all the Germans seemed to be extremely fond.

The morning after we left Bismarck, the leading paper of the city had been thrown into our cars by the bushel; it contained a very full description of the celebration, all the speeches and a list of the excursionists, and of the hundreds of prominent men from the Territory who had been in attendance. In an editorial Bismarck was enthusiastically praised, but the article concluded in this way: "We admire the great Chancellor Bismarck; but if we had a vote, we would always vote with Herr Lasker." When I showed this passage to Mr. Lasker, he said nothing, but smiled somewhat melancholily. It was on this occasion that my friend Kreismann told me that Villard had also invited Von Levezow, the President of the

Reichstag, and one or two of the ministers, and that they had been very willing to accept the invitation, but that the Chancellor, having learned that Lasker and Bunsen were also of the party, objected to their accepting the offer, and, of course, made them decline it. The great man could sometimes be very small.

IN MONTANA

Just about twenty miles before we reached Montana Territory, at the little Missouri River, we came upon the Mauvaises Terres (Bad Lands). This region is also known as Pyramid Park. Mighty forces of fire and water in conflict seemed to have produced this phenomenon, a conglomeration of limestone, sand-stone, pebbles and compressed sand. I borrow a description of these Bad Lands, most of which are south of the railroad, from Winsor's excellent itinerary of the Great West, as I am not geologist enough to do it justice:

"Buttes from 50 to 150 feet in height with rounded summits and steep sides, variegated by broad horizontal bands of color, stand closely crowded together. The black and brown stripes are due to veins of impure lignites, from the burning of which are derived the shades of red, while the raw clay varies from a dazzling white to a dark gray. The mounds are in every conceivable form and are composed of different varieties of argillaceous limestone, friable sandstone and lignite lying in successive strata. The coloring is very rich. Some of the buttes have bases of yellow, intermediate girdles of pure white and tops of deepest red, while others are blue, brown and gray. There are also many of these elevations which in the hazy distance seem like ocean billows stiffened and at rest."

After all, this strange scenery must be seen, for the most minute description can give no idea of it. The usual explanation is that this region was plain prairie or timber land, underlaid with heavy strata of coal which became ignited and made the land sink, forming big ravines, which in every direction run through this sea of sand and rocks, and form the turrets and pyramids which are such wondrous features in this weird landscape.

We stopped from time to time to give our great geologist, Professor Zittel and the great chemist, Professor Hoffmann, an opportunity for examination and for hammering off specimens of this extraordinary formation. At Glendive we struck the Yellowstone River and followed it for nearly 350 miles. It was a most beautiful river where we first saw it, as wide as the Ohio and of a clear, somewhat greenish color, reminding one of the river Rhine. It issues from Yellowstone Park and runs in a northeasterly direction until it forms a junction with the Missouri River at Fort Buford. Its banks are fringed with timber, mostly cotton trees. Now and then it runs through deep cañons, and its valley is in many places quite picturesque. A number of flourishing villages and towns, in all of which we met with enthusiastic receptions, have sprung up on this part of the road.

At Fort Keogh, near Miles City, Villard had engaged the military band of the First Infantry Regiment, which was said to be the finest band in the service. They accompanied us to Victoria and back again to Miles City. The many concerts they gave us added greatly to our enjoyment of the trip. We crossed here the Rosebud streamlet, not far from which General Custer's disaster happened. Even before we arrived at Miles City rose before us several mountain ranges, the Yellowstone range in the southwest, and still farther west the Rocky Mountains, the peaks of which were covered with snow. Further on, at Livingston, the Yellowstone range appeared in full splendor. The lines are most graceful and are contrasted by the high irregular peaks of the Rockies forming the background. I do not think that I have seen more beautiful mountain scenery in Switzerland. It brought to my mind the view of the Bluemlis Alps, as seen from the road leading from Interlaken to Thun.

AN INDIAN ENCAMPMENT

Before, however, we came to Livingston, from whence a branch railroad leads down to the entrance of the celebrated

Yellowstone Park, we witnessed a novel and most interesting spectacle. South of Yellowstone River is a region of country, 200 miles long and of an average width of 75 miles, reserved to the tribes of the Crow Indians. Upon this territory, of the size of the State of Massachusetts, live about three or four thousand Indians by hunting and fishing and from the rations of flour and beef distributed at regular intervals by the government. With the assistance of the Secretary of the Interior, who was one of the party, Villard had arranged, that on the day the excursion arrived at Gray Cliff, nearly the whole tribe, some two thousand, should pitch their camp in the valley of the river, a lovely grassy spot at the foot of some steep but well-timbered heights. The women and children were close around their tents; thousands of Indian ponies were feeding on the plains and far up the hills. There were as many dogs, looking however more like wolves, and all of a mongrel miserable breed. Some of the young Indians ran races and were joined in that sport by some of our English friends; one of them, however, an army officer, was thrown and had his head badly hurt. These Indians ride without saddles and the bridles are mostly ropes and have a single bit.

All the men and many women and children were dressed in their best style. About one hundred of the best-formed, agile men were in their war dress, their bodies painted, as is their custom when going to war. To speak of their dress is really a misnomer, for they wore nothing except a breech-cloth, unless we call dress, cocks' feathers, rams' horns, horsetails, and other brimboria, stuck on their heads, and bells fastened to their elbows, knees and ankles, and chains of teeth or corals wound around their necks. As they had, however, besmeared their bodies with red, gray, green, blue and even black paint, they looked somewhat more decent than if they had showed their natural color. These young men exhibited themselves from time to time in various dances, a religious one and also a war dance. Stretched on the ground, sometimes all arose, or only a part of them, at the tap of drums, which were beaten

by old men and old squaws, couched on the soil. It was a uniform sound without any melody. The performance was a sort of ring dance, and the dancers set up a kind of inarticulate whooping. At times there was a solo dance, and the performer seemed to be exceedingly proud of his achievements.

We saw many very regular, well-shaped and muscular figures among them, who would have made fine models for a sculptor. But with the exception of some half-breed men and women, their faces, both of men and women, had all the heavy, gloomy and indifferent type of the Northern Indians, big cheek bones, thick noses, with the crook of birds of prey. Those who did not join in the dance, wore leggings and blankets; only a few had covered their heads with old hats or dingy caps. The women had long shifts, leggings and also blankets. At a distance it was really hard to tell them from smaller men. The women and girls came round offering their well known wares, moccasins, scarfs and tobacco pouches. They, of course found ready purchasers among the Europeans, who could have bought the same articles equally genuine at St. Paul or St. Louis at one-third of the price. They also crowded on the platforms of our cars, to look at the splendor of the salons; but our porters, who as negroes have the greatest contempt for the Indians, drove them off very rudely, warning us not to come too near to them, as they were, like all the sons of the wilderness, full of all kinds of vermin.

Taking it all in all, it was the most interesting, exciting scene we witnessed. There stood a magnificent railroad train on the banks of the swift rushing Yellowstone River. Close to it were assembled on a beautiful meadow at the foot of high mountains a whole tribe of Indians, racing, gamboling, dancing, and singing to satanic music, in numbers hardly ever congregated into so small a space, while our party of diplomats, members of the English and German Parliaments, governors and learned professors perambulated the camp and received impressions never to be forgotten.

Villard, always intent to afford pleasure, had ordered

large woodpiles to be erected and set afire when the other sections would arrive in the night (it was almost dark when we left), so that the same spectacle should be presented to the newcomers. The promise of an additional present of forty to fifty beeves to the chief, whose name I have forgotten, made them consent to stay. We learned that everything passed off the same way as in the forenoon, and that the scene at night was even more exciting, as the dancing and howling around the fires, when darkness had overspread the valley and mountains, gave the scene a weird and unearthly aspect.

ONWARD AGAIN THROUGH MONTANA

At Livingston we left the beautiful Yellowstone River behind, and approached the eastern range of the Rocky Mountains. The pass we had to surmount, the Bozeman Pass, is about 6,000 feet high. A tunnel considerably below this height and of a length of 3,500 feet was not quite finished and a provisional railroad has been laid right over the Pass. It was what our German engineers called a "Nothbahn," one of dire necessity.

At the foot of the mountains, where the upgrade is already 116 feet per mile, our section was again divided, and two locomotives were put on each division. It was a slow proceeding and it took up nearly the whole night, as we had to be more careful even when descending. At daybreak, after passing through a cañon of sublime picturesqueness, equal to the Clear Creek cañon in Colorado, we found ourselves in the wonderfully beautiful valley of the Gallatin River, and soon stopped at Bozeman, one of the oldest settlements in this region. It is a fine city, and great preparations had been made to give us a grand reception. The exhibition of minerals, cereals, flowers, fruit and vegetables was really extraordinary. It is a very rich valley, and I have no doubt that Bozeman in a few years will count ten or twenty thousand people, instead of the three thousand which it has at present. About thirty miles further west we came to a point near a water-mill where the Gallatin River joins the Jefferson and Madison Rivers and

from this point the combined rivers take the name of the Missouri River, which traverses, until its union with the Mississippi River, 3,000 miles.

The same evening we reached Helena, the capital of Montana, situated in a wide valley surrounded by ranges of high mountains. The city is some distance from the depot, but a number of carriages took us at once to the place. Originally it was a great mining-camp, and it still bears the traces of its origin. Rich gold washings attracted great crowds, and within a few years a city sprang up, containing, at the time of our visit, some ten thousand people. A great many substantial buildings, erected by the people of the United States, as the Court House, Assay Office, and four banks, theatres and many fine residences give part of the town quite a city aspect. Still there are many low buildings, shanties, and half decayed tenement houses, and the number of saloons and gambling-houses open day and night indicate that it is still a place for adventurers and fortune-seekers in mining, though it seems that the cream has been skimmed off. We were told that in the immediate neighborhood, from what was called "the last chance gulch," more than ten millions worth of gold had been dug up. In one of the national banks was exhibited a very large collection of samples of minerals from all parts of Montana, which our geologists vastly admired. We could not stay very long, as our railroad people were desirous of getting over the Pass at the main range of the Rocky Mountains, the Mullen Pass, which is still higher and much steeper than the Bozeman Pass, before night.

The tunnel not being finished we had to use another "Nothbahn." The train was divided into four sections and our movement was very slow. It is said that from the summit of the pass there is one of the finest views in the whole mountain regions, but unfortunately it was too dark when we reached it to enjoy the glorious sight. Here is the Divide. Going down into the valley of the Deer Lodge Creek we followed the stream which runs west toward the Pacific Ocean.

THE LAYING OF THE LAST RAILS

About ten o'clock in the morning we reached a station called Garrison, in honor of Mr. Villard's father-in-law, where the Utah Northern Railroad joins the Northern Pacific. Stepping out on the platform, I was agreeably surprised by being welcomed by Caroline Rombauer, daughter of our brother-in-law, Louis Engelmann, and by her husband, Roland Rombauer. The latter was employed at some mining place in Idaho, seven miles south of Garrison, but near the Utah Northern Railroad. Here was the place where the last spoke was to be driven connecting the rails of the eastern and western divisions of the road.

At the arrival of our train a section of a battery from Fort Missoula, stationed on the slope of a hill a little south of the road, fired a salute. The band of the corps was also present, playing lively airs. The scenery was charming, a tolerably wide grassy valley encircled by beautifully timbered mountains, and refreshed by the clear and rushing waters of a mountain stream.

An immense tribune had been erected, decorated with evergreens. The western train from Portland had already arrived, — eight coaches standing at the edge of the western division. For about one hundred yards the rails had not been laid. Of course we had to wait for the other trains, which, as they came in one after another, were also saluted by the artillery. It was near two o'clock before they were all in. The tribune was soon filled by the guests and the Portland people. Besides these, there were at least five thousand persons present from the neighboring towns and from Idaho, and for these there were also extensive platforms provided opposite to the main tribune. After taking some rest, speaking commenced. Villard gave a brief history of the road and its manifold difficulties, of the embarrassments and obstacles it encountered and of its final triumph at this very moment, when the completion of the work was to take place, in a quiet and very clear manner. He was followed by Vice-President

Billings, (who for years had been president, and who had been in the midst of the stormy periods of the enterprise, full of shoals, quicksands and breakers,) in a most eloquent and feeling speech, which was loudly applauded. Evarts, as the designated festive speaker, spoke as usual very long, and to the fatigue of the audience. His few attempts at humor miscarried. He had passed his prime as an orator, if he ever was one. "Stat magni nominis umbra." Secretary Teller of the Interior Department in the name of the government spoke well and fluently. Sackville West, Sir John Hannen, and Baron Eisendecker, expressed themselves briefly and handsomely. Eisendecker congratulated America on having gained Mr. Villard, but regretted that Germany had lost him. Rudolph Gneist and Professor Hoffmann also made some brief appropriate remarks. Grant was also pressed into service, and answered the loud call by some few but pleasant remarks. The governors of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Oregon and Washington Territory addressed successively, but very briefly, the assemblage, as not much time was left for the real ceremony.

The vast multitude now pressed toward the spot where the last rails were to be laid and the last spike to be driven. Only by means of a file of regulars was a passage opened for the Villards and the most prominent guests. The engineer ordered the hands to lay the rails along between the present eastern and western ends of the road. In a few minutes the stout, brawny workmen had put the rails on and struck the spikes in, with their mighty sledge hammers. The connection was made. The golden spike which was held in the hands of the Villard babe, in the arms of his nurse, was driven in by Villard and at the same moment the electric spark announced the completion through the whole land. Cannons thundered, the bands played, ten thousand cheers filled the air. The two trains from the east and west moved forward and stood face to face. Our band struck up "Yankee Doodle," the Portland band "Die Wacht am Rhein," which was enthusiastically received, and the Missoula band, "God Save the Queen."

Upon my suggestion our band intonated the "Marseillaise," and the Germans were very glad that it was done. On such an occasion a people like the French, to whom civilization owes so much, ought not to be forgotten.

RUDOLPH GNEIST AND A. W. HOFFMANN

I spoke just above of two of the most distinugished men of our party, Rudolph Gneist and Prof. A. W. Hoffmann. The former is known as a most able jurist, who has made English jurisprudence and English administration his special study and has published highly esteemed works on these subjects. He is a member of the Imperial Supreme Court, member of the Prussian Legislature and also of the German Parliament. He has traveled much and possesses vast information. Nearly seventy years of age he appears in poor health and on that account probably was more reserved in conversation than he otherwise might have been. Professor Hoffmann, on the other hand, was of a most lively disposition, constantly on the alert, inquisitive and withal most amiable. He is the celebrated professor of chemistry at Berlin University, very popular with the students, and as I was told a *persona gratissima* at the Imperial Court, and more particularly with the Crown Prince Frederick and his wife. We all soon liked him very much. O, that all our celebrated professors were like him!

BEYOND THE ROCKIES

All river-courses now ran westward. Immediately after passing over the main range of the Rockies one feels the change of temperature. The air is milder. Splendid pine forests border the streams and rivers. It is to be regretted that fires, owing mostly to the negligence of laborers and travelers who camp along the railroad, have devastated considerably these magnificent forests, the same as in Colorado. Passing Hellgate Cañon, we traversed an immense ravine, called "Marent Gulch" on a trestle bridge, nearly nine hundred feet long and

two hundred and twenty five feet above the bottom of the ravine. It is a bold structure and one feels a little nervous crossing it. We reached the Flathead Reservation, in which there are some fine streams full of trout, fine timber-lands and some open valleys, and reached Lake Pend Oreille, Idaho, at night, reserving our stop at that beautiful sheet of water for our return trip.

I cannot omit remarking here on the great courtesy and kindness Mr. Villard showed to all of his guests alike. He spoke in the same genial frank manner, which is so characteristic of Rhenish Bavaria, to the English or German minister, as he did to any one of his special friends, whom he had invited merely for old friendship's sake. General Grant was no more to him than Mr. Schulz, one of the company's employees.

Those who enjoyed good living, and most of us did, were abundantly gratified. At early breakfast, at lunch, at dinner in the evening, the fare was equal to that of the most renowned hotels in the States. The wines were exquisite; the best brands of Rhine wine, of Bordeaux, Burgundy, Moselle and champagne, sherry and Madeira, were to be had, as also ale and bottled beer, while of mineral waters there were not less than seven kinds. Our section patronized the wines of the Rhine and Moselle and the champagne and the Apollinaris water to such an extent that these articles had to be replenished at Portland. The other sections preferred good old whiskey, ale and porter, and, of the wines, champagne. Even between the regular meals one could send for any liquor one wanted, and for fruit, cakes and the like. Cigars of the best kind were always furnished. It was a Sybaritic life. But as most of our company were rather used to good things, there was great moderation in eating and drinking, and the utmost decorum was constantly observed. In the other sections, owing to the absence of ladies and the presence of stronger drinks, there was, as we were told, much greater hilarity. Americans, when once out of the common routine and free from business cares, are really much more given to vivacity and jollification

than other nations. They have a considerable quantity of fun and humor in their nature, which they usually repress, but which on occasions explodes in the most astonishing manner.

After passing Lake Pend Oreille we reached Spokane Falls in Washington Territory. This is quite an attractive place. The Spokane River right at the end of the present town is a rushing mountain stream, nearly a half a mile wide, and has a considerable fall furnishing immense water power, on account of which the town was very early settled. Though at the time of our presence (1883) it had hardly 2,000 inhabitants, there were large flour and saw mills there, a large sized hotel, an Opera House, and some fine residences. It is said that at the present time it has a population of more than 20,000 people and is constantly growing in importance.

It was late in the evening when we arrived, about six hours after we were expected. Great preparations had been made for our reception. The town was illuminated. In the Opera House a banquet had been spread. A reception committee with a band of music stood on the platform. But Mr. Villard informed them that owing to the delay we could not participate in their hospitalities. We could stay only a few minutes. There was great disappointment. Some of our party, however, went to the hotel and made some short speeches. In the meantime most of us walked to the foot of the Falls, where the moonlight gilded the rushing waters and the many rapids over which the river courses before reaching the brink. Before we left a German singing club gave us a very fine serenade, and we regretted much to have to disappoint the good people of Spokane Falls.

At daylight we found ourselves in a most remarkable section of the country. The road runs for many miles, to Ainsworth, on the confluence of the Snake or Clark River, coming from the south, with the Columbia River, through rolling, sandy plateaus, interspersed with big heaps of fine pebble. The least breeze, even the rolling of the cars, sets this sand in motion, and it ran down from the banks on the

tracks and would have filled the cars with sand dust, had not all the windows and skylights been carefully closed. In a great wind this sea of sand and pebble would prevent the running of trains, and as on some of the mountain roads screens are erected to keep the snow from falling on the track, so there are, all through this region, sand sheds. At Ainsworth there was then building a large bridge spanning the Snake River before it enters the Columbia. It not being finished, a track had been laid on the east side of the river for a mile or so above the bridge, and we were carried in different sections over the river on transfer boats, where another provisional track brought us again to the main line on the western shore. Ainsworth is the very type of those mushroom places which spring up on railroads in the course of construction. The building of this immense and costly bridge had brought there a large number of laborers, mostly Chinese. Their tents and shanties are on the sand ridge, with no bush or tree visible for miles. What might be called the town consists of a row of wooden houses, and except a blacksmith's shop every one of these houses is either a rough tenement house, a drinking or gambling booth, or a dance-house; very often they are a combination of all three such places. There was a variety store, but looking into it, we found it principally filled with coarse clothing, shoes, powder and lead, guns and revolvers, bowie knives, boxing gloves and fishing tackle. All the doors stood wide open, and although it was open daylight gambling and dancing were going on. There was singing and fiddling, and improper women paraded along the platforms. At the completion of the bridge it is most likely the place will vanish, as similar towns have done, and if a few remaining people are then asked what became of it, the answer will be the usual one: "O, the d——— place is played out. It never amounted to anything anyhow."

The sandy character of the country continued a good while longer, but from time to time we ran alongside the Columbia River, the color of which is remarkably fine, resembling that

of the Rhine. Toward evening we struck one of the most interesting points, the so-called Dalles of the Columbia River. Here we stopped for some time. We climbed for a quarter of a mile over large volcanic boulders to the bank of the river, of which one sees nothing until one reaches the bank. The mighty river, which above is a mile wide, is here confined within a narrow cut, close to the Washington (southern) line. It is easy to throw a stone here across the largest river of Northwestern America. Its width is no more in low water than about sixty yards, but it is of fathomless depth. When the water is high it rises above the cliffs which nearly close the river and form rapids, like those above the falls of Niagara. The moon was just rising and gilded the rushing waters. For the first time appeared to our view one of the high peaks of the Cascade Mountains, Mount Hood, which rose, a solitary cone, to the west of where we stood. Upon the cliffs stood a couple of Indians, spears in hand, waiting to throw them for salmon, which were plentiful in that part of the river. It was a wonderfully grand view. What a subject for a painter. Mount Hood is about 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. The gorge through which the river runs is about one and a half miles long.

FESTIVITIES IN PORTLAND

Dalles City, an old settlement, was the next station. It is a flourishing business place. It was near midnight when we passed it, but we heard music and cheering, and very early in the morning we found ourselves in the depot at East Portland, saluted by the thunder of cannons. We remained on the cars some hours, until the other sections of the guests had arrived, when we crossed the Williamette River to the west side, where the main city of Portland stands. We partook of a splendid breakfast on the boat. As we were to stay several days in the city, it had been arranged, that besides the quarters that could be obtained at the different hotels, those citizens who had fine houses and were willing, should receive

those guests who could not conveniently be placed in the hotels. So on board of the boats the guests each received a card, admitting them, for all meals they chose to take out of their quarters, to a first class restaurant, which had been enlarged by a large pavilion and was served by a number of waiters from San Francisco, from where the cooks had also been procured. I have been in all my life no place where the meats and wines were superior to those of this restaurant. Most of the guests quartered in the hotels resorted to this charming place. All received badges, which entitled them to ride free, not only on the street cars, but also in hacks. Hospitality could not have been carried further than that shown by the people of Portland and the railroad company. The city was most profusely, and let me say, most tastefully decorated. All public buildings and all private houses and the principal streets were festooned. Some triumphal arches had been constructed with great taste, and were handsomely decorated with flowers and evergreens. At intervals banners, each imprinted with the name of one of the guests, were attached to the houses on Main Street.

Including various excursions our stay in Portland was continued for six days. Here we could rest after a journey from Chicago of six days and nights on the cars, and refresh ourselves if we so chose. I had been assigned quarters with Professor Zittel, at a very fine and elegant residence on the heights, which rise terrace-like from the business part of the city. But the Professor had, in company with Baron Bunsen, and a young engineer of the road, Willis Bailey, who had studied at German universities and spoke German fluently, left Portland, in order to ascend the glacier of Mount Ranier, now called Mount Tacoma, the highest peak of the Cascade Mountains. But I had for my nearest neighbor, at the house of a relative of my host, and within the same enclosure, Professor Hoffmann and Paul Lindau.

Of Professor Hoffmann I have spoken already. He promised to pay us a visit at Belleville on his return. Paul Lindau

was a very pleasant companion, looked remarkably young and rosy, and was not only witty in himself but was also the cause of wit in others. He spent a great deal of time and labor on his toilet, was the "dude" of our party, and very fond of "das ewige Weibliche." He seemed to have musical talent and a most remarkable memory. At Portland I heard him play for hours in succession, almost everything that he was called upon to play, on the grand square piano at his quarters. The playing itself was very indifferent, but the rendering of the melodies was quite correct. I found him to be a very good observer, and his notes on this excursion to the United States, which, of course, he will publish, I dare say will be interesting and upon the whole truthful, though of course there may be a good many mistakes, as far as details are concerned. He and several others of the German and English guests intended to return by way of San Francisco.

The large building of the railroad offices in part had been converted into an exhibition hall. The tables were covered with the choicest grapes, apricots, plums, peaches, and melons of the size of California fruits, sheaves of wheat and oats, barley also of extraordinary size and quality, while colossal vegetables were exposed in the corridors. My host took me around to some of the finest residences on the hill, from the largest of which, standing in an extensive beautifully kept park, and on the summit of the heights, we enjoyed a most beautiful vista. Below the cities of Portland and East Portland, was the wide clear river; in the east loomed up the range of the Cascade Mountains, snow-capped Mount Hood rising far above the other peaks. Portland at the time had only 40,000 people, five thousand of whom were Chinese. But its trade was even then, in proportion to its inhabitants, immense. The Willamette is deep enough for the largest ocean steamers. They start from here for Puget Sound, the mouth of the Columbia River, San Francisco, the Sandwich Islands and China. Sailing vessels of all sizes load freight here for Liverpool and discharge British cargoes. The splendid forests of Oregon and

Washington furnish to the timber trade their inexhaustible treasures. There is also a very extensive trade in furs, particularly in seal skins from Alaska. There is a great deal of wealth in the city, even the Chinese appearing to be well off. At any rate they occupy a very good quarter almost in the heart of the city, have temples, two theatres and respectable dwellings. A great many of them fill the places of house-servants, who are very rare here. They have all the laundry and also all the gardening business in their hands, in which latter business they are really masters. We all agreed that Portland in the next ten years would at least double its present population.

We found the climate after we had crossed the Cascade Mountains very mild, though somewhat damp and foggy, owing to the nearness of the Pacific and the mighty rivers. When it does not rain, which, however, happens very often, the weather is really delightful. The people look fresh and healthy. On Monday night after our arrival the Portland Turners gave Mr. Villard and the German guests a great banquet or "Commers" in real German style, where the songs of the Fatherland made the foreign guests feel quite at home.

Tuesday was set apart for the principal festival, and it passed off with great *éclat*. To describe it would be a repetition of the celebrations in St. Paul and Minneapolis. It may be mentioned, however, that it took the procession fully one hour and a half to pass the tribune upon which the guests and the official authorities of Oregon and Washington and of the city of Portland were seated to review it. Quite interesting was a group representing an emigrant train to Oregon about thirty years before: a large farmer's wagon drawn by a yoke of nearly used-up oxen; a few chairs, cooking utensils and buffalo robes, on which rested women and children in home-spun clothes, filled the wagon bed,—everything bearing the traces of roughing it over two thousand miles of the plains and over the mountains thousands of feet high. A half dozen sturdy men with big beards, their long and unerring rifles

on their shoulders, their clothing pretty well worn out, marched alongside the wagon prepared at any moment to protect their women and children and their earthly possessions with their life's blood against the wily robber Indians. Their horses were all gone, for the cunning redskins had managed to steal them. In place of the four yoke of oxen with which they started, but one was left; the others had been eaten by the daring travelers.

A battalion of the 21st regiment and a battery of horse artillery from Fort Vancouver, accompanied by a fine band and battalions of National Guards of Oregon, gave to the pageant quite a military appearance. The procession was headed by a large minstrel band of blacks followed by about one hundred of the oldest settlers. Most of them were quite aged, but all marched bravely. The pupils of an Indian school, the Forest School, about seventy-five strong, rather sprightly and intelligent looking, was an interesting feature. One of the finest groups was represented by a bevy of beautiful young women and girls representing Diana on a deer hunt. It was only surpassed by the German groups, which were most artistically arranged. These were preceded by trumpeters and a herald and a standard-bearer in old German costumes and eight brilliantly mailed knights on large fiery horses. It was remarked by all that the many marshals, the artillery and other horsemen in the groups were excellently mounted. On an immense platform a most beautiful group appeared next. Two very beautiful ladies clasping hands, represented Columbia and Germania, bearing the star-spangled banner and the German flags, and surrounded by a galaxy of children in the national costumes of the German and Swiss peasantry; miniature mountains and forest trees encircled the group. It created the greatest enthusiasm and was vociferously cheered all along the line. It was escorted by a company of German riflemen.

There were a great many other charming emblematic groups. The Turner societies from the different cities and

towns of Oregon and Washington Territory, numbering several hundreds, and marching like the regular troops, halted before the tribune, made front and cheered Villard, their bands playing "Die Wacht am Rhein." They made such an impression that all on the tribune rose and loudly cheered them. The trade-display was magnificent; the flower and fruit cars being most gracefully arranged. The exhibition of furs, on account of their quality and richness, was greatly admired. A band of Indians in war dress was in the procession, and only the Chinese kept themselves aloof.

The guests and prominent local people were then conducted to the exhibition building, of vast dimensions; but owing to well-applied draperies on the ceiling and corners, the speaking and singing could be distinctly heard. After the invited people were seated, the immense hall speedily filled to overflowing. Our people take a real delight in listening to speeches. They never get tired. So the talking tournament began. Senator Corbett of Oregon, as chairman of the reception committee, briefly opened the meeting. The orator of the day, McGeorge, made a laudatory speech to the railroad directors, to which Villard replied in a few words. Messrs. Russell and Davy, members of Parliament and noted lawyers, spoke in the name of the English guests; Senator Groening of Hamburg, a much traveled and well-informed man, in the name of the guests from Germany. A general guerrilla talk followed. John A. Kasson, ex-minister to Austria, now again member of Congress, a fluent and eloquent speaker, Senator Conger from Michigan, Carl Schurz and the inevitable Evarts also addressed the crowd.

A few hours' rest, after watching this procession and hearing the multitude of speeches, was highly welcome; for that night a great promenade concert was to take place in the same pavilion. This festivity was evidently arranged so as to give the ladies a chance. The program prescribed strictly evening dress. The first rows in the galleries were reserved for ladies and the gentlemen who escorted them. There was

really a great display of beautiful women and particularly of rich jewelry. The floor was filled with gentlemen and ladies who were not in evening dress. It must be admitted that this concert was arranged with great taste and remarkable refinement. It was an artistic treat. After the justly popular overture from Rossini's "William Tell," the Apollo Club, augmented to one hundred singers by some other clubs, sang "Die Wacht am Rhein" with a fire and enthusiasm which elicited the greatest applause from the audience. Symphonies from Haydn and Mendelssohn were played by a large and well-trained orchestra. Several vocal and cornet solos enlivened the performance. The concert being over, refreshments were served and the promenade commenced, the most excellent band of the 21st infantry playing marches from Wagner, Weber and Meyerbeer. Though it was not on the program, at a later hour the younger people enjoyed themselves with dancing. There is no question but that of all the festivities we attended during our tour, this was the most aesthetic and *recherché*. The foreign guests were greatly surprised at the display of pearls and jewelry and more particularly by the costly fur-garments of the ladies of Portland. I had taken Mrs. Weidler, my very pretty young hostess, along. She was very much delighted that General Grant, as it so happened, had taken the seat next to me. I changed places so that she came to sit between the General and myself. General Grant entertained her in a very lively fashion, and I have no doubt she will mark this meeting in her memory as one of her proudest moments.

TRIP TO VICTORIA

A great many of the American guests from the East left Portland after this last festivity, in the ordinary trains of the company. Some, however, accompanied the German and English guests on a most interesting excursion to Victoria, the principal city of Vancouver Island in the British possessions. We left Portland on the 13th of September, steaming up and crossing the Columbia River, which at the point of

confluence is at least twice as wide as the Mississippi River at St. Louis and of a clear, light greenish color, and capable of bearing the largest steam and sailing vessels. The banks of the river here are not very high but densely timbered. Running down the river about fifty miles we reached Calama on the north bank of the Columbia, from which place, through what is called the Cowlitz valley, a railroad leads to Tacoma on the Puget Sound. On the road, bordered by majestic pine forests and traversed by glacier streams, we had at many places the grand pyramidal snowy peaks of the Cascade Mountains in full view, Mount Helena, Mount Adams and at last the highest of all, Mount Tacoma, said to be 15,000 feet high. The sun was setting when we reached the city of Tacoma, but the summit of the mountain was still brilliantly illuminated by the rays of the sun. It brought to my mind most forcibly the evenings when we were sitting on the Great Rugen at Interlaken, looking into the Grindelwald valley when the parting sun shed its last lustre on the crests of the Jungfrau and the Silverhorn. Parallel with the Cascade Mountains west of Tacoma, along the shores of the Pacific, runs another mountain chain, the Olympic Range, not as high as the Cascades, but with some of its peaks also covered with snow and distinctly visible from Tacoma, the situation of which is most beautiful.

About seven o'clock we marched, accompanied by a procession of citizens and bands of music, to the steamer which was to take us to Victoria. It was the "Queen of the Pacific," a steamer of huge dimensions and of a construction then entirely new on ocean steamers and unsurpassed in elegance and comfort. The English confessed that they had never seen anything to equal this boat, which is saying a great deal, as the steamers of their Peninsular and Oriental line had thus far been considered models, both of construction and luxurious outfit. The salons of the "Queen of the Pacific" were most richly and tastefully decorated. The cabins run in part as on the Atlantic steamers around the salons, but there is

another deck as on the Mississippi boats, which contains the greater part of the cabins around a society room or ladies' parlor, and handsome galleries in front of the cabins give ample room for promenading. Above the second deck is the upper deck, enclosed by galleries, which offer a splendid walk when the weather is not too rough. The salon on the lower deck is used in part for a dining-room.

It was a wonderful moonlight night when we left Tacoma, and in about twelve hours we made Esquimalt, the harbor of Victoria, Vancouver Island. The sea was as smooth as a small inland lake, and the boat was hardly felt to move. The first gentleman to come aboard was the American consul, an old acquaintance of mine from Springfield, of whose residence at Victoria I had never learned. The papers had informed him that I was among the excursionists to Vancouver, so he at once inquired for me, as he knew no one else. He introduced himself, for I had entirely forgotten him, and then introduced to me the mayor of Victoria and the vice-consul, and I on my part presented those gentlemen to Mr. Villard and to some of the most prominent gentlemen of our party. There were carriages ready to take about twenty or thirty of us to Victoria, two miles distant, over a rather uninteresting piece of country. Victoria is a true copy of the smaller Canadian towns: stone houses, in the main solidly built, but low and clumsy. We noticed but very few buildings with any pretence to style, except the government house, which is on a high point in the middle of a park. The Governor was not to be seen. There was no reception. The people of the island looked with displeasure on the Northern Pacific Railroad, believing it might be in the way of the contemplated Canadian Pacific line. Very few John Bulls were seen on the street, and they appeared quite indifferent. They would have been far more interested if a circus had entered the town. A good many Chinese, who form one half of the population of the town and also of the island, stood before their business-places looking as stolid and listless as the English. After taking a hasty

glance at the place, we returned to our boat in time for lunch. While we were absent Mr. West and some of our party had paid a visit to an English squadron which lay at anchor in the bay of Esquimalt. The Admiral's flag was hoisted on an ironclad of 3,000 tons, and on board of her the visitors from the "Queen of the West" were politely but coolly received. Owing perhaps to the fact that we had an English minister aboard, the Admiral's corvette on our leaving the port fired a salute of fifteen shots; the marines were drawn up in line; the red-coated band played "Yankee Doodle," and the star spangled banner was hoisted. Our "Queen" hoisted the English flag, and our band played "God Save the Queen." There was cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. It was quite an exciting and pleasant scene.

EDWARD LASKER

On this excursion I became better acquainted with Edward Lasker, who occupied a cabin next to mine, and our conversation naturally turned on our judicial system and also upon the present political aspect of Germany. He became more free of speech, showed great interest in the subjects discussed, though he still preferred to listen, to speaking himself. He also promised to visit St. Louis and to meet me there. But I never saw him again. He returned by way of San Francisco; but a visit which he paid to a brother of his in Galveston detained him longer than he had expected, so that he had to hurry on to New York to be in time for the departure of the boat, which was to bring the German guests home. In New York, however, returning with a friend late at night from an evening entertainment, he was taken with spasms and died within a short time of heart-failure. In forming and elaborating the legal and administrative institutions of the German Empire, no one was more active than the eminent jurist and eloquent advocate, Edward Lasker. Even his political enemies were bound to admit his great merits in this particular; that he at the same time tried his best to make the constitution and the laws conform to liberal principles,

endeared him to all the Liberals of the new empire, while the Conservatives looked upon him as their most dangerous enemy. The great Bismarck for once showed himself very small regarding the memory of Lasker. Upon a motion of a representative from Texas in Congress, the House, when the sudden death of Lasker had become known, passed a resolution regretting the loss of the distinguished and eloquent member of the German Parliament, which was to be sent to the American minister at Berlin for further communication. Instead, however, as ought to have been done, communicating it to the president of the Parliament, our minister, looking upon it as an official document of our government, sent it to the minister of foreign affairs, and so it came into the hands of Bismarck who refused to accept it and sent it back to the minister, instead of transmitting it to Parliament, where it belonged. Bismarck pretended that this resolution was offensive to his royal master,—for Lasker had of late opposed many measures proposed by the Imperial and the Prussian governments. At the same time, however, he sought to sugar the contempt with which he treated the well-meant resolution of the House of Representatives, by some very complimentary remarks about the American people generally.

On this trip to Victoria and on the return tour, I was thrown much more into the company of our English fellow-travelers than before. There were no other sections but the one of Villard, and we were reduced, (a good many Germans having taken the San Francisco route,) to perhaps one hundred people. I found those to whom I was introduced not only very courteous, but really very obliging and good-natured. It is true they were mostly judges or lawyers, and seemed to be most interested in getting information about our courts and the conducting of our legal business generally. To converse with persons such as Professor Bryce, the author of the "Holy Roman Empire," and of a later great work, "The American Commonwealth," or such as Judge Hannen, and W. John Broderick, was a real pleasure.

SEATTLE

The weather was wonderful. Our "Queen" glided over the smooth sea like a Venetian gondola. The Cascade Mountains before us, we took a more northerly course toward the new city of Seattle, which we perceived at a great distance, it being built on a considerable height crowned with a majestic forest of gigantic trees, pines, firs, spruce, cedar, larch and other varieties of conifers.

Some miles from this very newly settled, but now most flourishing place, a whole fleet of steamers crowded with people met us. Bands of music played; the people cheered; and cannons were fired off. The flags of all nations were hoisted on our boat, and we returned the salute from our big gun. We landed right against the wharf, the harbor being of great depth, and we found such a dense crowd of hurrahing and cheering people around on the wharf boat, that the military companies had to open for us a passage by main force. A battery of six guns was booming away all the time, and a half dozen bands playing different tunes added to the bewilderment of the scene. It took a half an hour for the several dozen marshals to form a procession for escorting the guests, (who were hurried into carriages, for it was four o'clock in the afternoon when we landed,) up the hills to the residence portion of the town. Anticipating a great display of oratory I rode up only a few blocks, left the carriage, and walked quietly down to our boat, to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the bay and of the mountain ranges. Some of the party, feeling as fatigued as I, had not left the boat. On one of the most elevated spots of the public square an immense tribune had been erected, profusely decorated with flowers and evergreens, and from the report of the papers the celebration must have been a very successful one. Some of the speeches I found in the papers were really very good, particularly one from a young lady, who welcomed Villard and his guests on behalf of the newly erected University. The people of Seattle are very proud, and believe that their city will become a second

San Francisco. Large coal fields and rich lead and silver mines close by may justify their expectations. While when we were there the population was estimated at about 7,000, it is at present (1891) about 60,000.

Before the party was through with the festivities at the hill, night had set in. I was musingly sitting on the upper gallery of the boat looking toward the sea. The moon was high already, spreading her silvery rays over the light trembling waves. Far off in the west I perceived a small dark spot; soon it came nearer. It was a slight Indian canoe, both ends high above the water, paddled by an almost naked little Indian boy in the bow of the boat. When the canoe was quite close to our boat, an Indian squaw rose from the stern of the tiny bark, holding her striped blanket tightly around her with one hand. For oars the boy used very small spoon-shaped pieces of board. At some distance he let the canoe glide noiselessly along our boat, stopping at the bowsprit. A large quantity of big salmon lay in the canoe. The squaw held up one of them uttering one or two words, which, of course, I did not understand. Presently, word came from the boat, "No fish;" and the same moment the boy set his little craft in motion, and, quietly as it had come, it struck out into the wide sea. Imagine a Neapolitan fisherman or fisherwoman on a like errand; what a chattering there would have been and what cursing probably at the laconic refusal: "no fish."

About midnight we left Seattle. The city was brilliantly illuminated and on the heights above it large bonfires had been lighted; and when the boat started the artillery thundered again. Noiselessly and majestically like a swan the "Queen of the Pacific" speeded over the calm sea, leaving behind her a golden train of phosphoric light in the waves. In the morning we found ourselves landed near the railroad depot at Tacoma and reached Portland again in due time.

A CHINESE THEATRE IN PORTLAND

Bunsen and Professor Zittel had returned from Mount Tacoma perfectly delighted with their arduous but highly

interesting visit. They both admitted that the finest effects made by the Swiss mountains were surpassed by what is seen in approaching this grand isolated mountain and its numerous glaciers. We remained a few days in Portland. On Sunday a farewell banquet was given to the remaining visitors. But I was quite surfeited with such repasts, and preferred, accompanied by a prominent Chinese who could murder some English, to attend the most fashionable Chinese theatre. It was a wooden booth without any ornamentation. There was a large pit with wooden benches and a gallery running round the whole building, at the ends of which was a small place separated by a plank which seemed to enclose what we call a proscenium box, which was occupied by some Chinese women. Besides these there were very few women in the house. Those in the boxes were somewhat better dressed. We asked who those privileged belles in the boxes were. Our interpreter answered "no good," and pointing out some women sitting in the pit, he said, "good." There are, or were at that time, not many female Chinese in the country. On the stage they appear hardly ever. For us, not used to seeing many of the Mongolian race, it was, from a distance at least, impossible to tell the difference between the sexes.

The stage was a bare floor; there was no scenery; the background was made up with calico curtains hanging down from the ceiling, through which the performers entered and retired. Before these hangings sat the orchestra, six or eight musicians playing, with the exception of the gong, (the main piece, and well known to us,) instruments of the queerest shapes, which made such an unearthly noise as to drive one almost mad. There was the shrillest whistling, the most horrible scratching of catguts, rattling of bones, blowing of broken trumpets and the ear-splitting of the gong. There was as little melody or harmony in this performance as in a charivari. And yet this racket accompanied the nasal sing-song of the actors, and delighted the audience when there were pauses in the action. I made it out that the performance

we witnessed was a kind of serio-comic vaudeville. As no scenery was used or anything that could be called stage properties, they helped themselves as best they could, just as we, when little children, got a couple of canes to represent horses, made a narrow place between the sofa and the piano our stable, turned a chair down for a sleigh or coach, and opened an umbrella for our parlor.

The crossing of a river by an army of about half a dozen soldiers led by a captain, who for one was very richly dressed, was conducted on two boxes brought forth on the stage and placed about twenty feet apart. A ladder was then laid on the boxes, with the appearance of great caution, indicating the danger of the passage, whereupon one soldier after another crossed this semblance of a bridge; the structure was then removed. Then came the hostile army equally strong, and finding no bridge they went over without it after the retreating army. There must have been a battle, but nothing was heard except that the music made a satanic noise, which was probably the "alarum," as we find it in the historical dramas of Shakespeare. One of the performers, judging from his gestures, seemed to have a good deal of theatrical talent and some comical power, for he was the only one who raised the laughter of a few young men in the pit; with this exception the public appeared entirely indifferent, the great majority eating nuts, cakes and candies. We were told that the piece had begun at four o'clock in the afternoon. We went there about nine, and stayed about half an hour. We could stand the racket no longer. It was to last until midnight, if it ended even then. Some pieces of an historical character are said to last through a whole week. I suspect that this is a mistake, for so great a length of time could be allowed no one play. Such a piece must consist of several, representing a period of Chinese history. We can imagine for instance that Shakespeare's Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and Richard III, might be presented at some modern theatre for a half dozen consecutive nights, as they are chronologically connected. It

is not unusual to see Schiller's "Piccolomini" played one night and "Wallenstein's Death" the following night. Wagner's great opera takes three nights.

Leaving the theatre we took a look into the Chinese lottery booths; they were well patronized; we saw no drawing, but only customers, who bought tickets of curious shapes and sizes. We entered one of the opium dens, where on wooden bunks lay stretched about a half dozen fellows smoking chibouks. Of course we saw there only the lowest class of the Chinese. It would be wrong to judge the whole people by the individuals who are degrading themselves in these dens. But, unfortunately, by far the greater part of the Chinese immigrants belong to the lower class, and they are certainly a very undesirable element in our population.

HOMEWARD BOUND

On the 17th of September we at last left Portland for good. On one of the beautiful steamers of the Oregon Navigation Company we ran up the Willamette to the Columbia and then up that river. The scenery here surpassed everything I had ever seen before on a river tour. In our party were several gentlemen, English and German, who had traveled over the whole world, Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and even Australia, who all united in calling the scenery on the Columbia from the mouth of the Willamette to the Cascades the most striking and sublime they had ever seen. The wide transparent river is rock bound. At a few places only, where small streams enter, does one see little valleys. The cliffs which bound the river are of various heights, some of them rising up almost a thousand feet and showing the most picturesque forms. Now and then waterfalls come splashing down from these perpendicular heights. Over these rivercliffs are seen from time to time some of the snow-capped Cascade Mountain peaks. But it is useless to describe such magnificent natural wonders. The greatest poet or painter could not do them justice.

Having steamed about 100 miles up the river we reached the Cascades. The rocks come close together here, and the river forms rapids like those above the Niagara Falls. Here we had to leave the boat and to part from our Portland friends, about fifty of whom had accompanied us thus far. A narrow-gauge railroad about six miles long took us around the Cascades, where we found another steamer waiting to take us to the city of Dalles, where the train was ready to receive us again. At Wallula Junction we left the Northern Pacific to make an excursion to the Walla Walla valley and the city of the same name on a railroad which had been built several years ago to this celebrated settlement, one of the first and finest in Oregon. In spite of a rainfall we were most enthusiastically received at the depot. A large band of the First Cavalry regiment stationed at the fort near Walla Walla played admirably. We were packed into carriages, escorted by various associations and a large number of men and women on wagons and on horses. One of the most interesting features was a troop of Umatilla Indians, numbering eighty very fine-looking men, and mounted on far better horses than those used by the Indians we had thus far encountered. They rode in military order, and were dressed in the best Indian style, being decked out in a profusion of feathers, beads, spangles, earrings, sashes and tassels. Some really very good speeches were made by local orators, by two members of the English Parliament and by Senator Chapeaurouge from Hamburg, a traveled gentleman of large information, of fine personal appearance, and of a most amiable character, which made him one of the most popular members of our party. The demonstration at Walla Walla was one of the most successful. From the agricultural exhibition we witnessed, the great reputation of this valley for fertility was fully sustained.

Returned to Wallula Junction we pursued our journey homeward. We soon left Idaho and entered Montana. When we went west, Lake Pend Oreille was almost invisible on

account of a heavy mist. But when we reached it this time the sky was clear, the weather beautiful, the lake as smooth as a mirror. The train was stopped, and an elegant steamboat took us aboard. For about four hours we steamed about the lake, the waters of which are of a light green and as clear as crystal. It is enclosed by high mountains, the lower parts of which are, however, well-timbered. Some large islands covered with magnificent forest trees lent an additional charm to this enchanting sheet of water. Villard said he would give me a deed to one of these islands, if I would build a cottage on it for my family and friends. The whole length of the lake, following its course and windings, is nearly sixty miles. Its average width may be about seven miles. It is as large, if not larger, than Lake Geneva. This tour was quite a surprise to us, as we had not learned before anything of this beautiful lake, and it was one of the most charming incidents of our journey.

INDIAN MISSIONS

About midnight there was another stop at a small station on a minor river, celebrated as one of the richest trout streams in the Rockies. We were informed by our present mentor, Henry J. Winsor, that we should stay here all day, to give those who liked fishing a chance, and that those who preferred would be taken to a fairy lake up in the mountains some fifteen miles distant. The mountains are called the Mission Range, a continuation of the Bitter Root and the Wind River Mountains. There were half a dozen spring-wagons and two dozen Indian ponies ready for the lake party. Mrs. Villard and her two boys, Mrs. Von Xylander, Miss West and Mrs. Von Eisendecker, a half dozen English and as many German gentlemen, made up our party. Our guide was a Mr. Ronan, the Indian agent of the Flat Head reservation, a very intelligent and agreeable gentleman. Some Indian scouts escorted us. Within this reservation are two Jesuit missions, one of which about six or seven miles south of the Northern Pacific lay in our road to the lake. All the country

up to the foot of the mountains is a treeless, high plain, except just where the mission is situated. A pretty broad trout-stream runs through it; on its banks grow cotton trees and bushes, which make the mission look quite pleasant. The buildings consisted of a big chapel joined on the east by the school-rooms and dormitories of the boys and by the rooms for the teachers, and on the west side by the school-room and dormitories for the girls. The Jesuit fathers were mostly pale, lean-looking personages, in long, black, closely fitting surtouts. The father-superior, who alone could speak some English, regretted that they had had no notice of our coming, for otherwise they would have been better prepared to receive us. This was all the better, as on such previously announced visits pains are taken to show everything in an exceptionally good light, and to conceal defects. We first entered the boys' school-room in which between forty and fifty were just engaged in reading aloud from their Catholic readers. This text-book I examined pretty closely and found it pretty much like our own readers, containing extracts from English poets and essayists, American speeches, and even translations from some German authors. The "New Year's Night of an Unhappy Man," a celebrated piece by Jean Paul, I was surprised to find in this book. These examples of good literature were, as might be expected, interspersed with some pious legends of saints and martyrs; but on the whole it contained nothing offensive to other religious sects. The teacher was a young Irishman, a layman, with a strong Irish brogue. Most of the boys read fluently, but without the least expression or emphasis; but that is very common with boys in our own schools. None of the boys looked intelligent, with the exception of some half-breeds. In the girls' room were about forty pupils, and they looked healthier and more intelligent than the boys. The lady-teacher, sister of the Sacred Heart, also appeared much more lively and healthy than the Jesuit brothers. Some of the girls, accompanied by a parlor organ, gave us a song. Their voices were anything but sweet, but the time was very well kept.

The Jesuit brothers and sisters of the Jesuit order of the Sacred Heart were all either Canadian French, Belgians or French. They seemed to be glad to have for once a crowd of visitors with whom they could converse in their own mother tongue. The boys and girls were between eight and fourteen years of age. The Flathead Indians were considered a most peaceable tribe, and were on good terms with the whites. In the neighborhood of the mission, Indian families are so far civilized that they live mostly in log houses or huts, and cultivate a few patches of potatoes or other vegetables, and some Indian corn. But we still saw a good many Indian tents, tepees, on our road, and also a good many Indians just roaming about. There is no way of compelling Indian parents to send their children to the mission school. They must be "coaxed," as the agent said, to do it.

Seeing a very large, two-story frame building going up, I asked the father-superior for what purpose the structure was erected, as I thought they had plenty of room in the mission house as it was. He told me it was intended for a sort of high school for boys and girls above the age of fourteen years, which was now the limit of the common school. It was expected that if the young men and women were kept in school until the age of twenty-one, they would be likely to form acquaintances leading to matrimony and to civilized family life. Thus far, unfortunately, the superior remarked, the children that left school and returned to their families, had mostly relapsed into savages, and had become, on account of their higher intelligence, more dangerous than the raw Indians. I must not fail to observe that the teacher of the boys showed us their copy-books, and I must say that they showed as fine a handwriting as I had ever seen. It was a great surprise to all of us. Perhaps the Indians, who do not seem to take kindly to agriculture, could be made good mechanics. The general opinion of those who know the Indians best is that they are good for nothing but hunting, fishing, and stealing horses.

Leaving the mission we traveled with the utmost speed

toward the mountains. This Mission Range is a beautiful, long chain, similar to the Bernese Alps. The highest of the peaks is, however, not more than 10,000 feet above sea-level; but deep snow filled the ravines and covered the higher peaks. I had been riding in a two-seated farmer wagon without springs, with some English gentlemen, but as the road became very rugged and very steep they preferred to walk. By the direction of Major Ronan, one of the Indian scouts, a very tall muscular fellow, of quite martial appearance, let me have his pony, a very stout one. A mile or so before we reached the lake, our picnic-place, I overtook the ladies, who had also been compelled to quit their light vehicles and had climbed up, half led and half pushed by their escorts. As I could not offer my horse to all, they put their shawls and wraps across the saddle of my horse, relieving themselves to some extent. Deep embodied in rocks, the banks lined with gigantic firs, pines, hemlock and spruce, was a small lake which appeared almost inky dark, as the rays of the sun did not strike it and the cliffs and trees mirrored themselves in its waters. We had to wait a good while for the donkey which was packed with our provisions and which had traveled much slower than the rest of us. The lunch was soon despatched. All were very hungry and thirsty, and it was getting late in the afternoon. The back stretch to the Jocko station was made in a gallop. Indeed these Indian ponies knew no other gaits than walking and galloping. We arrived at the station tired out. Those of our party who had preferred to go to the highest peak of the Mission Range, Mount McDonald, did not come back until midnight. They were rather disappointed. They had to dismount from their horses some five or six miles below the top, and a part of them gave up the farther ascent right there. After climbing for about an hour longer the rest too gave out perfectly exhausted, with the exception of the practical mountaineer, Professor Zittel, and Senator Groening from Hamburg and two Englishmen. These found the prospect from the top, however, no better than at thousands of feet

below. In the meantime some of the party who had remained behind had had great sport in fishing. Mr. West had been very successful, some of the trout he caught weighing from four or five pounds. It was said that one of seven pounds was caught. I did not see it.

TRAVELING COMPANIONS

During the last days of our journey, the party having become much smaller, we became more intimately acquainted with one another. Mr. Braunfels, a banker of Frankfort, much interested in the Northern Pacific financially, was the son of a college friend of mine, who had obtained quite a literary reputation, and gave me much information about my friends and acquaintances of Frankfort, both departed and living.

I was also glad to make the acquaintance of the son-in-law of Frederick Kapp, Privy Councillor Von der Leyen, who had for so very young a man attained a very high post in the Prussian administration. Dr. G. Siemens of Berlin and Dr. Schauss of Munich were also very interesting gentlemen. Among the German-Americans from the East were likewise some very intelligent and eminent persons, such as ex-Governor Salomon of Wisconsin, now of New York, Gustave Schwab, of the North German Lloyd, son of the poet and statesman Schwab, Dr. Jacobi, the much-reputed physician of New York, General-Consul Feigel of New York, Consul Von Mohl of Cincinnati, and last but not least Udo Brachvogel, editor of the "Belletristische Journal" of New York, poet and novelist, and a most amiable traveling companion.

More than half of the German guests had the title of Doctor, and were so named in all the newspapers giving a list of the guests. This created some astonishment, and some of my American friends humorously asked me why Mr. Villard had invited so great a number of the medical faculty. One remarked that he must have thought our western country very unhealthy. The Americans then could not understand that some

of these doctors were doctors of law, of philosophy, and at the same time members of Parliament, or high civil officials. It was easy for me to explain the matter, but the mass of the people here, the same as the provincial people in Germany, apply the title of Doctor only to practicing physicians.

The plan of the excursion contemplated a visit to the Yellowstone National Park, taking up about three days. I should have been very glad to take part in this excursion, but the court-session was about to commence at Belleville and professional obligations compelled me to forego the visit to the wonderland of the Park. When we arrived at Livingston the train for the Mammoth Springs Hotel, the entrance to the Park, was standing ready for the party. I took leave of my friends, and together with Adolphus Meier from St. Louis, one of my earliest friends, who felt too ill to undergo the hardships of camping out and roughing it in the Park, (for at that time there were no houses nor artificial roads there,) I prepared to go home; we stayed at Livingston only a few hours, awaiting the arrival of the regular passenger train eastward bound. Without further delay I reached Chicago on the 26th of September, resting a day with General Smith's family, and arrived at Belleville on the 28th, having concluded within four weeks a journey which in my memory rests more like a blissful dream than a reality.

CHAPTER LIII.

Conclusion, 1883-1886

This year again (1883) I had to regret the loss of two of my old friends. Col. Hugo Wangelin had been the brave commander of the 12th Missouri infantry, in which were a great many men from St. Clair County. He had lost an arm in the war, at the close of which he received the appointment of postmaster at Belleville. He died on the 23rd of February, and at the request of the family I pronounced a brief funeral address. Having known him for forty years and having formed a very high opinion of his most strict integrity, his truthfulness, his bravery, his firmness, his clear intellect, I spoke as I felt, and I believe I did justice to his memory.

In April Judge Lawrence of the Supreme Court died. We had known one another for thirty years, and were always on the most friendly terms. A thorough collegiate education had expanded his naturally very high intellect. As a judge he had not many equals in legal acumen and extensive learning and but very few who were as able to express their thought in as fit, concise, clear, and at the same time, elegant language. His legal opinions were models of judicial style. Every word seemed to be the fittest that could be conceived and to stand always in the right place. His style, while clear as crystal, was utterly unambitious and devoid of rhetoric.

BICENTENARY OF THE FOUNDING OF GERMANTOWN

Upon the call of a committee of German citizens of Philadelphia, inviting the Germans everywhere to celebrate the 6th of October as the day when, two hundred years before, the first German emigrants to this country had founded the city

of Germantown in Pennsylvania, the citizens of Belleville had taken action to respond to the Philadelphia suggestion. I had just returned from my Oregon tour, rather fatigued; but the committee which had taken the festivity in hand, insisted upon my making the speech of the day, and I could not well decline.

The president of the meeting, which took place at the city park, opened the proceedings by a brief but highly appropriate and eloquent speech. The Philharmonic Society played one of Mozart's splendid overtures, and the Liederkranz followed with a popular German song. I drew a parallel between the English colony that landed in 1620 at Plymouth Rock and the German colony that landed at Philadelphia on the 20th of August, 1683. Both had left Europe to escape political and religious oppression. The New Englanders had for a long series of years enthusiastically celebrated the arrival of what they claimed to be their ancestors. There was no reason why the Germans of to-day should forget the founding of the German colony in Pennsylvania, a State which by that emigration has been so vastly benefited. After referring to the distinguished names of German-Americans who had represented Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States, or had filled the gubernatorial chairs, or who had acquired a high reputation as scientists, I reminded the audience that the first public protest against the institution of slavery in the colonies was made by the Germantown colony on the 16th of February, 1688, signed by Mayor Franz Daniel Pastorius, who had led the emigrants across the sea on the good ship "Concordia." It was the first appeal to public conscience made in this country. It did not come from the Puritans in New England, who at the time carried on the slave trade most actively and made large fortunes out of it, which wealth was partly yet enjoyed by their aristocratic, conceited, and philanthropic descendants. I remarked that Whittier in one of his patriotic songs, had called these early German colonists "Pilgrims of the Rhine," who on the Delaware had first of all bid defiance to the pride

of the slave rulers. I concluded my somewhat long speech by saying:

"Let it be your aim to fulfil the duties of American citizens, to whom the world's history has assigned so high a task, in full measure and with pleasure; to make ourselves conscious, that we, an important part of the most progressive nation, have in consequence assumed a great responsibility before the present time and before posterity. At the same time, however, do not let us forget, that we are descendants of a great and noble people, in whose destiny we take the warmest interest, and for whom our hearts beat with unfading love."

Orchestral and vocal music and well executed performances of the Turner Societies entertained the assembly until a late hour.

Since that time, this day, called the "German Day," has been more or less celebrated by the German population, and in some of the larger cities, particularly in St. Louis, the festivals have led to demonstrations of such vast proportions as to surpass the expectations of the naturalized as well as the native citizens.

The year 1884 opened to our family very inauspiciously, Pauline Rombauer, a bright, beautiful and sweet little girl was taken with diphtheria some time in February. Some ten days we were kept in a state of the deepest anxiety. There were sometimes symptoms inspiring us with hope, which by the next day were dashed down. In spite of the best medical help and the most careful nursing, our little pet died on the first of March.

PRESIDENTIAL YEAR, 1884

It was a Presidential year, and of course politics very soon engrossed the attention of the people. I was determined to confine myself to efforts in the press, and not at my advanced age to undertake the canvass of the State in behalf of our candidates. The contest, however, did not commence in earnest until after the Republicans, sometime in June, had nominated Blaine and Logan as their candidates for President and Vice-President, just the two men who were the most

disliked by the Democrats on account of their alleged unscrupulous and undisputed radicalism.

The most prominent Democratic candidates for nomination at the Democratic convention in July were, Senator Bayard of Delaware, Governor Cleveland of New York, Mr. Carlisle of Kentucky, the Speaker of the House, and Senator Hendricks of Indiana. Had Mr. Bayard been from a large State, so as to have been comparatively certain of a large electoral vote, he would probably have received the nomination. Some time before, Grover Cleveland had by an unparalleled majority been elected Governor of New York, so that there seemed to be no doubt that he would carry the largest State in the Union. He had proved an honest reformer and was sound on the tariff and other financial questions, so that New Jersey and Connecticut seemed pretty certain for him. These considerations undoubtedly gave him the nomination for President. Hendricks, much against his inclinations, was made to accept the nomination for second place. The nominations having been made, I was as usual called upon by the State Central Committee and was requested to take the stump and to make a series of appointments, and similar calls were made by some county committees. I respectfully declined, assigning a regard for my health as a reason for my non-compliance. I soon engaged however in some journalistic work.

BLAINE'S "TWENTY YEARS IN CONGRESS"

Mr. Blaine early in the year had published the first volume of his "Twenty Years in Congress." It was evidently an electioneering document, vigorously and often brilliantly written, but carelessly composed, being made up in part evidently from newspaper articles and speeches. Among other things it contained what was purported to be a history of the tariff, and a recommendation for a protective tariff as a panacea for all the evils that might befall the commerce or the industry of a country. We also find in this ill-propor-

tioned book a long history of the old defunct National Bank, a thrice told tale of no present importance. In an extended review of his book published in the "Chicago Times" and reproduced in several other journals, I fully acknowleged the fascinating style of the author and his talents as a journalist, but at the same time I expressed my opinion that in his judgment of events and of the character of men he followed generally the beaten track and that there was very little fresh thought in it. The book showed no extensive reading, no scholarship. It opened no new vistas. The very clearness of its style was owing to its superficiality. But while I set forth at some length the blemishes of the book, I was not blind to its merits. I said that Blaine had surprised his friends and even more his enemies by his very considerable degree of fairness; that his motive of course was evident; but this did not diminish the value of the book. There was in it nothing of that aggressiveness and vindictiveness against the Democracy which had so eminently characterized his political speeches. In fact the author of the book and the Speaker Blaine appeared to be two distinct persons, a Dr. Jekyl and a Mr. Hyde. He extolled Jefferson's policy, and spoke with the greatest respect of John C. Calhoun, and of the leaders of the South generally. In fact, he eulogized them perhaps beyond their merits. I will only give one extract from that part of his book which treats of the South, to show how he, at that time, before the Presidential canvass had begun, pretended to look upon Southerners:

"They were quick to take affront and not infrequently brought personal disputes into the discussion of public questions, but they were almost without exception men of integrity and they were especially and generally careful of the public money. Too often ruinously lavish in their personal expenses, they believed in an economical government, and throughout the long period of their domination they guarded the Treasury with a rigid and unceasing vigilance against any form of extravagance and against any form of corruption."

It was easy to see the object of this splendidly written

eulogy of the South. But if there was any doubt about it, it was dispelled by the bold bid he made for the vote of Virginia in presenting an elaborate effort to justify the attempted repudiation of part of the State debt of old Virginia and the faithlessness of West Virginia in failing to assume her proportion of the debt of the State of Virginia before the separation, and going so far as to hold out hopes that the United States would release West Virginia from her solemn obligation by assuming the debt.

In concluding my review, I remarked, "It must be said that throughout his work he displays an intense feeling of American nationality, bordering not infrequently on the sentiments which are effused at our Fourth of July celebrations. He is evidently a manifest destiny man, a quality as he says, which is attractive enough for the young, the brave and the adventurous in all sections of the country." But this is hardly to be commended in one so earnestly intent to grasp the supreme power over a sober, practical, reflective and with all its democratic instincts, in the main, a conservative people. I may anticipate. No sooner had Indiana and West Virginia, their State elections having taken place in October, gone Democratic, and even Ohio given an uncertain sound, than Mr. Blaine changed tactics, appeared with an immense apparatus of plumed knights, with all the paraphernalia of bands of music and thunder of cannon, on the stump. The bloody shirt was waved, the North was to be made solid against the solid South. The clergy was mobilized to anathemize Cleveland for a juvenile error, and the canvass conducted with more than usual bitterness.

TOAST TO "OUR COUNTRY"

Sometime in March the Southern Illinois Press Association held a largely attended meeting at Belleville, which was concluded by a banquet which the citizens gave in honor of members of the press. In the program, I was assigned to answer the toast: "Our Country."

While I have always been fully sensible of the advantages which our institutions, as well as our geographical situation, give us as a nation, and of the practical genius of our people and the highly important part which is assigned to us in the history of the world, I nevertheless have always been of the opinion that on occasions like the present our American speakers usually indulge in a vaingloriousness bordering often on vulgarity. A specimen of this sort of spread eagle talk I gave in my toast, taken from a speech of Carter Harrison, who became the Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois,—which toast, as a sincere expression of my mind on the subject, I here insert, as taken from a Belleville paper:

"The sentiment which I have, by invitation of the Committee, the honor to answer, presents so vast a theme, that hours might be spent in discussing without exhausting it. My design is to be brief. The usual response which is made to this toast is a panegyric on the bigness of our country and its material prosperity. Its vast extent in square miles, its steadily increasing population, its cloud-kissed mountain peaks, its inland seas, its grand rivers, its roaring cataracts, are dwelt upon with a just pride. The American Eagle is largely laid under contribution. 'This noble bird,' to borrow the poetical language of an Illinois orator of renown, 'dips its left wing in the stormy billows of the Atlantic, and its right in the more placid waves of the Pacific, pointing its sharp beak lovingly toward our dear sister Republics in the South, and turning its tail contemptuously toward the English dominion in the North.'

"It is of course not to be denied that the vast extent of our territory and its highly favored geographical position, giving us a variety of clime and producing not only all the necessaries, but also all the luxuries which adorn and embellish life, are advantages to be prized. They secure our independence from other nations, protect us from ambitious designs of foreign conquerors, keep us out of European entanglements,—if we take care not to make demagogues our Presidents,—and are well calculated to make us mind our own business and live in peace under our own vine and fig tree. But, after all, bigness is not greatness. A distinguished English philosopher on a late visit to our country took great pains to

recall this truism to our minds. We all knew it before, though we sometimes forgot it.

"It is the people that lives in a country and the institutions it builds up, which makes it great. Ancient Greece, with all its colonies, was much smaller than some of our States, and yet it was the greatest country in antiquity, and the civilized nations of today, consciously and unconsciously are still living under the influence it exercised through its statesmen, orators, philosophers, poets and artists. What makes our own country great, what makes our breasts swell with pride when the word, 'Our Country,' is sounded, are the men and the women who dwell in it and the frame of government which they have given to themselves. Excepting our politicians, our members of Congress and of the Legislatures, our lawyers, officers and office-seekers, and our presidents and directors of railroads and all other corporations, we are really an upright, brave, generous, naturally kind and even amiable people. We are somewhat mixed up, it is true, but our Republican institutions, securing us political and religious liberty, giving every man an equal chance to get along in the world, weld us together in an incredibly short time, while still allowing for individual and even national differences in non-essentials. To love our country, native or adopted, before any other; to obey the laws which we have given to ourselves; to reform them if we do not like them, is all that we are required to do under our constitutions.

"The genius of our people is largely inventive. In this respect no nation is superior to it. To this we owe a great deal of our prosperity. Whatever is materially useful, what adds to our comfort of living, the saving of labor, is sure to be highly cultivated. I had occasion not long ago to travel in a large company of highly intelligent gentlemen from Germany and England through a part of our continent some five thousand miles in extent, mostly to new Territories and States of the Northwest. They admired, of course, the grand scenery of our mountains and rivers; they spoke highly of the engineering work which the Northern Pacific displays; they were astonished to find telegraphs and telephones and electric lights in places only a few years old. But nothing struck them more than the number of fine schoolhouses, and the seeing even stately academies, nay, even universities, where a few years ago the Indians had roamed, and the many print-

ing establishments, and to meet so many people of culture and intelligence, three thousand miles from Boston.

"The time is gone, I hope, when we were only a big people, though during all that time we had intellectual giants, more perhaps in proportion than we have now. We are fast becoming a great people in the true sense. No people can be great that does not combine realism with idealism. We have been gaining a proud position in literature, and the merits of our historians, essayists, poets and scientific writers, are daily more and more appreciated by other countries. The love of the fine arts is expanding amongst us, and some of our painters and sculptors bid fair to rival the masters of modern art in other countries. Take it all in all, is there such another country under the sun peopled by so many races and yet so homogeneous? Ought we not to be thankful that our lot has been cast within such pleasant lines? Long live Our Country!"

ACTION FOR PERSONAL LIBERTY

On the 9th of August I attended a meeting of German-Americans at Chicago. A call had been made by some leading German Democrats in Chicago to consider what steps ought to be taken on the part of the German voters generally to counteract the extraordinarily strong movement made by the Prohibitionists to elect members of the Legislature favorable to a prohibitory law.

Opposed as I was to the taking of anything like separate action on the part of any national element in this country, yet it was evident that the efforts of those who advocated prohibition, and in connection with it a puritanical keeping of the Sabbath, were almost exclusively directed against the Germans, and originated a good deal in Know-Nothingism. Neither the Republican National Convention, nor any other Republican State Convention, had made a declaration in favor of personal liberty, while the Democratic conventions, State and National, had expressed their disapproval of laws unnecessarily restraining the citizen in his individual liberty, and Cleveland in his letter of acceptance had decidedly condemned such encroachments. The object of the meeting was to set the importance of this question to the German element in its

proper light, so as to induce those who still clung to the Republican party to cut loose from it and to help defeat a party which in the main had for many years favored the views of the Sabbatarians, Prohibitionists and Native Americans. I could not well decline the invitation I had received to attend this meeting.

We met at the spacious club-rooms of the Palmer House, and the meeting was attended by over fifty gentlemen from all parts of the State and as many citizens of Chicago. Before the meeting met a preliminary conference took place in which it was resolved that an address or manifesto should be prepared, explaining the object of the meeting and assigning the reason for our appeal to the German votes to support the Democratic ticket in the coming elections. I was set to work to prepare it. I wrote it in English, but at the same time it was translated into German. At the meeting in the afternoon a committee was appointed to draft an address, which committee reported the manifesto prepared in the morning. Some very enthusiastic speeches were made in support of the address, and after many members had made reports of the condition of political affairs in their districts, the meeting adjourned.

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

In August Carter H. Harrison came to Belleville and addressed a very large Democratic mass-meeting at the city park. He made a very favorable impression. Colonel Orendorff and other candidates for State offices also spoke, and the expectations for the success of the State ticket rose very high. The Congressional contest was also very lively, as Colonel Morrison had not only to fight his Illinois opponents, but, being considered the head champion of tariff reform, had become the object of attack of all the high protectionists, who spared no efforts to defeat him by sending orators into his district and spending large amounts of money for electioneering purposes. As already indicated, the contests for the October election making a bad showing for the Republicans, the campaign

became very bitter, and it so happened that, although no candidate, I was more abused by the Republican press in this district than the candidate. I was almost forced to take a more active part in the canvass toward the end of it. I spoke at Springfield, Decatur and Nashville a few days before the election. Mr. Carlisle came to Belleville, and it fell to my lot to introduce him to the audience. He stopped at my son's house, and spoke at the city park to a large audience. Mr. Carlisle was a medium-sized, slender man, not of imposing appearance, and quite unassuming, and he might rather be taken for a New England man than a Kentuckian. But no one could fail to notice the high intellect in his features. His oratory, if his speaking can be called so, is also the reverse of the rhetorical, not to say the florid, style of the Kentucky statesman. In his address, the principal topic of which was the tariff, a theme in which he was quite at home, he was strictly logical, without being dry and dull, and kept the audience captured from first to last.

The election in Illinois went in favor of the Republicans on account of a home-quarrel in Cook County, where Harrison, instead of receiving a large majority, as was generally expected, was defeated by over a thousand majority. But while the majority of the Republicans in 1880 in this State had been some fifty thousand, Oglesby beat Harrison only about 15,000 votes. Morrison was triumphantly elected in his district, as was also the Democratic ticket in St. Clair County.

THE "RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION" INCIDENT

The Presidential election was for some time in doubt. The State of New York ever since 1860 had always been Republican with the exception of the cities of Brooklyn and New York, which usually gave such large Democratic majorities as to overcome the vote of the rest of the State. But this time the Democratic vote for President had greatly fallen off, which was ascribed to an intrigue, a "deal," by which the Presidential vote was sold by the bosses to the Republicans to se-

cure the election of a certain Democratic mayor of New York; the city patronage being considered by the workers as far more valuable than that of the federal executive. The result seemed to prove this charge of a bargain. The Democratic candidate for mayor obtained 182,000 votes in New York City and Cleveland only 134,000. The Republican candidate for mayor received 45,000 votes, while Blaine received 90,000 votes. The final casting up of the vote of the State of New York gave Cleveland only a majority of 1,100, which, however, secured his election.

There were some features in the conducting of the Presidential canvass on the part of the Republican party which were as novel as they were startling. Mr. Blaine had been raised a Catholic, but after he had left his native State, Pennsylvania, and had settled in Maine, where Catholicism at that time was not at par, he joined a Protestant church. His brothers and sisters and other collaterals had remained in their paternal faith, and some of them were priests, and a niece of his was lady-superior of a nunnery. On his electioneering tour he remembered these pious relations, and made speeches in Catholic seminaries. He made a great effort, and not without some success, to catch the Irish vote by advocating home rule and abusing the British.

Just on the eve of the election, what purported to be the business people of the city of New York assembled in great numbers at a most luxurious banquet in honor of the man who was to save the prosperity of the country from the rude attacks of the Democracy. It was a great affair, and amidst flowing champagne, an exuberant oratory extolled the Republican candidate as a second Messiah. To crown the whole, the clergy, for the first time in the history of our country, organized a great political demonstration. It was the last big trump-card to be played. Four hundred Protestant clergymen assembled in the large parlors of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, elected a president and secretary, and passed resolutions that the welfare of our country depended on the election of Blaine and

Logan, men of pure personal character, that Cleveland's impurity of moral character should prevent his election, for this would be an offense against Christian civilization. The resolutions also exhorted the Prohibitionists to vote for Blaine and Logan, and that all moral and loyal citizens should cast their votes for the purity of the domestic hearth and for a protective tariff. They were careful to confine the purity of their candidates to a personal one, knowing very well that Blaine's political character was confessedly corrupt and that he had only escaped the investigation of a House-committee by being elected to the Senate.

The meeting called upon Mr. Blaine; and its president, the Reverend Mr. Burchard, in his address, paraphrased the resolutions with an alliteral addition which in all probability cost Blaine his election. He called the Democratic party, "the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion." As Blaine and his party had been flattering the Irish and advocating home rule and vilifying the English, and had really made some impression on the Irish and was pretty certain of catching a good many Irish Democratic votes, this putting of Romanism on a damnable equality with rum and rebellion created immense excitement amongst the Catholics generally and amongst those who had been acting with the Republicans heretofore. This whole clerical move diverted a large number of American votes. I doubt whether Mr. Blaine himself approved of it. His answer to the address suggested some fear of the propriety of this demonstration. Amongst other things he said, "This is, I take it, altogether a remarkable meeting, remarkable before all meetings which I have seen in the political contests of the United States, and it hardly needs assuring you that I feel it most deeply. I feel that I do not speak to these hundreds of persons alone, I speak to the great congregations and to the religious opinions that stand behind these persons, and as they represent the great Christian community, I am very conscious what heavy weight your words bear." Neither Jews nor Catholics were represented, and the latter seemingly

were not included as Christians either in the address or in the reply. Unquestionably, Mr. Blaine felt the indiscretion of the Rev. Mr. Burchard, and yet he did not, or could not, in one way or another turn off the edge of this illustration. His usual adroitness and presence of mind had failed him.

The Democrats did not fail to avail themselves of these demonstrations which took place a few days before the election. I had, just before addressing a large meeting at Decatur, been furnished with a newspaper containing Mr. Burchard's speech and Mr. Blaine's reply. When I read Burchard's "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" remarks there was a yell which made the welkin ring. In the evening there was a procession, and the ill-omened words were seen on many transparencies. Considering that Cleveland had carried New York, the vote of which State elected him, only by a little over 1,000 votes, it is certainly not improbable that Mr. Burchard and company elected Mr. Cleveland.

SOME SELF-ANALYSIS AND REFLECTIONS ON HIS OWN CAREER

I am again and again overcome with the thought that in writing these memoirs I may be guilty of egotism, or, if you please, of vanity. But I do not see how any autobiographist can escape this charge. There may have been authors, like Rousseau, for instance, who have laid bare even their meanest thoughts and actions; but it is questionable whether in doing this they did not also show an overweening vanity. They believed that they were otherwise so great that they could afford to depreciate themselves, as the sun is none the less a great luminary in spite of some dark spots. Montaigne is also very free in confessing bodily and moral blemishes, but he does it so naively and good-humoredly and so without affectation that we like him the better for his frankness. I know at least some of my shortcomings, if not all, — for it is no easy matter to "know oneself." Those for whom I sketch my reminiscences know very well my failings, and they need not be told of them. I may say, however, that there was a

certain lack of concentration in my character. Had I devoted myself more exclusively to the law, I might have attained a higher standing in the profession and have accumulated a fortune. If I had been more ambitious and had taken a stronger hold of politics I might have played a more considerable part in public life, and had I taken the determination to become a journalist, I am also sure that I should have attained some celebrity. But in either case, had I closely confined myself to any one of these callings, I think I should not have been as happy as I have been. I never went on the circuits or attended the federal courts on long trials without some non-professional literature. When court was over, I found great recreation in reading reviews, poetry and even novels. In canvassing the State politically, I always did the same, and after a most exciting meeting where I had sometimes spoken for hours, I would lie down on the bed and refresh myself with some good review. I believe that I have already stated that while at the State convention at Springfield, before which I was a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and while it was in session and the voting went on, I was stretched on a lounge in the American House reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin," then just out. I was also fonder of statues, pictures and other fine productions of art than I was of reading law-reports and text-books,—few of the latter being more than a dull compilation of preceding publications.

THE CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION

The executive power having remained with the Republican party from 1861 to 1885, there was, of course, an immense rush on the part of the Democrats for offices under the new administration. As a general thing Cleveland was not in a hurry to make changes. All Republican officers, unless deemed offensive partisians, he left in their places, until the period for which they had been appointed expired. It was only in the diplomatic and consular service that he, according to the long established custom, acknowledged by both parties to be

a reasonable one, at once proceeded to make changes. Since 1872 I had belonged to the opposition party, and was constantly spared the trouble and often the embarrassment of being called upon by persons to support their application for office by my recommendation. It was one of the several advantages of being in the minority. Now, however, after the election in November, letters upon letters poured into my box, urging me to use my best endeavors to get places for my political associates. Some wanted missions, most, however, consulates, others again district attorneyships, governorships of territories, postmasterships, etc. As I had neither a personal acquaintance with the President, nor with Bayard, the Secretary of State, and had for the last few years taken only a moderate part in politics, I felt some reluctance in addressing these officers. Still I had to do it, and I was generally successful in my recommendations, though they were of course supported by other recommendations, which may have had greater weight than mine. My friend Juessen was sent to Vienna as consul-general; ex-Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, Jacob Mueller, was sent in a like capacity to Frankfort; and Judge Stallo received the very honorable mission to Italy.

JUDGE STALLO AND THE ITALIAN MISSION

This last appointment caused a great deal of trouble. In the first place Stallo absolutely declined to apply for this or any other office, but the Germans were generally very anxious to have at least one important office filled by a German-American, and thought that no one was more worthy of it than Judge Stallo. So it happened that some prominent Germans in New York, Missouri and Illinois, recommended Stallo for a mission of a high grade. Stallo learning of this effort, informed them that if he was appointed he would accept the office, but personally he would not apply. Mr. Bayard did not take this in good part, and seemed to think that if one did not care to express a desire to have an office he ought not to have one. But the main and almost insuper-

able objection to giving Stallo a foreign mission was that Cleveland had right at the start appointed George Pendleton of Cincinnati, the great leader of the Democracy in former years, to Berlin. To give two full missions to two persons not only from the same State, but the same city, according to the prevailing notions, seemed to be out of the question. It is true that the ministers to Berlin, Paris, London and St. Petersburg got a few thousand dollars more salary, but their rank was the same as the ministers to Vienna, Rome, Madrid or Mexico. Now in this case I took a particular interest; so did my friend William Morrison, on my account, and it was probably his influence with Cleveland and Bayard that after a long fight procured for Stallo the mission to Italy, which he prized above all others.

MONUMENT ERECTED IN ST. LOUIS TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR

On the 21st of May a bronze statue of Frank Blair at Forest Park was unveilled. I had been invited by the monument committee, as had also Judge Rombauer; and on that account places were assigned to us on a platform of great dimensions in front of the statue. In spite of cloudy weather and a threatening thunder-storm, which burst upon us for a short time at the commencement of the celebration, there were, counting the regular infantry, cavalry and artillery and the militia companies, as also a thousand members of various lodges and societies, altogether some five thousand people on the grounds. Peter Foy, chairman of the monument committee, was the orator of the day, and made a very fine address, doing full justice to the character of the fiery and undaunted statesman and soldier. Mayor Francis in the name of the city received the monument in a very appropriate speech. Amid the thunder of cannon, the playing of bands of music and the "present arms" of the soldiers, who were drawn up around the platform in a square, the statue was unveiled. It is one of the finest works of art in the West, equal almost to the Humboldt statue in Tower Grove Park. The position is most

natural, giving a true image of the departed. Just when the large star-spangled flag, which had enveloped the statue, fell, the sun burst through the clouds, and the shining bronze appeared in full splendor. Governor Marmaduke made a short and feeling address; he was followed by General Sherman, who spoke more eloquently and more coherently than usual. Among other things, he said: "I too knew him at hours when the thunder of this day's storm would have sounded as a mere murmuring compared with the roar of cannon. His bravery has not been surpassed by any deed in the chivalric ages. I do not know of anyone more brave in all times of history."

Colonel Gant, an intimate friend of General Blair, also made a short speech. In conclusion, very much to my surprise, he said that there was another gentleman present who had been intimately associated with the deceased, and that he had no doubt that the audience would be glad to hear from him, naming me. I stood not in a conspicuous place and did not feel inclined to come forward. But Mrs. Blair, the widow, to whom I had been introduced, came up to me and begged me to comply with the request, for as soon as Colonel Gant had mentioned my name, there was a call from the crowd. So I had to make a few remarks, which I give as reported in the papers, though unable to say that the report is correct, as I had prepared no speech, and had no opportunity to see the reported speech before it was published.

"I came here to do honor to the memory of one of my oldest friends. Living for more than forty-five years in close proximity to this city, though in another State, I became intimately acquainted with him at an early time and have fought many political battles alongside of him. I did not come to make a speech, and where so many distinguished men have already spoken, it would be most presumptuous to address this immense audience, and I should have withstood the pressure of the call, were it not for one reason. There is one class of our fellow-citizens who love and admire Frank P. Blair as much as, if not more than, any other part of our people. I mean the German-Americans; and in their name I wish to

give expression to the feelings which animate them on this solemn occasion. When the war of secession broke out, the fate of Missouri lay trembling in the balance. The Germans, nearly to a man, were for sustaining the Union: they were ready and willing to sacrifice their lives on the altar of the Union, and yet circumstances were such that it was out of their power to take the initiative. It might have hurt the cause of the Union more than it would have helped it. Additional prejudices might have been engendered. They were anxiously waiting for a leader, one who had a high and commanding position in the State and in the city. It was then that Blair's clarion voice was heard, and they and the other Union men of all classes crowded around him and thus saved Missouri, perhaps the Union. Frank Blair's memory lives in the hearts of the Germans in the West who witnessed the trying events to which I allude, as strong as that of any of the statesmen or heroes of that time, and hence it is that as the interpreter of their feelings I take this opportunity of giving thanks to the Memorial Society and the citizens of St. Louis for having erected this beautiful monument to his memory—a memory which they will forever cherish in their hearts."

BANQUET AND SPEECHES ON THE DEPARTURE OF JUDGE STALLO

Judge Stallo was on the eve of parting for Italy as the minister of the United States. His friends, and there were many of them, arranged a farewell banquet for the 7th of July. By invitation of the arrangement committee, and by urgent invitation of himself, I went to Cincinnati. The family were busily engaged in packing up: Mrs. Stallo and his daughter Hulda were to accompany him. Of course, we had much to say to one another. Having had some experiences in diplomatic life, I could give him and his family some hints as to the formalities necessary to be observed on entering into relations with the home ministers, the other ambassadors and the diplomatic representatives and with the court.

The banquet was held at the Gibson House, where a similar ovation had not long before taken place when Pendleton left for Berlin. The large dining-room was handsomely decorated with the United States, Italian and German flags, and floral ornaments. At the small end of the tables, somewhat

elevated, I was seated at the right of Stallo; to my right I had General Jacob Cox; to the left of Stallo sat Augustine Ravogli, the Italian consul. According to the later, more rational fashion there were very few courses on the menu, but what there was was exquisite. So the speaking commenced very soon, and I must say that I never heard better after-dinner speaking than on this occasion. Judge Sage of the United States court first addressed Mr. Stallo in a most chaste and beautiful manner, to which Stallo replied in one of his masterly speeches.

At the opposite end of the table, ex-Governor Hoadly acted as toast-master. In a most eloquent address, reviewing briefly the modern and ancient history of Italy in choice and classical language, he introduced the Italian consul to answer the toast "Italy." The consul, somewhat embarrassed by a language he had not mastered, spoke feelingly but somewhat ramblingly and dreamily, but, of course, was much applauded. The toast to "Bench and Bar" was answered by Judge Force in a most pleasing and humorous manner, in which he spoke of Judge Stallo as perhaps the most eminent member of the profession in his State. Mr. Rattermann answered the toast "German-Americans" in a well-considered speech, in which he embodied much of an address of Judge Stallo's, which he remarked was one which that gentleman had delivered on "The Rights and Duties of German-Americans" some twenty years before. Ex-Governor Noyes, ex-minister to France, answered the toast "Our Country" in a most admirable-manner; indeed it may be said to have been the best speech after Judge Stallo's.

Mr. Stallo's partner, J. W. Kittridge, answered the last regular toast "Farewell," and, as he had not only been Stallo's partner for many years, but the Judge's strong friend and admirer, he spoke warmly and feelingly, for no one of all his friends regretted his leaving more than he.

Judge Hoadly, who had always been very friendly to me, surprised me and the company by proposing my health, which he did in a speech far too complimentary to me. As one half of the banqueters were Germans, it was drunk with

a vim, and of course I had to respond. Although not prepared I was glad of having an opportunity of saying a few words which I thought fit for the occasion, particularly as the topic I spoke of had not been handled by the other speakers. A good deal has been said of the Goths and Vandals having destroyed ancient Rome and of the German emperors having set their iron foot on medieval Rome, and of having therefore dismembered and distracted Italy. Adverting to this fact, I yet held that ancient Rome had destroyed herself; and while I admitted that the supremacy of the German emperors over Italy had been a curse to that country and even more so to Germany, I remarked that while Stallo and I regretted that our ancestors had sinned against Italy, we were glad to be able to say it that the Germans of today had redeemed the misdeeds of our ancestors by Sadowa and Sedan. King William gained Venice for Italy and opened the gates of Rome to Victor Emanuel and to our friend Stallo. At the same time I admitted that Italy had preceded Germany by its noble and continued efforts for unity and that the two nations of late years had run a parallel course in changing the current of the world's history.

No one appeared to be better pleased with my address than the Italian consul. He ran up to me and shook my hand most cordially, saying (in French) that I had made the most glorious speech of the evening.

The company broke up at a very late hour and in the best of spirits. There was a great deal of hilarity, but in spite of the enthusiasm there was very little of that noisiness at the end, which very often winds up the most solemn and aristocratic festivals.

THE WESTERN RAILROAD STRIKES OF 1886

In the spring of 1886 occurred the great railroad strikes of the West, the consequences of which affected nearly the whole country, put a stop to transportation, and occasioned an immense loss of property. Not on account of low wages,

ause of the dismissal of some unruly workmen, all lers of freight, not only on one of the Western Pacific , but on all roads which connected with them, upon the command of the leader of the so-called Knights of Labor, which order was at that time just at its height of power, stopped work. There were plenty of laborers to take the places of the striking "Knights," but they were driven away by the union men,—beaten and shot at. It came to severe conflicts. East St. Louis in the County of St. Clair, where some dozen Eastern roads connect with the Western system, became the most noted place for wild rioting. As the passenger trains carried United States mails they were not interfered with, for Uncle Sam does not permit himself to be trifled with. A United States marshal and a posse of regulars would have made short work of the rioters. It was the duty of the respective State governments to protect the lives and property of the people pursuing a lawful trade. But here was the rub. The Governor of Illinois, being a politician, a standing candidate for United States Senator, was averse to extreme measures. It was the sheriff's duty, he argued, to quell the disturbances. He ought to summon a posse of citizens and go down to East St. Louis to meet the rioters, who were some hundred strong and supported by most of the citizens. The sheriff, a big talker, but a most inefficient actor, went down with about fifty very peaceable citizens, mostly business men, unarmed. They were received with jeers and hisses and, of course, went back the same evening. The strike opened a new field for political knaves and demagogues. If they succeeded in catching the labor vote for the next election, they were sure of success. Some of the Republican leaders thought the opportunity for getting the upper hand in the county and Congressional district a very fine one, and though they did not dare to openly advocate the rioting, they made conciliatory speeches, approving of the strike (which was afterwards admitted by the chief of the order, himself, to have

been wholly unjustifiable), yet mildly admonishing the strikers not to use too much force. The press in St. Louis and in East St. Louis was cowardly, as usual. Things were pushed to extremes. Several times the storehouses of one or another railroad company were set on fire. At one time a whole string of loaded freight cars were burnt up.

I wrote a long letter to Governor Oglesby, insisting that he should send down a battalion of militia and put them under the order of the sheriff as a posse, so as to have them still act in subordination to the civil power. He wrote me a long letter in which he still argued that the sheriff and his deputies and a posse of citizens should be intrusted with restoring order. The railroad companies, seeing that they were left at the mercy of the strikers and their supporters, finally concluded to defend themselves. They hired a private police force armed with deadly Winchester rifles. A freight train of the Louisville & Nashville Railway left the depot at East St. Louis, but when it reached the trestle over Cahokia Creek, a shower of stones was thrown upon the engineer and the fireman from the bank of the river at Main Street, whereupon some of the escort of the train fired into the crowd, killing several persons and wounding more. Some of the wounded were merely bystanders. It was contended by the crew of the train that they were first fired upon by the rioters. As the persons who fired upon the crowd surrendered themselves, and were bound over to answer the action of the grand jury, and as no indictments were found against them, it would appear that they only acted in self-defense. Now at last the Governor sent down some companies of militia, with a gatling gun, and, order being at once restored, the executive committee of the Knights of Labor declared the strike off. Millions of dollars in wages, in injuries to property, and in the stoppage of business, were lost in this senseless struggle, which would have ended weeks before but for the open and secret instigations of unscrupulous politicians.

GOLDEN WEDDING (1886)

On the 17th of June occurred the fiftieth anniversary of our wedding. Sophie and I did not wish to have anything like a celebration. We had passed our silver wedding very quietly without the least festivity. But our children and grandchildren insisted on having a solemn commemoration of the day, and took the matter into their own hands. Many invitations were sent out for an evening reception at our house and lawn. The coming anniversary was noted in the newspapers, and the consequence was that some of the good citizens of Belleville got together and resolved to give us a public ovation, appointing committees of arrangements and receptions. Not to interfere with the private gatherings of relations and near friends at our house and the evening reception of invited guests, the celebration of the citizens was to take place the evening before the day of the golden wedding.

I must say that we were surprised by the tasteful and really splendid reception given us by our fellow-citizens, which took place at the large hall of our city park, which was decorated with the German and American flags and with such an abundance of flowers and evergreens as to convert the hall into a floral bower. Musical performances, the singing of beautiful songs by the different singing societies, a too flattering address by a member of the legal profession, an ode, read by my friend Henry A. Rattermann, and a dramatic poem arranged by him with great care and with great taste and performed by four of the most beautiful young ladies of Belleville representing the genius of life and the three sisters of fate, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, made up the evening entertainment.

Next morning early, our thirteen grandchildren on the porch below our bedroom woke us with a song, which I had composed for the golden wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Engelmann, our parents, in the year 1852. The change of one word only made it applicable to the present day. Victor Koerner addressed his grandparents feelingly in German. Willie Koerner

recited a little lyrical poem, written by his father Gustave, of exquisite tenderness and beauty. All the grandchildren then appeared in a theatrical performance, called the "Elves, with Puck, Oberon and Titania," presenting in their fairy dresses a most delightful scene. Hardly had we witnessed this when the pupils of the kindergarten under the lead of their teacher entered the parlor and congratulated Sophie by singing a song and going through some of their exercises. Sophie had been one of the founders of the kindergarten and had devoted a good deal of attention and care to its sustenance, acting for many years as president of the ladies' board. She felt very much pleased and affected at this acknowledgment of her labor of love.

At one o'clock we had breakfast at Gustave's house, where our relations and guests from St. Louis and other places were assembled. The Illinois and St. Louis Railroad Company had, by a resolution of the Board, placed gratis an extra train at the disposal of our St. Louis friends and relations. Speeches were made by Rattermann, our old friend Dr. Trapp of Springfield, Colonel Engelmann, and our oldest grandson, Theodore Rombauer. Calls were made all day and evening. As the papers stated, some six hundred persons gathered on the lawns of the two houses, which were profusely illuminated. A band of music played, the local singing societies rendered some of their songs, and until a very late hour, or rather early hour in the morning, the company seemed to enjoy themselves. During the day telegrams from many places in this country and some from Europe poured in, while numerous letters of congratulation were received on that day and for many subsequent days.

I have only briefly sketched the events of these days. Reporters were present, who in their usual sensational and flowery style gave full descriptions of all that had passed and not passed, in the respective papers of St. Louis. Rattermann's ode and dramatic representation he had printed in pamphlet form, and those as well as all the toasts, songs,

and recitations are in print and were at the time distributed among our friends and relations and are among my papers. I will merely add that we were the recipients of many gifts, some of them of great value, and our house and environs showed like a beautiful conservatory from the hundreds of floral gifts our Belleville friends had sent to us.

Holding no office and having no political influence, I have reason to believe that the offerings we received on this occasion from outside our family and near friends, were not formal but sincere. What gratified me most was that a large share, if not the most, of all the marks of love and friendship we received was owing to the affection and high regard the people felt for Sophie. Her kind, generous, and wholly unselfish nature unfailingly attached to her a large circle of friends and acquaintances.

These days might be called the culminating point of our lives. I feel now what Goethe said at one period of his own long life:

> "Der Mensch erlebt, was sein er immer mag,
> Sein letztes Glueck und seinen letzten Tag."

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